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By WILLIAM DERICKSON
No 11, Carter's Alley,
PHILADELPHIA.



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Joan of Arc addressing Charles VII by inspiration.

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THE
HISTORY OF FRANCE,
FROM
THE EARLIEST TIMES,
TILL THE DEATH OF
LOUIS SIXTEENTH.

FROM THE FRENCH OF
VELLY, VILLARET, GARNIER, MEZERAY, DANIEL,
AND OTHER EMINENT HISTORIANS;

WITH
NOTES, CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY;
BY

JOHN GIFFORD, Esq.

AND,
CONTINUED FROM THE ABOVE PERIOD,
UNTIL
THE CONCLUSION OF THE PRESENT WAR,
BY
A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES.

VOL. II.

PHILADELPHIA:

PRINTED FOR JAMES STEWART & Co.
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1797.

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v. 2

PHILIP THE SIXTH,

SURNAMED THE FORTUNATE.

A. D. 1328.] WE have seen the French monarchy, founded by Clovis, extend its limits by the conquests of his sons; comprehending two thirds of Europe, during the splendid reign of Charlemagne; its lustre diminished under the feeble descendants of Lewis the Gentle; assuming a new form from the vigorous policy of Hugh Capet; restored to its former splendor under Philip-Augustus; become an object of envy to its neighbours from the flourishing state to which it attained beneath the benignant influence of Saint Lewis; and finally enlarged by the fourth and fifth Philips. Under succeeding monarchs, the picture we have to exhibit will be still more varied, marked with stronger features, the shade more gloomy, the light more glaring. We shall see the kingdom alternately elevated and depressed; rising from the brink of destruction to the summit of splendor.

Charles the Fair had, as we have before observed, on his death-bed, nominated Philip of Valois to the regency, in the presence of several noblemen who were then at court*. It is not known what answer they made to the king on this occasion, but certain it is, that, soon after his death, the principal nobility assembled in order to deliberate on the matter. The regency was justly considered as a step towards the regal dignity; since whoever obtained it, might, from having the whole force of the kingdom at his disposal, easily procure himself to be proclaimed king, in case the queen should give birth to a daughter; great precautions therefore were deemed necessary in making this important choice, and great interest was made to become the object of it. Two princes laid claim to the regency—Edward the Third, king of England, eldest son of Isabella of France, who was sister to the three last monarchs;—and Philip of Valois, son to Charles of France, their paternal uncle.—Edward sent ambassadors to Paris to enforce his claim; and these pleaded his cause *be-*

* Spicil. tom. iii. p. 87.

*fore the court of peers, and before all the barons of the realm**. They were prodigal of gold and promises, and employed all the arts of seduction to accomplish their purpose, but in vain; the barons, convinced of the validity of Philip's pretensions, confirmed the choice of their late monarch, and promoted that prince to the regency. Indeed, the claim of Edward was too frivolous to admit of a debate; we have seen, that, for eleven successive generations, that custom invariably obtained, which excluded females from the throne of France, and it had recently been confirmed, under Philip the Fifth, by an express law, proposed by the states-general of the kingdom; to suppose, therefore, that these objects of exclusion could convey a right which they did not possess themselves, was as gross an absurdity as folly or ambition had ever engendered. Besides, had the sons of excluded females been deemed competent to succeed, Charles, king of Navarre, being descended from a daughter of Lewis Hutin, had a superior claim to Edward.

Philip distinguished the commencement of his regency by a just and spirited exertion of authority; great abuses prevailing in the collection of the revenue, he ordered a strict investigation to be made, in order that an adequate remedy might be applied. Peter Remy, superintendant of the finances, was, in consequence, arrested; and, being convicted of peculation, was sentenced to die, and accordingly expired on a gibbet; all his property, amounting to the enormous sum of twelve hundred thousand livres, was confiscated. The queen, during these transactions, was delivered of a daughter, who was named Blanche, and who, in the sequel, married Philip, duke of Orleans. The regent was immediately proclaimed king, amidst the acclamations of the people, and, with his wife, was crowned at Rheims, by the archbishop, William de Trie.

Immediately after his accession to the throne, Philip was called upon to decide a dispute, somewhat similar to that which had occurred between him and Edward, though it was to be determined on very different principles. The reader must recollect, that Eudes the Fourth, duke of Burgundy, had, in the name of his niece Jane, daughter to Lewis Hutin, renounced, in favour of Philip the Long, all her pretensions to the kingdom of Navarre, and likewise ceded, on certain conditions, her rights to the provinces of Champagne and Brie, which, however, were to revert to the princess, in case the king, her uncle, should die without male heirs, which proved to be the case; but his son and successor Charles the Fair, by the conclusion of a similar treaty†, secured to himself the same advantages. That prince, however, likewise died without leaving a male heir. Thus, according to the laws of Spain, which admitted the succession of females to the throne; and also, according to the common law of France, where women succeeded to the great fiefs, Navarre, Champagne, and Brie, incontestibly belonged to Jane, now countess of Evreux, as daughter and sole heiress to the

* Villaret,

† Preuv. de l'Hist. d'Evr.

eldest son of Jane, queen of Navarre. Her right, however, was disputed by the daughters of Philip the Long, and of Charles the Fair, under pretence that their fathers were possessed of those territories at the time of their death. Edward of England too advanced his claim*, as son to a sister of the last monarch, and he spared no pains to seduce the council of Pampeluna. Philip assembled the barons and principal nobles of the kingdom, and, with their advice, proclaimed the count of Evreux and his wife Jane, king and queen of Navarre; an act of justice that gave his subjects a favourable opinion of his disposition and principles.

But Philip, unwilling to part with the provinces of Champagne and Brie, proposed to the new monarch of Navarre an exchange, which, in consideration of the service he had rendered them, they consented to accept. By the deed of cession, the king and queen of Navarre renounce—"purely, generally, absolutely, perpetually, and for ever"—in favour of the French monarch, his heirs and successors, all the rights which they have or may have, to Champagne and Brie; they make a full, pure, and true cession of the same, without any restriction, and with a solemn engagement to make no future demand thereon. The king, in return, gave to the queen Jane the counties of Angouleme and Mortain; a pension of five thousand livres tournois, to be paid out of the royal treasury, to her and her heirs forever; a second pension of three thousand livres, also payable from the treasury, but since made chargeable on Benon, and other lands in the district of Aunis and in Saintonge; and, lastly, the sum of seventy thousand livres *Paris*, for which he consented to pay her seven thousand livres *Paris*, per annum, from the royal treasury. Two conditions, however, were annexed to these grants:—First, that the princess should hold them *en Baronie-Pairie*, as a fief, for which she was to pay fealty and homage in the same manner as for the territorial grants of Angouleme and Mortain: Secondly, it was stipulated, that, if she should die without children, or if her children should leave no posterity, these various grants should revert to the crown; but that, if her husband should survive her, whether she left children or not, he should enjoy for his life one half of what the king granted by the present treaty.

The prodigious difference, in the value of land, between the times we are now delineating and the present, here strikes us in a forcible point of view. The annual revenue of Champagne and Brie, was then estimated at thirty thousand livres, so that, reckoning according to the usual mode of purchase in those times, the two counties were worth three hundred thousand livres. In the war of 1698, Champagne alone paid yearly to the king, exclusive of a poll-tax of two hundred thousand livres, two millions one hundred and sixty thousand livres, for the land-tax; besides which they paid, for various other taxes, the

* Rymer, p. 3 and 10.

† Mem. de l'Acad. des B. L. tom. xvii. p. 308, et suiv.

sum of two millions five hundred and ninety-six thousand one hundred and eighty-four livres, nine sols* ; at the time this calculation was made (in 1762) the produce of the taxes, in the province of Champagne, amounted to more than double that sum ; a difference which could not possibly arise from the intrinsic diminution of the value of money. In 1329, the mark of silver was worth four livres, four sous ; in 1762, it was worth forty-eight livres ; consequently, the value of the livre had increased in the proportion of nearly twelve to one ; according to which estimation the revenue of the two counties ought not to exceed three hundred and sixty thousand livres ; and, deducting a third for that of Brie, Champagne should yield two hundred and forty thousand. This enormous augmentation cannot possibly be accounted for by any additional expence in guarding and defending the province ; it must chiefly be ascribed to an excess of luxury in the subjects, and a want of economy in the sovereigns. The provinces were equally well defended in those days, and the people were less oppressed.

Such was the treaty which had been projected and determined in an assembly of the principal nobles of France and Navarre ; but it was not ratified by the necessary acts till the year 1336, when queen Jane attained her twenty-fifth year. That period must be considered as the true epoch of the annexation of the provinces of Champagne and Brie to the crown of France ; though the express ordinance for that purpose was not enacted till the reign of John, in the month of November, 1361†.

The kings of Navarre, indeed, continued to prefer a claim to those counties for some time after, and, under the reign of Charles the Sixth, they obtained the cession of the duchy of Nemours, in lieu of their pretended rights, which were never again mentioned.

While the king of France was occupied with this important affair, Lewis, count of Flanders, Nevers, and Rethel, came to do him homage for his territories, and, at the same time, to claim his protection against the attempts of his rebellious subjects, who had expelled him from his dominions‡. Philip promised him effectual assistance ; but the season was already so far advanced, that it seemed prudent to defer the intended expedition till the spring. The king, however, summoned a council, the members whereof, being averse to a Flemish war, which had hitherto been always productive of disgrace to the nobility, were almost unanimous in their opinion on the necessity of delay. But Philip, burning with impatience to signalise the commencement of his reign by some act of éclat, cast a significant look at Gaucher de Chatillon, and exclaimed, in an expressive tone of voice—" And you, Lord Constable, what think you of
" all this ?—Do you think it necessary to wait for a more favourable season ?"

* M. de Boulainv. *Etat de la France*, tom. iii. p. 533, et suiv. † *Ordon. des Rois de France*, tom. iv. p. 212. ‡ *Spicil.* tom. iii. p. 88 et seq.

—Chatillon was an old nobleman, who had grown grey in the service : apprised of his master's intentions, he did not, like the rest, enter into a long defence of his opinion, but laconically replied—"Sire, the season is never unfavourable to the man who has a sound heart." Philip, delighted with his answer, seized the aged warrior in his arms, crying out—"Let those who love, follow me!" An order was immediately issued for the nobility to assemble forthwith under the walls of Arras ; and those who were either unable or unwilling to obey the citation, paid for their absence by a pecuniary contribution.

Philip, having paid his respects to the holy relics preserved at the abbey of Saint Denis, and observed the superstitious ceremonies of the times, with the view to secure the smiles of the God of Peace on scenes of rapine and bloodshed, took the *oriflamme* from thence, and, advancing to Flanders, directed his steps towards Cassel, which he invested, and ravaged the circumjacent country. The French army amounted to thirty thousand men, of which thirteen or fourteen thousand were men at arms. Amongst the noblemen who accompanied the king on this expedition were, his brother Charles, count of Alencon ; Philip of Evreux, king of Navarre ; the duke of Lorraine ; the count of Bar ; the duke of Burgundy ; the dauphin of Vienne ; the count of Savoy ; the duke of Brittany ; Robert of Artois ; Gaucher de Chatillon, constable of France ; Lewis of Bourbon ; Miles de Noyers ; the count of Flanders, and his brother the count of Cassel ; William, count of Hainault, with his son William, and his brother John ; Thierry de Brederole, and Alard d'Egmont. The rebel army, much inferior in numbers, was wholly composed of infantry, consisting of peasants, fishermen, and artisans, who had chosen for their general a fishmonger named Colin Zannequin, or Dannequin, a man of a bold and enterprising spirit, whose courage and cunning, appeared to supply his want of military experience. Such was the champion opposed to a powerful monarch ; and such the troops whom as illustrious a band of nobles as Europe could produce, was destined to encounter. But men fighting in the cause of freedom disdain the vain trappings of rank, and fix their hopes of success on a far nobler foundation. The proud battalions of France looked down with supercilious contempt on their undisciplined foes, who, undismayed by their superiority of numbers, prepared to meet them with undaunted resolution ; and, had not their valour been too precipitate, Philip would have been compelled to retreat without glory or advantage. The Flemings had chosen a most advantageous post, on an eminence, in the front of Cassel ; on one of the towers of that town they hoisted the standard of defiance, on which was represented the figure of a cock, with the following couplet beneath :

" *Quand ce coq chante aura*
 " *Le Roi Cassel conquerera*.*"

* " When this cock sings, the king will reduce Cassel."

Zannequin, in the mean time, was busily employed in forming a scheme for securing by stratagem a victory which he could not hope to obtain by open force. He every day went to the French camp with fish, which he sold at a moderate price, in order to conciliate the confidence of the army, and to procure greater liberty for observing what passed. He remarked, that the French remained a long time at table; that, after their meals, they played and danced, and slept the during heat of the day: these observations, together with the carelessness of the different guards, induced the bold plebeian to form the design of carrying off the king. At the eve of St. Bartholemew, about two in the afternoon, an hour which he knew the French devoted to repose, he divided his troops into three bodies, one of which he ordered to march without noise to that quarter of the camp where the king of Bohemia commanded; a second was directed to bend its course against the part that was subject to the orders of the count of Hainault; and, placing himself at the third, he entered the camp in silence, and penetrated as far as the royal tent, which was negligently guarded. When the Flemings approached, the French imagined that it was a reinforcement come to join the king; and Renaud de Lor, a noble chevalier, impressed with this idea, went out to meet them, and gently chided them for thus disturbing the repose of their friends; but, instead of a reply, he received a wound from a javelin, which stretched him on the ground. This was the signal for battle; the Flemings instantly drew their swords, and cut down all before them.

The alarm was immediately spread throughout the camp, and confused exclamations announced the danger to which the army was exposed. The first who warned the king of his situation was his confessor, a Dominican friar, whose imagination Philip, at first, conceived to be deranged by fear. He was soon, however, convinced that the danger was real; and, having with difficulty procured some one to arm him, all his knights and esquires having fought for safety in flight, he mounted his horse, and would fain have advanced to attack the enemy: but, being persuaded by Miles de Noyers to wait till he had rallied his troops, that brave knight fixed the royal standard on a rising ground; when all the cavalry hastened to defend it. The Flemings were now attacked in their turn; and, being completely surrounded, by the superior numbers of the French, they were all cut in pieces. "Not a man escaped," says Froissard, "not a man fled, they were all killed, and lay one upon another, without having stirred from the spot where the battle began." The king, in a letter which he wrote on the subject to the abbot of Saint Denis, makes the number of the slain, in this expedition, as well in the battle, as in different skirmishes, amount to nineteen thousand eight hundred. The French, it is said, lost only *seventeen* men (an assertion scarcely credible) though a considerable number of horses were destroyed.

Flanders now remained at the mercy of the conqueror, who, having taken the town of Cassel, reduced it to ashes. Ypres, at the king's approach, demanded to capitulate, but Philip insisted on unconditional submission. The citizens were compelled to give five hundred hostages, who were sent to Paris; to banish all the principal insurgents, and to dismantle the city. A priest having endeavoured to dissuade the people from submitting to such rigorous terms, was cowardly attacked by the French officers, when he took refuge in a neighbouring house, with fourteen others; the house was immediately set on fire; and the priest and his companions perished in the flames. Bruges delivered a thousand hostages, and the other towns in proportion. The fortifications were every where destroyed, and the privileges of the Flemings were demolished; these, however, were restored at a subsequent period, though with considerable modifications. The leaders of the revolt were then tried, when ten thousand of them were condemned to die; a sentence that was rigorously enforced in the course of three months*. The French historians speak in terms of exultation of Philip's success in this expedition; they triumph in his triumphs, and suffer his barbarity to escape without a single reproach. But every friend to humanity must shudder at the indiscriminate slaughter which tarnished the splendour of his victories; in the heat of battle, the principle of self-defence may naturally rise predominant over every other consideration, and forcibly impel us to destroy where it might be possible to spare; but, without any such stimulus, and in cool blood, to promote the same massacre of our fellow creatures, displays a savage ferociousness of mind, that every faithful historian should hold up to the execration of posterity. The officers who attacked the unarmed priest, acted, in the first instance, as *cowards*; in the second, as *assassins*; and the monarch who authorised such conduct, became an accomplice in their crimes, though his own barbarous proceedings were so superior in magnitude, that, to say he was an *accomplice* in murder, is to treat him with unmerited lenity.

After the final reduction of Flanders, Philip sent for count Lewis, and thus addressed him in presence of the principal nobles in his army, whom he had purposely assembled—"Fair cousin, I came here at your request. Perhaps you gave rise to the revolt, by your neglect to render to your people the justice which is due to them; but that is a point which I will not now examine. I was obliged to incur a great expence for this expedition; I have, consequently, a right to claim some recompence; but, I acquit you of all obligations whatever, and restore your dominions in a state of peace and submission. Be careful how you make me return for the same purpose; should your bad administration compel me to take up arms a second time, it would be less to promote your interest than my own." Thus did Philip, by his own confession, rush headlong into a war, without any previous enquiry into the merits of the

* Villaret, t. viii. p. 219.

cause he had undertaken to espouse ; and even ventured to punish as rebels, those whom he probably ought to have protected as oppressed vassals ; for, by the feudal system, every liege-lord was bound to extend the same protection to his sub-vassals, as to his immediate vassals ; and, indeed, the sub-vassals had no other means of obtaining redress for injuries, than by an appeal to the superior lord. His conduct, therefore, in this instance, independent of his cruelty, must be considered as tyrannical and oppressive. Yet could his historian* exultingly exclaim, that he returned to his capital—*all covered with glory!* and the monarch himself could presume to visit the churches, and insult the Deity with songs of triumph, mock professions of humility, and hymns of praise!

[A. D. 1329.] Inflated with success, the king resolved to make his authority equally respected by all the vassals of his crown. Edward of England was now summoned to do homage for his continental dominions, a ceremony which hitherto he had omitted ; but his pride revolted at the idea of shewing any degree of submission to a prince whom he considered as his equal ; he therefore refused an audience to the French ambassadors, and sent word to Philip, through his mother, Isabella, that the son of a king would never humble himself before the son of a count† ; an answer which was deemed insolent, and was therefore punished by the seizure of his revenues arising from the countries of Gascony and Ponthieu. The king then sent fresh envoys to warn him, that, if he persisted in his refusal to pay the required homage, all his fiefs in France would be forfeited to the crown. Edward was at a loss how to act ; but the state of his affairs rendering it highly imprudent to engage in a war with a prince so powerful as Philip, he submitted to the present necessity, and wrote a respectful letter to the king‡ ; and, in compliance with the promise he there made, he appeared in the cathedral at Amiens, on the sixth of June ; but the pomp he displayed on this occasion sufficiently shewed, that his appearance was less intended to do honour to Philip, than to make a parade of his own wealth and power. He was dressed in a long robe of crimson velvet, embellished with golden leopards|| ; he wore his crown, his sword, and spurs of gold ; his retinue was composed of three bishops, four earls, six barons, and forty knights.

The king, on his part, had omitted nothing which could add to the splendor of the ceremony. He was seated on a magnificent throne, with a crown enriched with precious stones on his head, and a sceptre of gold in his hand. Standing at his side, were the kings of Bohemia, Navarre, and Majorca ; with the dukes of Burgundy, Bourbon, and Lorraine ; the counts of Flanders, and Alencon ; Robert of Artois ; the constable, Gaucher de Chatillon ; the grand chamberlain, John de Melun ; Matthew de Trie, and Robert de Bertrand, marshals of France ; John de Macigny, bishop of Beauvais, keeper of the

* Villaret. † This is Villaret's account of the transaction ; but the continuator of Nangis, with greater appearance of justice, ascribes this reply to Isabella herself. ‡ Rymer, vol. ii. p. 23. || Frocard, t. i, fol. 7.

seals ; the bishops of Laon and Senlis ; the abbots of Cluni and Corbie ; several other prelates, a numerous train of nobles, and all the chief officers of the crown.

As soon as the English monarch approached the throne, he was commanded, by the grand chamberlain, to take off his crown, his sword, and his spurs, and to place himself on his knees before the king—though his proud soul recoiled at the idea of submitting to this humiliating ceremony, he had advanced too far to recede ; but the workings of his mind were strongly depicted in his looks. The same officer then said—“ Sire, you acknowledge yourself, as duke of Guienne, *liege-man* of my lord the king, who sits here, and promise to bear him faith and loyalty.” The pride of Edward could no longer contain itself ; he peremptorily refused to say *Yes*, and maintained that he did not owe *liege-homage* to Philip. After much altercation, the king consented to receive his homage in general terms, on his promise to consult the archives of his kingdom, immediately after his return, for the purpose of discovering what kind of homage he ought to pay, and to send over letters, under the great seal, explaining himself fully on the subject. The chamberlain then, altering the form of his address, said—“ Sire, you own yourself a vassal of my lord, the king of France, for Guienne and its appurtenances, which you acknowledge to hold of him, as a peer of France, according to the form established by the different treaties of peace concluded between his predecessors and your own, according to what you and your ancestors have done for the same duchy to the former kings of France.” Edward answered in the affirmative. “ If that be the case,” said the viscount of Melun, “ the king, our sire, receives you, saving his protestations and restrictions.” Philip answered, “ Yes,” and kissed the said king of England, whose hands he held within his own, on the mouth. Thus finished this degrading ceremony, the mortifications attending which the proud spirit of Edward was ill calculated to support ; and these, together with the temptations arising from the splendour of the court, and the fertility of the country, led him to adopt the resolution of asserting, the first convenient opportunity, his preposterous claim to the throne of France.

A. D. 1330.] The attention of Philip was now called to a dispute which subsisted between the nobility and clergy, concerning the limitations of their respective rights*. Tired with listening to the complaints, that were perpetually laid before him, of the encroachments of the bishops, he began to suspect that those complaints might proceed from a spirit of envy, excited by the superior wealth of the clergy. In order, therefore, to investigate this matter, as well as to remedy some abuses in the church, he ordered them to repair to Paris, on the octave of Saint Andrew, in the year 1330, in order to defend their cause. Twenty prelates accordingly attended ; viz. the archbishops of

* Spicil. Contin. Nangis ; Froissard,

Bourges, Auch, Tours, Rouen, and Sens ; and the bishops of Beauvais, Chalons, Laon, Paris, Noyon, Chartres, Coutances, Angers, Poitiers, Meaux, Cambrai, Saint-Flour, Saint-Brieux, Chalons-upon-Saone, and Autun.

The king, being seated upon the throne, attended by the princes of the blood, the peers and barons of the realm, and the members of his council ; Peter de Cugnieres, who, on this occasion, discharged the functions of king's-counselor and attorney-general, opened the cause in a long speech, prefaced—as was usual, in those times, in all orations, sacred or profane—by a text from scripture: “Render unto Cesar, the things that are Cesar’s ; and unto God, the things that are God’s ;” whence he took occasion to expatiate on the respect that was due to the princes of the earth, and on the necessity of distinguishing between the temporal and spiritual powers, the first of which, he observed, incontestibly belonged to the king, and the last to the bishops. He remarked, that the clergy ought to confine their thoughts to the salvation of souls ; and, being sufficiently occupied with the arduous duties of their profession, they should leave all temporal matters to the decision of the secular judges. Thus far Peter de Cugnieres had spoken Latin ; but, fearing he should not be understood by the nobility, and by a part of the prelates, some of whom were not much versed in that language, he continued his speech in French :—he said, it was his majesty’s intention to re-establish the temporal power, and to confine each jurisdiction within its proper bounds. He then proceeded to exhibit sixty-six charges against the clergy ; the chief of which were the following—That the officials were guilty of usurpation, in submitting to the decision of the bishops’ courts those questions of property and possession which were solely cognizable by the civil tribunals ; that, when a layman cited a clerk to appear, for a trespass on his property, before a secular judge, the official prohibited the judge and the plaintiff from proceeding with the cause, under pain of excommunication, and a pecuniary fine ; that the officials summoned laymen to appear before them, in matters merely temporal, on the demand of either party, and refused to send them before the temporal judges ; that they often compelled laymen to appear before them, at the suit of ecclesiastics disturbed in the possession of their paternal estates ; that they established on the estates of laymen, ecclesiastical notaries, who received contracts, even in temporal affairs ; that, when a debtor, who was excommunicated on account of his debts, neglected to pay them, the sentence of excommunication was renewed, with additional penalties, and an injunction issued to the secular judge to constrain the debtor to merit absolution by paying ; and, if the lay-judge did not obey, with sufficient promptitude, he incurred the same censures himself, from which he could not obtain absolution without paying the debts of the insolvent ; that the prelates, in order to extend the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, admitted into holy orders, indiscriminately, children, *serfs*, bastards, and married men, ignorant and unlettered, who had recourse to the church in order to avoid a prison, and the punishment due

to their crimes ; that, when a thief was apprehended with the stolen property about him, if he proved to be a clerk, the bishop always reclaimed him, and compelled the secular judge, under pain of excommunication, to deliver into the hands of the clerical judge the things stolen, which had been ordered to be restored to their right owners ; that, when a criminal, without any marks of an ecclesiastic about him, who had been arrested and detained by order of the king's officers, in a prison belonging to the secular jurisdiction, declared himself a clerk, the official immediately claimed him, without farther enquiry, and compelled the officers of the crown to give him up to the ecclesiastical judge ; that criminals of this description, whether thieves or assassins, were, notwithstanding the clearest proof of their guilt, constantly acquitted, and, by favour of this dangerous privilege, escaped the severity of the law ; that the officials arrested ecclesiastics, in all places whatever, without applying to the judge of the district, and that, if any one attempted to oppose them, he was threatened with excommunication ; that excommunicated persons could not obtain absolution from the officials without paying an arbitrary fine, which caused many of them to remain in a state of excommunication ; that the prelates, by promoting clerks to be judges in their bailiwicks, exempted them from punishment for malversation in office ; that the clerical officers of justice issued prohibitions to all persons indiscriminately, forbidding them to work for any one who was excommunicated, whether justly or unjustly, by which means it often happened that the land remained uncultivated ; that the officials cited thirty or forty persons to appear before them, from whom they exacted pecuniary fines, under pretence that they had frequented the company of excommunicated persons ; that, by means of ecclesiastical censures and interdicts, often inflicted on account of some private dispute, a whole province was thrown into confusion, and deprived of the consolation of public devotion. The orator finished this long list of grievances, by complaining that the officials arrogated to themselves the right of taking inventories when any person died intestate (though within the king's domains) ; seizing all the property of the deceased, which they distributed at their pleasure ; that, moreover, they claimed the exclusive power of drawing up wills, and had officers solely for that purpose, refusing to acknowledge the validity of such wills as had been confirmed by the proper civil officer, unless they themselves had previously approved them.

In answer to these charges, the clergy replied, by the mouth of Peter Bertrandi, bishop of Autun ;—that, when a clerk was attacked by a layman, whose property he had invaded, he became the defendant, and it was right and lawful that the secular plaintiff should apply for redress to the natural judge of the defendant ; that it was on account of the sins committed by the man who refused to restore what he unjustly detained, or to pay what he owed, that the officials cited laymen to appear before them in personal actions ; that it was on account of the sacrilege committed, by an attack on the person or property of the

clerk, of which none but the church could take cognizance, that the ecclesiastical judges summoned laymen to appear before them, at the request of a clerk; that the church had a right to take cognizance of contracts passed in a secular court, particularly in case of the violation of an oath, or a breach of faith; that, when the church had done all she could with her spiritual arm, she was not only authorized but commanded, by every law, both human and divine, to employ the secular arm—and, if the temporal judge neglected the admonition, and forbore to constrain the excommunicated debtor to satisfy the demand against him, so that, by such neglect, the creditor lost what was due to him, no possible inconvenience could arise from proceeding against the judge himself; that, with regard to the admission of too many persons into holy orders, instead of being a subject of complaint, it was an object of public utility, since, by increasing the number of God's servants, he would, of course, be better served; that when the king's officers delivered up a thief to the spiritual judge, they ought, of course, to deliver up the thing stolen, as that would principally lead to establish the guilt of the culprit; that a clerk, apprehended in a secular dress, did not forfeit his privilege, if it was notorious that he was a clerk, and when his identity was a matter of doubt, the care of his person belonged to the ecclesiastical judge, and the cognizance of his crime to the church; that frequently when a layman delivered up to the spiritual power a clerk, whom he had caused to be apprehended, he did not mention his crime to the judge, for which reason he could not conscientiously detain him; that prelates and their officials were authorized by laws, both divine and human, to seize clerks wherever they found them, since the spiritual jurisdiction knew no bounds; that as a sentence of excommunication was never issued but for a mortal sin, the penance imposed ought always to include a corporal punishment or pecuniary fine; that justice was better administered by clergymen who were versed in the law, than by ignorant and unlettered laymen, for which reason clerks were preferred as provosts to others; that all kind of commerce with an excommunicated person was a mortal sin, and that, if the officials for such an offence, cited one or more laymen to appear before them, it was just they should inflict a corporal punishment or pecuniary fine for the satisfaction of God and the church; and lastly, that every prelate had a right to draw up wills in his own diocese, and, consequently, to take inventories, and distribute the property bequeathed; and that it was the custom, with several churches of the kingdom, not to acknowledge the validity of any will that was drawn up by a notary of the arch-deacon's court, or any inferior court, unless it had been approved by the principal judge of the diocese, because, by trusting to such notaries, many forgeries and other abuses might occur.

The bishop of Autun was asked, by the king's orders, for a copy of this reply; but the prelates, after deliberating on the subject, would only consent to give in a memorial, containing the substance of their claims, in which they

requested the king to support them. The assembly was then dismissed; and the following week, the bishops repaired to Vincennes, to know the king's intentions, when they were told by Peter de Cugnieres, that he meant to secure to them all their rights; but this general declaration not contenting them, they returned two days after, when the king assured them, by the mouth of the archbishop of Bourges, that they had nothing to fear; that he promised them they should lose nothing during his reign; and that he would never set the example of attacking the church. The archbishop of Sens, after thanking Philip, in the name of the clergy, complained of certain proclamations which tended to infringe on the ecclesiastical jurisdiction: when the king himself replied, that those proclamations had been issued without his orders, and that he disapproved of them. The archbishop was still anxious to obtain a more clear and satisfactory answer; but Peter de Cugnieres finally told him, in the king's name, that if he corrected those abuses which stood in need of correction, the king would willingly wait till Christmas; but that if, during that interval, no steps should be taken for that purpose, the king would apply such a remedy as would be agreeable to God and the people.

On this occasion the king seemed to favour the clergy; but the present dispute between the temporal and spiritual powers became the foundation of all those quarrels which afterward occurred with regard to their respective jurisdictions, and the effect of which was the confinement of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction within limits less extensive. This reduction of the exorbitant power of the clergy might, indeed, be ascribed to another cause, viz. the neglect of the bishops to assemble provincial synods, in which the body of the clergy combined to consolidate their authority; while the parliaments, being rendered sedentary, confirmed *their* powers by never separating*.

Hitherto the reign of Philip had been prosperous and happy, and the measures he adopted for ensuring the felicity and welfare of his subjects seemed well calculated to give stability to his government. But Providence had placed on the throne of England a prince who was destined to interrupt the prosperity of France, and to cast a thick shade over these pleasing prospects. The imperious disposition of the two monarchs, rivals in glory as in interest, joined to their mutual hatred for each other, laid the foundation of a war, destructive in its progress, and fatal in its effects. Edward, glowing with the fire of youth and ambition, beheld, in the king of France, a successful competitor who, not content with having secured a diadem which he was anxious to place on his own brows, and with having reduced him to the humiliating condition of a vassal, had endeavoured to add to the weight of feudal servitude, by prescribing the very terms of the homage he exacted from him. The king, well-knowing what sentiments such conduct must inspire in the proud mind of Edward, and con-

* Abreg. de l'Hist. de Fr. par le Pres. Hena, t. i. p. 228.

vinced that nothing but a favourable opportunity was wanting to induce that prince openly to declare himself, determined to make him feel his dependence on every occasion. A short time after the conditional homage paid by Edward at Amiens, he was pressed to give a clear and precise declaration of the nature of that homage; and the duke of Bourbon, and the counts of Harcourt, Tankerville, and Clermont, were appointed, with some other noblemen, to repair to England, in order to receive this declaration in a formal and authentic manner. It was some time, however, before the English monarch could be prevailed on to give the required satisfaction; though, at last, he was compelled by a deed (which is preserved in Rymer's *Fœdera*) to acknowledge that he owed liege-homage to the king of France for the duchy of Guienne, and the counties of Ponthieu and Montreuil.

This deed was delivered, by Edward himself, to the king at *Saint-Christophe en Halate**; and, in return, he received letters, of acceptance from the chancery of France. At this interview the English monarch, notwithstanding his youth, acquired an ascendancy over Philip, which he ever after maintained, even in the most intricate negotiations. The two kings had agreed between themselves on the marriage of a daughter of France with the infant Prince of Wales; and Edward, on his return to England, sent ambassadors to Paris, to settle the terms of this alliance, which, however, never took place.

The king's attention was now called to the ambitious attempts of his brother-in-law, Robert of Artois. That prince, as we have before shewn, had frequently enforced his claims to the county from whence he derived his name; but the superior pretensions of his aunt Maude had been confirmed by repeated sentences. Still, however, Robert persisted in his efforts, and, on the death of the late monarch, he flattered himself that a fair prospect of success opened to his view. The friendship of the king, whose sister he had espoused, the service he had rendered him, in supporting with all his power and eloquence his right to the regency and to the throne, confirmed him in his hopes. Although two solemn verdicts had fully established the validity of his aunt's pretensions, he had the presumption to suppose, that the authority of the laws would bend before his influence, if he could give but the smallest colouring of justice to his demand.

But as he had no legal titles to prefer, he was induced to support his claim by forged deeds and false witnesses. Though hurried on by ambition, he did not at first pursue these degrading measures with the steady resolution of a voluntary culprit; led, by faithless advisers, from error to error, through a series of intrigues, the origin of which was carefully concealed from him, he was not aware of his situation till he had reached the brink of the precipice, and he had then advanced too far to retreat.

* Villaret, tom. viii. p. 261.

Jane de Divion, a native of Bethune, a woman of licentious conduct, who had sacrificed her reputation to the gratification of her infamous passions, was the author of this iniquitous mystery. She had been accused by the public voice of having maintained a criminal intercourse with Thierry d'Irechon, bishop of Arras, minister to Maude, countess of Artois. The prelate, at his death, bequeathed her some property which the countess, his executrix, not only refused to deliver to her, but, at the same time, banished her the province. Divion upon this repaired to Paris, breathing vengeance; and, having procured admission to the countess de Beaumont, wife to Robert, she told that princess, that the bishop of Arras, urged by remorse, had, on his death-bed, delivered to her several letters which confirmed the rights of her husband to the county of Artois. The countess, however, giving no credit to the tale, she applied to Maude, to whom she offered to reveal secrets of the greatest importance; but this application proved as unsuccessful as the former. She therefore changed her battery, and had recourse to Robert himself, to whom she made the same overtures as she had before made to the princess. This false confidence having revived his ambition, he called upon her to fulfil her promises, assuring her, at the same time, that a reward for a service so important, should even exceed her most sanguine hopes. She immediately repaired to Arras, from whence she brought the paper in question, which was a letter, which, she affirmed, the bishop of Arras had, in his last moments, entrusted to her care, with orders to deliver it, after his death, to prince Robert. In this letter the prelate besought his forgiveness for having concealed, during his life, what would fully have established the validity of Robert's claims to the county of Artois; he confessed that he had in his possession certain deeds, the duplicates whereof had been registered in the proper court, but that a powerful nobleman of Artois having thrown them into the fire, they were afterwards erased from the registers: these deeds were—the marriage-contract of Philip (Robert's father) with Blanche of Brittany, by which the count of Artois (Robert's grandfather) settled the county on his son, and his son's heirs;—a ratification of this settlement by the count of Artois;—and letters patent of Philip the Hardy, confirming the preceding deeds.

Robert having this pretended letter of the bishop of Arras in his possession, was convinced of the justice of his cause, nor had he the smallest doubt of succeeding in the attempt, when he reflected that the king had frequently told him, if he could produce any act whatever, tending to prove a donation, on the part of the late count of Artois, to his son Philip, and, in case Philip should die before him, to his heirs, he would immediately order the county to be delivered up to him. Hitherto, the conduct of Robert appears to have been strictly proper, as he had not the least suspicion that the letter was forged. Having publicly declared his intentions of renewing his claims to the county of Artois, the countess Maude, alarmed at the report, caused the servants of Divion to be ap-

prehended. Divion, apprised of this circumstance, preferred her complaints to Robert, to whom she insinuated that the object of Maude, in arresting her servants, was, to get possession of those deeds which would establish his claims; the prince accordingly applied to the king, who ordered them to be released; but, during their detention, the countess of Artois had discovered a part of the intrigues of their mistress.

The king, being determined to investigate the matter, appointed commissioners for that purpose, who examined several witnesses, most of whose depositions were favourable to Robert. But an affair of this kind could not possibly be decided on such authority; the deeds mentioned in the letter of the bishop of Arras were alone adequate to establish the validity of Robert's claim; and, when these were called for, Divion being unable to produce them, was compelled to acknowledge the imposture. Robert, enraged at finding himself imposed upon by this intriguing woman, threatened her with instant death; but, having proceeded thus far, he was afraid to retreat; the dictates of true honour were silenced by the suggestions of a false shame; and, though hitherto he had only been the dupe of her art, he now consented to become the accomplice of her crime. It was determined between them, that the necessary deeds must be *forged*, and Divion undertook to procure them.

The countess of Beaumont, wife to Robert, who was equally ambitious with her husband, had recently had an interview with the queen, when an explanation on the subject of that prince's claim had taken place; and a difference of opinion prevailing between them, the dispute was maintained with warmth on both sides, and they parted with mutual discontent. This circumstance induced the countess to second the scheme of the forgery, and both she and her husband became earnest in their solicitations to Divion, which were occasionally enforced by threats, and strengthened by promises: they even furnished her with copies of the deeds they wanted: it was an easy matter to get them transcribed, but the grand difficulty was in affixing the necessary seals to them.

During these transactions, Robert, who had obtained permission to pursue his claims, always eluded the production of his written proofs*. In the interim Maude, countess of Artois, died†, and a report prevailed that she had been poisoned; and the suspicions of the public were thought to be confirmed by the death of her daughter and heiress, Jane, widow to Philip the Long, which happened soon after, and was ascribed to the same cause. Robert, and his accomplice, Divion, were accused of the crime; but the accusation appears to have been unsupported by any kind of proof. Jane, grand-daughter to Maude, and her husband, Eudes, duke of Burgundy, were then admitted to do homage for the county of Artois, notwithstanding the opposition of Robert.

* Spicil. Contin. Nangis; Ann. 1330.

† Mezeray.

The forged deeds being now ready for production, Robert first shewed them to the king, who immediately expressed his doubts as to their authenticity, and advised him, in a friendly manner, not to make use of them ; since they would infallibly cover him with confusion, and cause him to be stigmatized as the accomplice of a forgery. The count warmly answered that he was no impostor, and that he was ready to maintain his innocence against any one who should presume to attack it. Philip, imagining this challenge to be addressed to himself, instantly replied, in a decisive tone, "These deeds are forged ; I know it well, " and will cause the authors of the forgery to be punished*." But Robert, though detected, determined to persist ; and, in order to avoid the imputation of dishonour, resolved to become more criminal.

When the deeds were produced before the parliament, they were easily discovered to be forged ; and the king, eager to save the count from the ignominy of a public condemnation, sent for Divion, under pretence of consulting her on certain difficulties which he wished to be removed ; she accordingly hastened to Paris, and, being examined in the presence of Philip, her confidence forsook her, and she subscribed a confession of her guilt ; which she confirmed before Robert himself. Still, however, that prince refused to acknowledge himself in an error ; and a formal decision of the parliament was requisite to declare the deeds, on which he founded his pretensions, to be forgeries. When the sentence was pronounced, the attorney-general asked Robert, if it was still his intention to maintain the authenticity of those deeds. After deliberating some time with his council, he answered in the negative. Philip, yet willing to hope that he would be brought to a just sense of his dishonourable conduct, stopped all farther proceedings for five months. But finding that, instead of repentance, the disappointment which Robert had experienced, only gave rise to indignation and reproach, he ordered the attorney-general to proceed ; when the count was summoned to appear before the parliament, and a criminal suit was instituted against Divion and her accomplices. On the eighth of April, 1331, sentence was pronounced. Robert of Artois was condemned to lose his life, and his property was confiscated to the crown ; Divion, and her servant were sentenced to be burned alive ; and the false witnesses were punished with the pillory.

A. D. 1331, to 1337.] Robert, who had fled from Paris, and embarked his treasures at Bourdeaux for England, was at Brussels, when he received intelligence of his condemnation. Inflamed with rage, he is said to have formed the desperate design of murdering the king† ; but the assassins, whom he hired for that purpose, alarmed at the danger of the enterprise, returned, when they had proceeded half way to Paris. He then went back secretly to France, in order to sound the disposition of his friends and partisans, and, after passing some days with his wife, left the country with precipitation. It appears that the king was

* Mezeray.

† Villaret.

apprised of his motions, and that he entertained some suspicions of the fidelity of several of the nobility who favoured the pretensions of Robert; for which reason he exacted an oath from the princes and chief barons of the realm, containing a formal disavowal of the conduct of the count, and a promise to grant him no assistance, and to shew him no favour. The countess was arrested and confined in the castle of Chinon, and her children in that of Nemours*. The whole family were involved in the same disgrace; the count of Foix had imprisoned his mother, who was Robert's sister, under pretence that her licentious conduct dishonoured all that were related to her†; but every body was convinced that he had been led to this act of violence by the persuasion of Philip.

Robert himself, exiled, proscribed, and pursued from place to place, at length put in execution a plan which he had long meditated. He repaired to London, in the disguise of a merchant, and was fortunate enough to elude the numerous emissaries whom Philip had employed to apprehend him. On his arrival in England, he was favourably received by Edward‡, and was soon admitted into the councils, and shared the confidence of that monarch. The king, incensed at his escape, published a manifesto, by the advice of the princes and barons of the realm, declaring Robert "A mortal Enemy to the State," and threatening every vassal of the crown, whether *within* or *without* the kingdom, who should afford protection to that traitor, with similar penalties;—a menace that could not be mistaken.

Although the last treaty concluded by the kings of France and England, appeared sufficient to establish a good understanding between them, still some articles remained open for future discussion. That which related to the restitution of those places in Guienne which had been taken in the preceding reign, was well calculated to afford a specious pretext for a rupture whenever an opportunity should offer. The pope, who was anxious to promote a crusade for the relief of the christians in Palestine, strenuously solicited the English monarch to second the zeal of the king of France. Edward, who only wished to gain time, continually promised to send ambassadors to Paris, as well to adopt the necessary arrangements for that purpose, as finally to settle the affairs of Guienne, and to conclude the conditions of marriage between the prince of Wales and the daughter of Philip. By these subterfuges he always evaded a decisive answer, which it was never his intention to give, and endeavoured to secure the confidence of Philip by fruitless negotiations, which left matters in the same situation as before.

But no sooner had Edward accomplished his designs on the kingdom of Scotland, whose inhabitants had been secretly supported by Philip, in their struggle for independence, than he began seriously to listen to the suggestions of Robert of Artois. That nobleman laboured with great earnestness to persuade the king

* Spicil. Cont. Nang. † 'Quia in confusionem sui, totiusque generis sui effrenatè nimiam corporis sui lasciviam sequebatur;' Spicil. Cont. Nang. tom. ii. p. 94.

‡ Rymer.

of England that his title to the crown of France was indisputably valid; and that a prince of his valour and abilities might certainly render his claims effectual. As a man is easily persuaded into the belief of what is agreeable to his wishes, Edward acknowledged the justice of Robert's arguments, and came to a final determination to attempt the conquest of a kingdom which he either believed, or pretended to believe, was his undoubted right. With this view he endeavoured to form alliances in the Low Countries, and on the frontiers of Germany, the only places from which he either could make an effectual attack upon France, or produce such a diversion as might preserve the province of Guienne, which lay so much exposed to the power of Philip.

He began with communicating his designs to the count of Hainault, his father-in-law; and, having engaged him in his interests, he employed the good offices and counsels of that prince in securing the alliance of the other sovereigns of those parts. The duke of Brabant was induced, by his mediation, and by large remittances of money from England, to promise his support: the archbishop of Cologne, the duke of Gueldres, the marquis of Juliers, the count of Namur, the lords of Fauquemont and Baquen, with some others, were engaged, by similar methods, to embrace the cause of Edward.

These negotiations, though conducted with all possible secrecy, were fully known to the court of France; and Philip, at length, roused from the lethargy in which he had hitherto appeared to be plunged, began to imitate the example of his enemy in securing allies. He concluded treaties with the kings of Bohemia and Navarre, the dukes of Brittany and Bar, and the count of Flanders; but, on this last, he could place little reliance, as he possessed but little authority in his own dominions.

Lewis, count of Flanders, after the victory of Cassel had reduced his subjects to obedience, continued to alienate their affections by severity, instead of seeking to conciliate their confidence and esteem by a mild and liberal conduct. Most of the towns in Flanders were deprived of their privileges; their principal inhabitants were put to death, and those that survived were oppressed by exactions the most onerous and tyrannical. This rigorous treatment revived the animosity of the Flemings against their count; and William Chanu, a citizen of Bruges, was deputed by his countrymen, to repair to the court of Brabant, and endeavour to engage the duke to declare war against Lewis. The duke, who, at that time, was interested in preserving the friendship of France, declared that he could do nothing in the business without the previous advice and consent of Philip. He therefore seized Chanu, who was sent to Paris; where, being applied to the rack, he revealed the names of all the leaders of the conspiracy. When he had been tortured in the most cruel manner, both his hands were cut off at the wrists; he was then stretched on a wheel, dragged alive at the tale of a cart, and, at length, hanged. This punishment, which reflects disgrace upon Philip, and all who were concerned in it, lasted two days. The

Flemish conspirators left their country with precipitation, and the whole province once more wore the appearance of submission ; but hatred and revenge lurked beneath the specious mask. Justly enraged with the king of France, whom they considered as the author of all their calamities, they eagerly seized the first opportunity that occurred for displaying their resentment. When that prince, foreseeing the rupture with Edward, endeavoured to engage the Flemings in his interest, they replied, that their commercial concerns would not permit them to declare in his favour, and that the wool of England was more essential to them than the friendship of France*.

As the Flemings were the first people in the northern parts of Europe that cultivated the arts and manufactures, the lower ranks of men among them had attained to a certain degree of opulence, which none of their station had acquired in other countries. Privileges and independence naturally followed an acquisition of wealth, and hence it was, that the Flemings began to emerge from that state of slavery to which, by the feudal institutions, the common people were universally reduced ; from this independence arose an aversion from every species of government that was tinged with despotism ; and, by an easy gradation in minds unapt to reason, and unrestrained by salutary laws, the spirit of liberty speedily degenerated into licentiousness. Factions and tumults were the consequence. The count of Flanders being deprived of his authority, through his own oppressive conduct, and the unjustifiable cruelty of Philip, the people delivered themselves over to the guidance of a seditious leader, who sought to secure the duration of his power by encouraging the commission of violence, and the promotion of disorders.

Their present leader was James d'Arteville, a rich brewer of Ghent, who governed them with a more absolute sway than had ever been assumed by the most tyrannical of their lawful sovereigns ; but, when the people enjoy the privilege of chusing an idol for themselves, oppression ceases to be burdensome, and despotism to be odious. This demagogue assumed the power of placing and displacing magistrates at his pleasure ; and was accompanied by a guard, who, on the least signal from him, instantly assassinated any man who had been so unfortunate as to incur his displeasure. He had spies in all the cities of Flanders ; and whoever gave him the smallest offence was sure to be punished with immediate death. The few nobles who remained in the country lived in a state of continual apprehension ; he seized the estates of all those whom he had either banished or murdered ; and, after bestowing a part on their wives and children, converted the remainder to his own use†. This was the first popular despot that was seen in Europe ; nor was his government less violent than those of the feudal tyrants, whose example he, probably, endeavoured to imitate. To this man the king of England applied, and through his influence attached the Flemings to his

* Chron. de Fland.

† Froissard, l. i. ch. 39.

interests, and procured from them an invitation to land an army in their territories.

Father Daniel, with a degree of candour that does him honour, remarks that neither Edward nor Philip could be justly deemed the sole aggressor in this unfortunate contest; each of them, he observes, had just grounds for complaints; and each of them could justify his own conduct on plausible grounds. To us, however, Edward appears to have been the principal aggressor. Philip, indeed, had favoured the revolt of the Scotch, and received with hospitality and kindness their exiled monarch; but the previous conduct of Edward, in advancing a claim to the crown of France, justified this measure, and rendered it necessary to guard against any augmentation of power, which would certainly be employed to enforce that pretension. All the proceedings of Edward, with regard to Philip, had been marked with duplicity; his negotiations were all delusive; and it was evident, from the commencement of his reign, that he was determined, whenever an opportunity should occur, to undertake the conquest of a kingdom, the extent of whose power he regarded with a jealous eye.

The king, convinced of the importance of distressing the Flemish allies of Edward, sent a strong reinforcement of troops to the count of Flanders, in the hope of enabling him to reduce to obedience his discontented subjects. But these, being attacked by a body of English, under the command of the earl of Derby, in the island of Cadzand, near the mouth of the Schelde, sustained a total defeat, and more than three thousand of them perished in the action; the earl then re-embarked his men, and returned to England with a considerable booty.

No formal declaration of war preceded the commencement of hostilities. The French fleet, commanded by Nicholas Bahuchet, committed depredations on the English coast, and took and plundered the island of Guernsey; while the enemy retaliated by reducing the fortress of Palencourt in Saintonge, the governor whereof being suspected of treachery, was tried by the parliament, and suffered decapitation. In vain did the pope interpose his good offices to stop the farther effusion of blood; Edward treated his remonstrances with disdain, and having completed his preparations, sailed from the port of Orwell, in Suffolk, on the 16th of July, in the year 1338, with a large fleet, and a powerful army. But when he arrived on the continent, he found his allies but ill-prepared to second his attempts; they had neglected to furnish their stipulated quota of troops; and, alarmed at the strength of the enemy they had to encounter, they were anxious to find some cause for retracting their engagements. These unexpected difficulties reduced Edward to the necessity of appropriating to negotiation a considerable portion of the time which he had destined for action. In order to satisfy the scruples of the German princes, he obtained from Lewis of Bavaria, who was then emperor, the title of "Vicar of the empire;" which, though it was merely nominal, gave him an apparent right to command the in-

ferior potentates of Germany. The Flemings affecting similar scruples, in regard to waging war against their liege lord; Edward, by the advice of d'Artevile, assumed, in his commissions, the title of "King of France;" and, in virtue thereof, claimed their assistance to dethrone Philip of Valois, whom he termed, The Usurper of his lawful Inheritance. He was not persuaded to adopt this measure, the danger whereof he had sufficient penetration to foresee, without much reluctance and hesitation; and it would have been happy, not only for himself, but his posterity, had he persevered in his opposition to so hazardous a step; as from hence we may date the commencement of that strong national animosity which has ever since subsisted between the two kingdoms, and which has occasioned such an infinite effusion of blood. In all preceding times, subsequent to the accession of the first William to the throne of England, whenever hostilities had occurred between the rival crowns, they had sprung merely from fortuitous events; their effects consequently had been but temporary, and the animosity they had excited, subsided with the cause that gave rise to it. The English nobility and gentry valued themselves on their French or Norman extraction; the language of France had been fashionable and almost universal in England; and both the English court and camp being always full of French nobles, a more intimate connection had prevailed between these two people, during some centuries, than between any two distinct nations whom we meet with in history. But the fatal and ill-grounded pretensions of Edward the Third broke off this mutual intercourse, and left the seeds of discord and hatred in both countries, which continued to thrive, with the most destructive vigour, till blighted by the sun of liberality, whose effulgent beams irradiate the present æra of refinement with unexampled splendour.

A. D. 1339.] Though the king of England had exacted a promise from his allies to meet him in the field with their respective troops at the commencement of July, 1339, when that time approached he still found them irresolute; so that he was not able to open the campaign till late in the month of September; and even then he was obliged to allure his German allies, by a promise of commencing his operations with the siege of Cambray, a city of the empire, which had been garrisoned by Philip. Finding, however, upon trial, the extreme danger and difficulty of the enterprise, he conducted them to the frontiers of France; when the count of Namur, and even the count of Hainault, his brother-in-law, (for the old count was dead) refused to advance any farther, and immediately retired with their forces. Edward, however, notwithstanding this defection, had still an army of forty thousand men; with which he entered the French territories, and encamped on the plains of Vironfosse, about two leagues from Capelle.

Philip, in the mean time, had made every necessary preparation for repelling the attacks of this formidable enemy; a fleet which he had assembled for the purpose of waging war against the infidels was now employed in the defence

of his own kingdom ; and all the naval forces of France were collected, with the view of ravaging the coasts and destroying the fleet of England. It was not possible to maintain a war thus important without incurring a very considerable expence. The people, at first, submitted, without a murmur, to the necessary contributions ; but as they perceived, says Mezeray, that their burdens encreased in proportion to their efforts to sustain them ; that the nation was taxed beyond what it could bear ; and that the privileges of the church and of the nobility were violated, they had recourse to the same remedy which they had employed with success under Philip the Fair. The Normans were the first to mutiny, and having secured the assistance of the prelates and barons, they obtained a decree of the states, purporting that no impost should in future be levied without their consent, and for the welfare of the state, unless in cases of absolute necessity.

Philip, having assembled his forces, marched from Saint-Quentin, and pitched his camp at Vironfosse, at a short distance from that of the English. He was attended by a splendid train of princes and nobles ; the chief of these were the kings of Bohemia, Scotland and Navarre ; the dukes of Normandy, Brittany, Burgundy, Lorraine and Athens ; the count of Alencon, brother to the king ; the count of Hainault (who had left the English army the instant they set foot on the French territories, and joined Philip, with five hundred lances.) The counts of Flanders, Bar, Forest, Foix, Armagnac, Auvergne, Longueville, Etampes, Vendome, Harcourt, Saint-Pol, Guynes, Boulogne, Rouffy, Dammartin, Valentinois, Auxerre, Sancerre, Geneva and Dreux.—These princes and noblemen were attended by a considerable number of knights and esquires. The army was formed in three divisions, each of which contained fifteen thousand men at arms, and twenty thousand infantry. A general engagement was daily expected to take place ; but the English monarch—whose forces did not amount to half the number of the French—was averse from engaging on such unequal terms ; and Philip being unwilling to run any unnecessary hazard, the two armies lay opposite to each other for several days without coming to action ; and after mutual defiances had passed between them, Edward at length retired into Flanders, where he sent his troops into winter quarters*.

Although the conduct of the count of Hainault was such as should have satisfied Philip, yet that monarch could never forget that he had once enlisted under the banners of his rival. Rejecting the suggestions of policy and the dictates of justice, he gave orders to his generals to ravage the territories of the count ; and his orders were obeyed with the most rigorous scrupulosity.—The count, therefore, who had hitherto evinced a disposition friendly to the French, was now compelled, in his own defence, to join the adverse army ;

* Froissard, l. i. c. 41, 42, 43. Heming. p. 307, 302. Walsing. p. 145.

he sent a defiance to the king by the Abbot Thibaut de St. Crepin, to which Philip replied, *that his nephew the count of Hainault was a madman*. The count revenged himself for the king's injustice, by the capture of Aubenton in Tierache, which he reduced to ashes; Mauberfontaine, Aubeceuil, Seigny, and several other towns and villages, experienced a similar fate, while the open country was ravaged, and the inhabitants subjected to every species of violence and outrage. The French fleet, in the mean time, cruised off the English ports, and intercepted all the vessels that sailed from thence; one large ship in particular, called the Saint-Christopher, laden with wool for the Low Countries, was deemed a valuable prize.

Philip, anxious to secure the Flemings in his interest, offered to give up certain sums, which, by the last treaty, they had engaged to pay him, and likewise to procure the restoration of several of their privileges*; but mindful of the injuries they had sustained, they were neither to be moved by promises nor threats. He then complained to the pope, who attacked the Flemings with all the thunders of the church; and the excommunication he pronounced against them was so positive and terrible, that no one dared to celebrate divine service. The Flemings, alarmed, had recourse to the king of England, who told them not to be frightened, for the first time he crossed the sea he would carry over with him plenty of English priests, who would say mass for them in spite of the pope.

D'Artevelle, at the head of a body of Flemings, having made an incursion into the Tournesis, the earls of Salisbury and Suffolk left Ypres, where they were in garrison, with a view to join him; but they were surprised on the road, and taken prisoners by a detachment from the garrison of Lille.

A. D. 1340.] The king being apprized of the time fixed for the departure of Edward, for a second invasion of his dominions, increased the fleet which was destined to intercept him to four hundred sail. He gave orders to his admirals to cruise off the Flemish ports, in order to oppose the debarcation of the English; adding, that if Edward should effect a landing through their mismanagement, their heads should pay for their neglect.

When the English monarch had completed his preparations, he sailed from Orwell, on the twenty-second of June, 1340, with a fleet of two hundred and forty sail. The next day he fell in with the French fleet, off Sluys, and immediately prepared for action. The manœuvre of the English to gain the wind of the enemy, and have the sun on their backs, was ascribed by the French to fear, a circumstance which shows their extreme ignorance of maritime affairs—but they soon changed their opinion when they saw them bearing down upon them on full sail. This action was the severest that had been fought since the commencement of the monarchy; though the French had a superiority of

* Froissard, Chron, de Fland.

numbers, the English had the advantage of being commanded by an intrepid monarch, who, in the disposition of his fleet, displayed all the skill and foresight of an experienced captain, and, ever foremost in the post of danger, evinced all the courage and magnanimity of a hero. Animated by the example of such a leader, the English fought with more than usual intrepidity—The French long opposed them with equal courage, and the action had continued for a considerable time, without any decisive advantage on either side; when the Flemings desecring the battle, hurried out of their harbours, and brought a reinforcement to the English*, which, coming unexpectedly, had a greater effect than could have been supposed from its power and numbers.

The French historian† acknowledge the loss of thirty thousand men, and ninety ships, in this action; but the English‡ make the ships that were taken amount to *two hundred and thirty*. But admitting the loss to be exaggerated on one side, and diminished on the other—which is probably the case—the victory was splendid and decisive. This misfortune was ascribed by the French to the misunderstanding which prevailed between the three admirals, Kyriel, Barbevere, and Bahuchet; the last of whom, having been killed in the action, was, by the orders of Edward, suspended on a mast, in revenge for the depredations he had committed on the English coasts||.

The day after the action, Edward entered the harbour of Sluys in triumph, and immediately repaired to Ghent, where an alliance offensive and defensive was concluded between the states of Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault§. Early in the month of July, the English monarch found himself at the head of an army of one hundred thousand men, which he led to the frontiers of France, while Robert of Artois, with forty thousand Flemings, laid siege to Saint Omer.—But the Flemish troops, chiefly consisting of tradesmen and manufacturers wholly unused to arms, were routed by a judicious sally of the garrison, under the command of the duke of Burgundy¶; four thousand of them were killed, and the rest were seized with such a panic, that, notwithstanding the exertions of their gallant commander, they could never more be brought to appear in the field. The attempts of Edward, though less inglorious, were not more successful. For the gratification of his Flemish allies, he had, the preceding year, engaged to lay siege to Tournay, then one of the most considerable cities in Flanders, containing above sixty thousand inhabitants, all well-affected to Philip; about the end of July, therefore, he fixed his camp before the place. The garrison was numerous and well-appointed; the governor, Godemar du Fay, a man of courage and experience; and the troops were farther animated by the exhortations and example of the count of Eu, constable of France, who, with many others of the French nobility, had thrown himself into the town, on

* Spicil. Cont. Nang. tom. iii. † Mezeray, Villaret. ‡ Avesbury, p. 56. Heming. p. 321. || Spicil. Cont. Nang. tom. iii. § Froissard. ¶ Spicil. Cont. Nang.

the first news of its being invested. The English monarch, by this means, experienced so vigorous a resistance, that he soon found the necessity of converting the siege into a blockade. Philip, in the mean time, having assembled his forces in Artois, marched from Arras, and encamped on the plains between Lille and Douay; he soon, however, changed his situation, and, in order to be nearer the enemy, passed the bridge of Bovines, and advanced within two leagues of Tournay.

The king of England, perpetually harassed by the French troops, and vexed at the small progress he had hitherto made, sent a herald to Philip, daring him to decide their claims to the crown of France, either by single combat, or by an action of an hundred against an hundred, or by a general engagement; but Philip replied, in a manner equally decent and dignified, that though it ill became a vassal to challenge his superior lord, yet he was willing to waive that consideration; and if Edward would, in order to render the terms equal, stake the kingdom of England against that of France, he would readily meet him hand to hand.

When things were in this situation, and the siege of Tournay had continued about two months, a powerful mediatrix appeared to prevent the farther effusion of blood. This was Jane, countess-dowager of Hainault, mother-in-law to Edward, and sister to Philip, who had retired to the monastery of Fontenelles; issuing from her sacred retreat, she employed all her pious efforts to allay those violent animosities which prevailed between persons so nearly related to her, and to each other. Philip was apprehensive that the city of Tournay could not hold out much longer, and was, moreover, actuated by that prudent policy which had hitherto led him to avoid an action; while Edward, on his side, began to dread a want of provisions, and to suspect the fidelity of his allies*; so that the proposals of the countess were favourably received by either monarch. A cessation of arms for three days was first agreed on; and a truce was afterward concluded, on the twenty-fifth of September, 1340, for nine months, by which both parties were left in possession of their present acquisitions, and all farther hostilities in the Low Countries, in Guienne, and even in Scotland, were immediately stopped. A negotiation was soon after opened at Arras, under the mediation of the pope's legates; but Edward insisting that his French dominions should be freed from all claims of feudal superiority, and Philip refusing to treat till that prince had laid aside the title and arms of king of France, and renounced all pretensions to the French crown, the negotiations were rendered fruitless, and all the commissioners could effect was a prolongation of the truce to the twenty-fifth of June, in the year 1341†.

After the departure of the English, the king hastened to reward the courage and fidelity of the citizens of Tournay, by the restoration of their ancient laws

* Le Gendre, tom. ii. p. 469.

† Rymer, t. v. p. 242—251—266. Froissard, l. i. c. 64.

and privileges, and by giving them the power of chusing their own governor. At the same time he found means to detach the emperor, Lewis of Bavaria, from the interest of England, by promising to reconcile him to the Holy See. That prince accordingly embraced the opportunity afforded him by the late truce, which had been concluded without his participation, to inform Edward that he now conceived himself to be released from all his engagements ; in consequence whereof, he recalled the title which he had formerly conferred on him, of ' Vicar of the Empire.'

A. D. 1341.] As the king of England laboured at this time under a complication of disappointments, both foreign and domestic ; harassed by his prelates and nobles at home ; forsaken by his allies on the continent ; perplexed at the failure of his first expedition against France ; and somewhat moved—it is to be hoped—with the injustice of his pretensions on that kingdom, we may fairly presume that he was inclined to relinquish a claim he was unable to enforce. But, unfortunately, the intervention of an unexpected occurrence, by furnishing him with an opportunity of attacking Philip in the centre of his dominions, with less expence, and a fairer prospect of success, revived his ambitious hopes, and gave his enterprising genius a full scope for exertion.

John the Third, duke of Brittany, who had succeeded his father Arthur the Second, perceiving the rapid decline of his health, beneath the weight of years, and the pressure of infirmities, and having no issue, was anxious, during his life, so to settle his dominions, as effectually to obviate the dangers attending a disputed succession. His younger brother, Guy, count of Penthievre, had left only one daughter, named Jane, whose title was thought, by John, preferable to that of the count of Montfort, who, being his brother by a second marriage, was male heir to the principality. This preference arose from the right of female succession, which was established in the duchy, and to which the family of John had been indebted for their elevation. But foreseeing that Montfort would be induced to assert his claim, unless that of his niece was secured by some powerful alliance, with the concurrence of the states of Brittany he married Jane to Charles of Blois, nephew to Philip, by his mother Margaret of Valois, sister to that monarch ; and all his vassals, even Montfort himself, swore fealty to Charles and his consort, as their future sovereigns. But on the death of John, who died at Caen, in Normandy, on his return from Flanders, (whither he had attended the king) to his own dominions, the count of Montfort asserted his own right to the succession, and declared his determination to enforce it. While Charles of Blois was attending the court of France, for the purpose of performing homage and receiving investiture, Montfort, either by force or intrigue, got possession of Nantes, where the treasures of the late duke were kept, and there caused himself to be declared heir to his brother's dominions, and lawful sovereign of Brittany. He then summoned all the deputies of the towns, and

the chief nobles of the duchy, to swear fealty and to do homage to him*. He repaired, in the mean time, to Limoges, where he found some considerable sums which had been deposited there by John. Returning to Nantes, on the day he had appointed for receiving the oaths of the nobility and commons, he had the mortification to find but a single nobleman, Henry de Leon, willing to acknowledge his authority†. Still undismayed, he pursued his plan with spirit and perseverance, and applying the treasures he had seized to the collection of troops, he soon reduced Brest, Rennes, Hennebonne, Auray, and several other towns of inferior note.

Sensible, however, that, notwithstanding the rapidity of his conquests, he should be unable to preserve his acquisitions against a majority of the Bretons, (combined with the whole power of Philip, who was preparing to support the claims of his nephew) without some potent ally, he cast his eyes on the king of England, who, from inclination and ability, he conceived, was most likely to second his designs. He therefore made a voyage to England, under pretence of soliciting the earldom of Richmond, which had devolved to him by his brother's death; and there offering to do homage to Edward, (as king of France,) for the duchy of Brittany, he proposed a strict alliance for the support of their mutual pretensions‡. Edward had indeed acknowledged, during the life of John, the validity of his niece's claim, by asking her in marriage for his brother; but, stricken with the advantages to be derived from a connection with Montfort, he sacrificed all other considerations to the prospect of present emolument; and thus a treaty was immediately concluded between the two princes, who, though their pleas with regard to the preference of male or female succession were directly opposite became intimately connected by the strongest of all human ties—the bond of mutual interest.

The same opposition of claims, however, prevailed between Philip and Charles of Blois; since the first was indebted for his elevation to the exclusion of the female line, while the pretensions of the last were founded on the right of women to succeed to the government. But this difference arose solely from the different customs which obtained in Brittany and France; in the latter, the Salic law was in force; in the former, the right of representation, or hereditary right was established. The king, having taken the advice of his peers on the subject, summoned Montfort to appear, in order that his claim to the duchy might be fully investigated. He was weak enough to obey the citation, and repair to Paris, attended by four hundred nobles of Brittany. The reception he experienced convinced him that his cause was prejudged; after a reproof from Philip for his late conduct, he received an order not to leave Paris before the expiration of a fortnight. Fully aware of the danger to which he

* Rymer, vol. ii.

† Froissard.

‡ Ibid. l. i. c. 65; D'Argentré Hist. de Bret. l. x. c. 42. l. xi. c. 1 to 6.; Avesbury, p. 97.

had imprudently exposed himself, by accepting an enemy for a judge, he resolved to embrace the first opportunity of effecting his escape. For some days he dissembled his fears with skill and success, and displayed a full confidence in the justice of his cause; then suddenly feigning an illness, he left Paris in the night, and Philip was ignorant of his evasion till he had reached Nantes.

The king enraged with Montfort for having eluded his vigilance, and escaped the snare which had been laid for him, rejected his application for a delay, and hastened the termination of the cause. On the seventh of September, 1341, the court of peers accordingly pronounced a verdict in favour of Charles of Blois; and John, duke of Normandy, the king's eldest son, immediately entered Brittany, for the purpose of carrying the sentence into execution. Accompanied by Charles, he marched to Angers, where the troops had assembled, and where he was met by the count of Alencon, brother to Philip; the count of Blois; the duke of Burgundy; the duke of Bourbon, with his brother, James of Bourbon; the count of Penthievre; Lewis d'Espagne; the count of Eu, constable of France; the viscount of Rohan, and many other noblemen. After the reduction of Chantoceaux, the army laid siege to Nantes, which, though able to make a vigorous resistance, was delivered, by the treachery of the citizens, into the hands of the duke of Normandy, who took Montfort prisoner, and sent him to Paris, where he was confined in the tower of the Louvre.

This important controversy now appeared to be decided, and the pretensions of Montfort to be wholly destroyed; but his affairs were unexpectedly retrieved by the magnanimity of his consort. Jane, countess of Montfort, and sister to the count of Flanders, one of the most illustrious heroines that ever stood forward in the list of fame, was roused by the unfortunate captivity of her husband, from the domestic occupations to which hitherto she had solely confined her attention; and, actuated by the fiercest ardour of conjugal affection, joined to a spirit of patriotism, that would have dignified the breast of a Cato, courageously undertook to supply the place of her lord, and to avert the misfortunes which threatened her family. When she received the fatal intelligence, instead of giving way to despair, the failing of weak minds, she instantly assembled the inhabitants of Rennes, where she then resided, and taking her infant son in her arms, conjured them to extend their protection to the last male heir of their ancient sovereigns. She expatiated on the resources that were still to be derived from the powerful assistance of England, and entreated them to make one daring effort against an usurper, who, being allied to France, would sacrifice their ancient liberty as the price of her assistance. In short, she harangued them in a strain at once so bold, and so pathetic, that it spoke to their hearts, inspired them with a portion of her own enthusiastic ardour, and impelled them to declare they would devote their lives and fortunes to the defence of her family. The countess having made a progress through all the other

fortresses of the duchy, reduced them to the adoption of similar sentiments; she visited all the garrisons, encouraged them by her exhortations; provided them with every necessary article of sustenance; and concerted the proper plans of defence. After she had secured the whole province against surprise, she shut herself up in Hennebonne, where she waited with impatience for the arrival of those succours which the English monarch had promised to send her. Meanwhile, she sent her son over to England, not only with a view to put him in a place of safety, but to engage Edward, by such a pledge, to embrace with zeal the interests of her family.

A. D. 1342.] The season for action had scarcely commenced, when Charles of Blois opened the campaign, in full expectation of shortly terminating a war, that was only supported by the feeble efforts of a woman. He first laid siege to Rennes, which the countess had entrusted to the care of William de Cadoudal; and as the expected reinforcement from England was delayed by contrary winds, the inhabitants revolted against the governor, and surrendered the town. Charles next proceeded to Hennebonne, where the brave countess commanded in person. This was the strongest fortress in Brittany, and the garrison, actuated by the presence and example of their incomparable heroine, prepared for a vigorous defence. The countess herself performed prodigies of valour; assaults the most violent and incessant she sustained without shrinking; clad in complete armour, she stood foremost on the breach, and repelled with irresistible courage all the attacks of Charles; with active vigilance she flew from post to post, and in the encouragement and support of her troops, she displayed a degree of skill that would have done honour to the most experienced general.

Perceiving one day that the besiegers, occupied in a general attack, had left their camp unguarded, she immediately sallied forth by a postern, with a body of five hundred horse; set fire to their tents, baggage, and magazines; and created so universal an alarm, that the enemy desisted from the assault, in order to cut off her communication with the town. Finding herself intercepted, she instantly took her resolution, and galloped off towards Auray, which place she reached in safety. Five days after, she returned with her little army, cut her way through a part of the camp, and entered the town in triumph.

At length, however, so many breaches were made in the walls by the reiterated attacks of the besiegers, that the place was deemed no longer tenable; and the bishop of Leon, in spite of the prayers and remonstrances of the countess, had determined to capitulate. He was accordingly engaged in a conference with Charles of Blois, for the purpose of fixing the terms, when the countess, who had ascended to the summit of a lofty tower, and was casting an eager look towards the sea, descried a fleet at a distance. She instantly ran into the street, and exclaimed, in a transport of joy—"Succours, succours! The English succours! No capitulation!" Nor was she mistaken; the English fleet, soon



*Jane Countess of Montfort in complete Armour
encouraging the Garrison of Hennebonne -*

Philad.^a Publish'd by Jas.^s Stewart & Co. Nov. 10th 1797

after, entered the harbour ; and the troops (which consisted of a body of heavy-armed cavalry, and six thousand archers, under the command of Sir Walter Manny, one of the bravest captains of England) being landed, immediately sallied from the city, and attacked the camp of the besiegers, which was once more reduced to ashes, after a great number of those who defended it had been put to the sword. On Sir Walter's return from this successful expedition, "The countess," says Froissard, went forth from the palace to meet him with a joyful countenance, and kissed him and his companions two or three times, like a "valiant lady."

Lewis d'Espagne, who had been left by Charles of Blois to continue the siege of Hennebonne, while he himself went to invest Auray*, deeming it imprudent, after the check he had received, to remain any longer before a place, which the arrival of the English had rendered impregnable, decamped in a few days, and took possession of Dinant and Guerande. With some vessels which he found in those parts he committed depredations on the coast of Brittany, and, landing a part of his troops, laid waste the environs of Quimperlay. But, being pursued by Sir Walter Manny, the soldiers whom he had left to guard the vessels were massacred, and his ships destroyed ; and the English general then landing his troops, met with Lewis d'Espagne returning to the sea-side, when a desperate action ensued, in which the French were completely defeated ; Lewis, however, by an uncommon exertion of valour, made his way through the enemy, and, seizing a small vessel that lay close to the shore, effected his escape in sight of the English fleet, which in vain attempted to pursue him.

But these gallant achievements, and partial victories, rather tended to prolong than to terminate the war, which now raged, with extended fury, throughout the duchy of Brittany. The countess of Montfort applied to the English monarch for farther assistance, which Edward promised to send her as soon as the situation of his affairs would permit him ; in the mean time he advised her to procure, if possible, a cessation of arms. The British nobles, on either side, willingly acceded to the proposal she caused to be made for that purpose, and Charles of Blois was constrained to accept it.

The countess took advantage of the truce to repair to London ; she could not have chosen a more propitious moment for her voyage, since she arrived at the very time when the truce which had been concluded between the kings of France and England was on the point of expiring†. Edward, burning with impatience to renew the war, immediately granted her a considerable reinforcement under Robert of Artois, which embarked on board a fleet of forty-five ships. In their voyage they were met by a French fleet off Guernsey, commanded by Lewis d'Espagne. An engagement ensued, in which the countess displayed her usual courage, charging the enemy sword in hand ; but the hostile

* Argentre.

† Froissard ; Argentre.

fleets, after a sharp action, which continued till night, were separated by a storm which drove the French into the Bay of Biscay, and carried the English into the river at Hennebonne.

Robert of Artois, as soon as he had landed his troops, formed the siege of Vannes, which was taken by assault, and the inhabitants, as well as the garrison, were put to the sword. The four noblemen, to whom the defence of the town had been entrusted, escaped the general massacre, and, in order to wipe out the disgrace they had incurred, they collected a body of twelve thousand men, and, returning to Vannes, attacked the place with such vigour and impetuosity, that it was carried on the second assault. Robert of Artois received a wound in the attack, of which he soon after died at sea, on his return to London*, “esteemed,” says le Gendret, “by the English, but detested by the French.”

Edward now undertook in person the defence of the countess of Montfort; and, having failed from Sandwich on the fifth of October, landed at Morbrian, near Vannes, with an army of twelve thousand men. With this force, inconsiderable when compared with that of the French, he imprudently commenced four important sieges† at the same time; that of Vannes, of Nantes, of Rennes, and of Dinant. By this division of his troops, all his efforts were feeble, and, consequently, unsuccessful; and, by that means, he afforded time to his enemies for making every necessary preparation against him. Charles of Blois had shut himself up in Nantes to wait the arrival of the duke of Normandy, who soon entered Brittany, with an army of forty thousand men. When Edward was apprised of his approach, he recalled his troops from Dinant, which they had taken and sacked, and collected his whole army in the vicinity of Vannes. Thither the duke of Normandy marched to attack him; but, finding that he had strongly entrenched his camp, he contented himself with following his example, and the two armies remained in that situation till winter. Edward was now hemmed in, as it were, by a strong garrison on one side, and a superior army on the other; that army too was well supplied with provisions, while he himself was obliged to draw a precarious subsistence from England; thus circumstanced, he willingly acceded to the mediation of the pope’s legates, the cardinals of Palestine and Frescati, who interposed their good offices, and effected a truce of three years between the two monarchs and their respective allies.

By the articles of this truce, a mutual release of prisoners was to take place; and all the towns and fortresses in Brittany, and elsewhere, were to remain in the hands of their present possessors, except the city of Vannes, which was to be sequestered, during the truce, in the hands of the legates, who were afterwards to deliver it to whomsoever they pleased||. The kings of France and

* Froissard, l. i. c. 94.

† Tom. ii. p. 471.

‡ Argentre: Froissard: Villaret.

|| Rymer, vol. v. p. 346, 352: Avesbury, p. 100: Walsing. p. 159.

England, with several of their chief nobility, took the most solemn oaths that the treaty should be rigidly observed.

A. D. 1343, 1344.] The solemnity of the engagement, however, proved insufficient to enforce its observance ; and but a short time elapsed, before frequent violations of the truce gave rise to mutual complaints. Oliver de Clifton, attached to the party of Charles of Blois, had been taken by the English at the siege of Vannes, and conducted to Hennebonne, where he was exchanged against an English nobleman. The preference which Edward shewed on this occasion to Oliver, over Henry of Leon, who was equally desirous of being exchanged, created some doubts of his fidelity. He was accordingly apprehended in Brittany, by an order from the king, and conveyed to Paris, where, in a few days, he suffered decapitation, without any previous trial, or even formal accusation. At the same time, ten other noblemen of Brittany were seized ; viz. Geoffrey de Malestroit ; and his son John ; John de Montauban ; Alain de Quedillac ; Denis Dupleffis ; William de Brieux, and two of his brothers ; John Mallard and John de Senedavy. These were all executed at Paris, in the same manner as Oliver de Clifton, and their heads sent into Brittany. Henry de Malestroit, brother to Geoffrey, was also apprehended ; but, being a clerk, he was delivered over to the ecclesiastical judge, who, obsequious to the king, condemned him to perpetual imprisonment. Geoffrey of Harcourt, brother to the count of that name, saved his life by a timely evasion ; but three Norman knights—William Bacon, the Lord of Roche-Tesson, and Richard de Terfy, being accused of having favoured his escape, were beheaded, and their heads were sent to Saint-Lo in the Cotentin. These sanguinary executions, for unknown crimes, diffused terror and consternation throughout the kingdom. The nobility could not behold, without indignation, so many of their equals sentenced to die, on vague accusations of treason, unsupported by proof, and without the observance of those previous forms for ascertaining their guilt, which the laws required to be observed towards the lowest and most abandoned criminals. The people were loud in their censures ; and the cruelty and injustice of Philip became the subject of universal reprobation, as just as it was general. From this time, a visible change in his temper was remarked ; he appeared restless, gloomy, and suspicious ; and, believing himself to be surrounded by traitors, the smallest circumstance excited his mistrust, and served as a pretext for exertions of cruelty and revenge.

Edward complained of this severity to the nobles of Brittany, as an infraction of the truce ; but, as they were professedly attached to the party of Charles of Blois, their execution, however unjust, could not possibly be considered as a violation of the treaty. As the English monarch, however, was inclined to renew the war, he was not very scrupulous in his selection of circumstances for the justification of his conduct. He threatened to retaliate the cruelty exerted on Oliver de Clifton, on Henry de Leon, who was his prisoner ; but, being dis-

suaded from following so bad an example, he contented himself with exacting from that nobleman a promise to repair to the court of France, and tell Philip, that, as he had violated the truce by the execution of the nobles of Brittany, he, from that day, considered him as his enemy, and would treat him as such. On this condition, which he faithfully fulfilled, three-fourths of his ransom were remitted, and he was restored to liberty on paying only ten thousand livres.

A. D. 1345.] When the king of England had thus published his reasons for renewing the war before the expiration of the truce, he dispatched a small force into Brittany, under the conduct of Sir Thomas Dagworth, to assist and encourage the gallant countess of Montfort, and her adherents; and then sent an army into Guienne, under the command of his uncle, the earl of Derby, for the defence of that province. The French governor, the count of Lisle-Jourdain, immediately assembled his troops; and, being joined by the counts of Comminges, Perigord, Carmain, Villemur, Valentinois, Mirande, Duras, and la Borde; the viscount of Chatillon; the lords of Pincornet, Chateau-Neuf, and D'Estain, and by many others of the nobility, he shut himself up in Bergerac, a strong post on the Dordogne, in order to oppose the passage of the English, who intended to penetrate into the Perigord. But, after two attacks, conducted with equal skill and spirit, and doubting his ability to sustain a third, the governor thought proper to decamp, and leave the inhabitants at liberty to capitulate. This advantage was followed by the entire reduction of the Perigord.

The count de Lisle, who had retired to Reole, having collected an army of ten or twelve thousand men, now invested Auberoche, which had fallen into the hands of the English, and prosecuted the siege with such vigour that the garrison was reduced to the last extremity. Derby, apprised of their distress, marched privately from Bourdeaux, with only a thousand cavalry; and, his approach being concealed by a wood, he took the French by surprise, attacked them with irresistible ardour, and obtained a most complete victory. Great numbers perished in the action; and two hundred knights and ten counts, in which number was the count of Lisle, were taken prisoners. The lord of Duras, and Lewis of Poitiers, were among the killed. After this victory the earl of Derby reduced all the places in Guienne which had been taken by the French, with the single exception of Blaye, which he invested during ten weeks, when the courageous defence of Guichard de Langle and William de Rochechouart, who commanded in the town, compelled him to raise the siege. The governor of Aiguillon, a fortress which, in those times, was deemed impregnable, surrendered before he was attacked; but he soon met with the punishment that was due to his perfidy; for, when he arrived at Toulouse, he was seized and hanged by the inhabitants.

While the English obtained these advantages in Guienne, the war was carried on in Brittany with varied success. In compliance with the articles of the truce concluded between the kings of France and England, and their respective

allies, the count of Montfort had been released from confinement, but on condition that he should not return to Brittany till the expiration of the truce. Imagining, probably, that Philip had no right to impose this restriction, he recently withdrew from Paris, and repaired to the English court, where, having done homage to Edward for his duchy, on the twentieth of May, 1345, he returned to the continent in the following month with a supply of English troops, which enabled him to open the campaign*. Charles of Blois, in the mean time, took the town of Quimpercourtin, and put the garrison and the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex, to the sword. Among the heaps of dead and dying persons, an infant was found in the arms of its murdered mother, with its lips pressed to the breast in search of that nourishment which was now mingled with blood. This horrid sight disarmed the ferocity of the conqueror, who immediately put a stop to the slaughter; but the cruelty practised on this occasion, though said to be foreign from the soul of Charles, who is represented as an humane and generous prince, did an irreparable injury to his cause. Montfort hastened to retake Quimpercourtin, but was repulsed with loss; he revenged, however, this affront by the reduction of Dinant; soon after which he was seized with a fever at Hennebonne, that put an end to his existence on the twentieth of September. He left one son, named John, whose interests the king of England undertook to support.

A. D. 1346.] The little opposition which the English had hitherto experienced was owing to the exhausted state of the French treasury; but Philip, having at length remedied this inconvenience, by the imposition of an onerous duty upon salt, he levied an army of one hundred thousand men†, which, marching into Guienne, under the conduct of the duke of Normandy, who was attended by the duke of Burgundy, and many of the chief nobility, threatened the total reduction of that province. The English general, unable to oppose a force so superior in the open field, was constrained to act merely on the defensive; so that the duke marched unmolested to Angoulême, which he immediately invested. This place was commanded by John, lord Norwich, who, after a vigorous defence, finding it impossible to save the town, had recourse to a stratagem, by which he prevented the garrison from becoming prisoners of war. He demanded a parley with the duke of Normandy, who, observing that he supposed it was his intention to capitulate, "By no means," replied Norwich; "but as to-morrow will be the feast of the Virgin, for whom I know, Sir, that you as well as myself entertain a proper degree of respect, I desire a cessation of arms for that day." The duke, having signified his assent to the proposal, the governor ordered his troops to prepare their baggage, and, on the next day, marched out of the town, and advanced towards the French camp. The besiegers seeing the English approach, instantly flew to arms, when Norwich sent

* Hist. Geneal. de la France, vol. viii. p. 452.

† Froissard, t. i. c. 189.

a messenger to the duke to remind him of his engagement. The duke, who on no occasion could be prevailed on to break his word, exclaimed, "The governor, I see, has outwitted me; so we must e'en content ourselves with obtaining possession of the town;" and the English were allowed to pass through the camp unmolested.

The duke of Normandy now invested Aiguillon, which, as well from its situation at the conflux of the rivers Garonne and Lot, as from the new fortifications which the English had recently thrown up, was in a condition to make a long resistance. The attack was conducted with determined vigour; each day four regular assaults were given; and the duke of Normandy, having taken a rash oath, not to decamp till he had taken possession of the place, spared no pains to reduce it. Four different bridges were constructed over the Garonne, and immediately destroyed by the active courage of Sir Walter Manny, who, with the earl of Pembroke, commanded the forces in the town. Every effort was exerted that ingenuity could devise, or valour execute, but in vain; the English were constantly under arms, and, although pressed on every side, defended themselves with such skill and resolution, that the duke at length despairing to succeed by force, converted the siege into a blockade, with a view to reduce them by famine.

Edward apprised of his intention, and aware of the importance of preserving Aiguillon, hastened his preparations; and, having collected a powerful army, resolved to repair in person to the relief of Guienne. He accordingly embarked his troops on board a fleet of one thousand sail; but, being detained more than a month at Portsmouth by contrary winds, he was, during that time, prevailed upon to change his plan of operations, and direct his course to Normandy, where the French were unprepared to receive him. This plan had been suggested to him by Geoffrey of Harcourt; who, compelled by the tyranny of Philip to abandon his country, had repaired to the English court, where he was favourably received by Edward. In compliance with the advice of this nobleman, the king of England sailed from St. Helen's, on the tenth of July, 1346, accompanied by his eldest son, the prince of Wales, who had now attained his sixteenth year, and by all the principal nobility of the kingdom.—After a voyage of two days, he landed at La Hogue, with his army, which consisted of four thousand men at arms, ten thousand archers, and eighteen thousand infantry.

The descent of the English spread terror and dismay throughout the fertile province of Normandy, which had long been exempted from the terrors of war. The open country was ravaged, and the towns, being ill fortified, and worse defended, were speedily reduced. Harfleur was pillaged without resistance; while Cherbourg, Montebourg, Valognes, Carentan, and Saint-Lo, were all reduced to ashes. The news of this sudden and unexpected invasion was received with astonishment by the court of France. The king, however,

flattered himself that the town of Caen might hold out, and, by checking the progress of the invaders, give him time to assemble his forces. He therefore sent the count D'Eu, constable of France, and the count of Tancarville, with what arms and men he could collect, to reinforce the garrison. One side of the town was defended by a castle, guarded by three hundred Genoese. The inhabitants, at first, displayed so much resolution that it was resolved to give up the original design of abandoning the suburbs, and confining themselves to the defence of the city; but, when they were attacked by the enemy, their courage soon forsook them; they fled at the first onset, and the English, following them into the town, a dreadful massacre ensued. The pillage is said, by Froissard, to have continued three days; the jewels, plate, and most valuable effects were reserved for Edward, and the rest were bestowed upon the army. The whole was embarked on board the fleet, and sent over to England, together with three hundred of the most wealthy citizens of Caen, whom the king intended to detain till they should be able to pay their ransom.

From Caen, Edward advanced to Evreux, but that town being well fortified he marched on to Louviers, which he took and burned. When he came to Rouen he found that Philip had been there before him, and had broken down the bridge over the Seine, wherefore he changed his course, and pursued his march along the banks of that river towards Paris, laying waste the whole country, and destroying every town and village that lay in his way. In this destructive progress Pont-de-l'Arche, Vernon, Mante, and Meulan were reduced to ashes. The king, in the mean time, left Rouen, and, marching along the opposite side of the river, arrived at Paris just as Edward reached Poissy. A detachment of the English army penetrated into the Chartrain; and, on their return, pillaged and burnt Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Nanterre, Reuil, Saint-Cloud, Neuilly, and the tower of Montjoye, which had been recently repaired.

Edward intended to pass the river at Poissy, but he found Philip, who had collected his forces, prepared to oppose his passage; and the bridge at that place, as well as all other bridges over the Seine, broken down. He extricated himself, however, from this perilous situation, by making a feint march towards Paris, and then hastily returning, when he repaired the bridge with incredible celerity, having secretly provided materials for that purpose; and, passing over his army, advanced by quick marches towards Flanders. His vanguard, commanded by Geoffrey of Harcourt, fell in with the commons of Picardy, who were going to join their sovereign, and defeated them with great slaughter. After this victory, the English entered the Beauvoisis, where they committed the same ravages as had hitherto marked their progress. It appears strange, says M. de Boulainvilliers*, that Edward, who had formed a plan for

* Boulainvil, Hist. de France.

the conquest of France, should have contented himself with laying waste the country; in fact, a nation is sooner subdued by acts of moderation, than by exertions of cruelty; but such was, at this period, the wretched condition of the common people in most parts of Europe, and such the barbarous mode of waging war. The principal reward of the troops consisted in the plunder they were able to make; and the leaders themselves could seldom restrain the disorders which were authorised by custom. Nor was the respect due to religion sufficiently powerful to preserve the churches from the licentious rage of a victorious soldiery. The rich and magnificent abbey of Saint Lucian, at Beauvais, founded by Childeric—one of the most ancient monuments of kingly piety then extant in France—was first pillaged, and then reduced to ashes. Edward, on this occasion, ordered one of his soldiers to be hanged, for having presumed to transgress the express prohibition he had issued not to commit the smallest outrage on the sanctuaries of religion*.

Philip was greatly enraged when he found Edward had escaped; and he hastened to pursue him with the utmost ardour and dispatch. The English monarch, when he arrived on the banks of the Somme, was reduced to the same difficulty from which he had so lately disengaged himself: all the bridges on that river were either broken down, or rendered impassable by the strength of the detachments stationed to protect them: in vain did he attempt to force those of Pequignay and Remy; he was repulsed at both places, and his situation daily became more critical. The French army, advancing with rapidity, he found himself on the point of being compelled to engage on unequal terms, with troops harassed by forced marches, encumbered with booty, and greatly inferior in numbers. In this extremity he offered a reward of one hundred nobles to any one who should conduct him to a ford. A French peasant, named Gobin Agace allured by the prospect of gain, was seduced on this occasion into an act of treachery; and informed Edward of a passage, between Abbeville and the sea, sufficiently broad to admit twelve men a-breast, where, at low water, he might pass the river in safety. Preceded by his guide, the king of England continued his march during the whole night, and, on the morning of the twenty-fourth of August, arrived at the ford of Blanchetaque, the only place in Ponthieu where the Somme was fordable. His design, however, being anticipated by Godemar du Fay, that nobleman appeared on the opposite banks, with a strong detachment of twelve thousand men, ready to dispute his passage. But the necessity of the case did not admit of deliberation; Edward, therefore, jumped into the river, sword in hand, drove the enemy from their station, and pursued them to a distance on the plain; Froissard says, that Godemar du Fay displayed, on this occasion, his usual courage, and that his repulse was solely owing to the cowardice of his troops, who were chiefly undisciplined militia, and fled at the first

* Villaret,

onset: the continuator of Nangis, a contemporary writer (but frequently partial and incorrect) asserts, on the other hand, that he did not make the smallest resistance, but drew off his troops the moment the English approached.

The van-guard of the French army arrived at the ford when the rear-guard of the English were passing, and some of the last ranks that still remained on the side were taken prisoners. When Philip came up with the rest of his troops, and saw the enemy on the opposite banks of the Somme, hurried on by anger and the thirst of revenge, he would fain have passed the rising stream; but the return of the tide had rendered it impossible; he was therefore obliged to take his route over the bridge at Abbeville, by which some time was lost. Edward, after passing the night at Noyelle, had, in the morning, proceeded to the small village of Crecy; though he had hitherto surmounted every obstacle to his progress, he was fully aware that the superiority of the French, particularly in cavalry, must materially incommode his march over the open plains of Picardy, which would afford him but little opportunity for the exertion of military skill; he therefore prudently resolved to wait for them in his present situation, the local advantages of which might, in some measure, compensate for his inferior numbers. He chose his ground with great judgment, on a gentle ascent, which commanded the village, where he drew up his army in three lines. The first, consisting of eight hundred men at arms, four thousand archers, and six thousand Welsh infantry, was commanded by the young prince of Wales, assisted by the earls of Warwick and Oxford, by Geoffrey of Harcourt, and by the lords Stafford, Chandos, Holland, Clifford, and the flower of the English nobility. The earls of Aurundel and Northampton, with the lords of Willoughby, Roos, Bassett, and Sir Lewis Tufton, led on the second line, which was composed of eight hundred men at arms, four thousand halbardiers, and two thousand archers. The third line, which was meant as a corps de reserve, either to facilitate a retreat, in case of necessity, to supply the other two lines with occasional succours, or to second any advantage they might gain over the enemy, was commanded by the king in person, attended by the lords Mowbray and Mortimer, Sir Thomas Dagworth, Sir Hugh Hastings, and others of the nobility. This line was ranged on the summit of the hill; and consisted of seven hundred men at arms, five thousand three hundred bill-men, and six thousand archers. Edward had taken the precaution to secure his flanks by trenches; while his rear was defended by a wood, in which he placed his baggage; and he surrounded the whole by an intrenchment. When the army was drawn up in this excellent order, the king of England rode along the ranks; and, by his cheerful countenance and animating exhortations, inspired his troops with a degree of courage and confidence not inferior to his own. He then ordered his cavalry to dismount, and his whole army to repose themselves a while on the grass, and refresh themselves by food, that they might be prepared to receive the enemy with more spirit and vigour.

The king, eager to overtake the English, marched from Abbeville with a prodigious army, at break of day, on the twenty-fifth of August, 1346*. When he had advanced about three leagues on his road to Crecy, he sent four knights to reconnoitre the situation of the enemy; on their return, fearful that the result of their observations might prove displeasing to Philip, they forbore to speak—till one of them, an experienced officer in the service of the Bohemian monarch, being pressed by the king, thus addressed him: “Sire, I will speak, under the correction of my companions, since such is your pleasure. We have obeyed your orders, and observed the situation of your enemies; know, they are drawn up in three lines, and are waiting your approach. Wherefore, it is my advice, with submission to those who are able to give better council, that your troops remain where they are, in the fields, till to-morrow; for, by the time your rear shall have reached this spot, and the whole be drawn up in order of battle, it will be late; besides, your men will be tired, while the enemy will be fresh and vigorous. To-morrow morning you may draw up your troops in proper order; and, in the mean time, you will have leisure to consider on what side it will be best to attack the English, for, be assured, they will wait for you.”

The king appeared convinced of the propriety of this advice, and immediately told the knights to order the van of his army to halt; they accordingly galloped on, calling out to the standard-bearers—“Stop; in the name of God, and of Saint Denis, stop!” Those who were most forward halted; but the corps that followed, under the command of the count of Alencon, obstinately refusing to discontinue their march, they soon resumed their progress. In vain did the king send reiterated orders to halt, they were all disregarded, and the army arrived at Crecy in such confusion, that it was impossible to reduce them into proper order. Even Philip himself, as soon as he perceived the enemy, hurried on by resentment at the insults he had sustained, forgot every thing but his oath not to let Edward escape without bringing him to action. He ordered his van, consisting of fifteen thousand Genoese cross-bowmen, under the command of Antonio Doria and Carolo Grimaldi, to begin the attack; but a shower of rain, which had fallen a little before the engagement, having moistened and relaxed the strings of their bows, their arrows fell short of their mark; whereas those of the English, who kept their bows in cases, did infinite execution among the Genoese, and soon threw them into disorder. The king, seeing them fall back, ordered his men at arms to ride over them, exclaiming, “Kill that rabble, for they stop our way without any reason.” The cavalry, in attempting to obey his orders, broke their own ranks; whereas, had they opened a passage for them, all confusion would have been avoided, and they might easily have rallied behind the horse. But, notwithstanding this first check, the count of Alencon advanced

* Villani; Memorial, Humb. Pilat. Ann. 1346.

with great fury against the body conducted by the prince of Wales, who received him with astonishing intrepidity ; at the same time, an impetuous attack was made by a chosen body of French and German knights on the English archers, who were driven from the ranks, so that the prince was in imminent danger of being surrounded. In this emergency, the earl of Warwick dispatched a messenger to the king of England, entreating him to advance to the relief of his son. Edward had fixed his station in a windmill, on the summit of the hill, from whence he surveyed in tranquillity the scene of action. When the messenger accosted him, he enquired, whether the prince was slain, wounded, or unhorsed ; and, being answered in the negative—"Return," said he, "to my son ; tell him I am confident he will prove himself worthy the honour of knighthood, which I so lately conferred on him ; and that I am determined the glory of this victory shall be wholly reserved for him and his brave companions." This answer being reported to the prince and his followers, it inspired them with fresh courage, and impelled them to more vigorous exertions. The archers recovered their station ; the earls of Arundel and Northampton had advanced to support the prince, and enabled him to repel the attacks of the count of Alencon, though strengthened by continual supplies. The conflict was long sustained, with equal resolution, on both sides ; but, at length, many of the principal nobility being slain, the two first lines of the French army were thrown into confusion, and driven from the field. Philip, who evinced the most signal courage on this important day, undismayed by the slaughter of his troops, and the loss of his best officers, advanced with the line under his own command, and made an impetuous attack on the English ; but, stricken with a panic, his men fled with precipitation, and left him exposed to the enemy, with no other support than that of five knights, and sixty followers ; still, however, he refused to fly ; his horse being killed under him, the count of Hainault assisted him to mount another ; though wounded in two places, all exhortations to retreat were disregarded ; till, at length, the count, finding him deaf to solicitation and remonstrance, seized his horse's bridle, and literally forced him off the field.

Such was the fate of this disastrous day, in which the French signalised their courage at the expence of order and discipline. To the blind fury of the leaders, and the want of subordination in the troops, this defeat must be chiefly ascribed ; though the skill and valour of their foes must not be forgotten ; the prince of Wales particularly distinguished himself ; stimulated by every incitement that could animate the generous bosom of youth ; he signalised his first feats of arms in a manner that would have done honour to the most experienced veteran ; active and intrepid, he was foremost in every danger, and, by his own conduct, rendered his troops invincible. The old king of Bohemia, blind through age, accompanied Philip ; and, being determined to set a worthy example to his followers, he ordered the reins of his bridle to be tied on each side to the horses

of two of his most valiant knights. His body, with those of his attendants, was found among the slain, with their horses standing by them, still tied together.

The victorious Edward, on the morning after the battle, detached a strong party in pursuit of the fugitives; who, meeting with a body of French troops from Rouen and Beauvais, on their march to join the main army, defeated them at the first onset. The archbishop of Rouen, and the grand prior of France, advancing with a fresh reinforcement, were likewise defeated and slain, with two thousand of their followers.

The numbers that fell in the memorable *battle of Crecy*, and on the subsequent day, are variously represented; but it appears, by the most moderate computation, that the French lost twelve hundred knights, eighty bannerets, and thirty thousand men; many of the principal nobility served to swell the list of the slain—viz. the counts of Alençon, Blois, Sancerre, Flanders, Auxerre, Vaudemont, Aumale, and Saint Poll; the dukes of Lorraine and Bourbon; and the two noble Genoese, Grimaldi and Doria. The standard of the Bohemian monarch, who acted as a volunteer, was taken and carried to the prince of Wales; on it was his crest, three ostrich feathers, with the motto, in German—"Ich Dien—I serve," which the prince of Wales and his successors adopted in memorial of the victory. It has been asserted that artillery was first employed on this occasion; that the English, in the heat of the action, made use of six pieces of cannon, and that the terror they inspired determined the victory in their favour*. But this invention was not unknown to the French†; since it appears from an ancient register of the chamber of accounts, for the year 1338—eight years before the battle of Crecy—that *Bartholomew de Drach, treasurer for the wars, gives an account of the money advanced to Henry de Famechon for powder and other materials necessary for the cannon employed in the siege of Puy Guillaume.*

The king, in despair at seeing the victory snatched from him, as it were, by the disobedience and insubordination of his own troops, hastened to the castle of Broye, where he arrived about the middle of the night. When the governor asked who was at the gate, "Open it," said Philip, "it is the fortune of France." After resting himself a few minutes, he proceeded to Amiens. In the first transport of anger, he ordered Godemar du Fay to be hanged; but the count of Hainault moderated his rage, by representing to him that the affection of his subjects was already too much estranged, and that a misplaced exertion of rigour would only tend to irritate them more. "It is not to be wondered at," said that nobleman, "that Godemar du Fay should have been unable to resist the power of the English monarch, when the united forces of France have in vain attempted to subdue him." After the battle, the king wished to collect

* Villani, l. xii, c. 65.

† Du Cange Gloss, ad. verb. Bombarde.

his scattered troops, and try the fate of a second action; but, such was the terror that diffused itself throughout the army, that his commands were disregarded, the men refused to join their standards, and hastened to their respective homes*. He was therefore constrained to return to Paris, and to defer his revenge till a future opportunity.

Edward, in the mean time, resolved to profit by his victory; and, as he had long been anxious to secure a commodious post, by which he might, at all times, have an entrance into France, without being obliged to the Flemings†, he marched through the Boulonnois, to Calais, which he invested on the eighth of September. The governor of that city was John de Vienne, a valorous knight of Burgundy, who was determined to discharge the trust reposed in him with vigour and fidelity; to Edward's citation to surrender the place to him, as king of France, he bravely answered, that he acknowledged no other king of France than Philip, in whose service he was resolved to live and die. The English monarch, sensible of the impracticability of reducing the place by assault, contented himself with blockading it in the most effectual manner. He chose a secure station for his camp, which he surrounded with strong entrenchments; raised huts, which he covered with straw or broom, to preserve his soldiers from the inclemency of the weather; and stationed a fleet at the mouth of the harbour, to prevent the introduction of provisions into the town. The governor, perceiving his intentions, dismissed all the useless mouths from the garrison, to the number of seventeen hundred; and Edward had the generosity to allow these unhappy people to pass through his camp; and even provided them with money to defray the expences of their journey.

The king now recalled the duke of Normandy, who was still engaged in the siege of Aiguillon, which he was obliged to raise in obedience to the order of his father, notwithstanding the oath he had taken not to quit the place till he had reduced the town. Edward, at the siege of Vannes, had made a similar vow, thus laying himself under the necessity of surmounting every obstacle, as if the will of man, with the aid of an oath, could rise superior to all difficulties, and direct the course of events. The earl of Derby, by the duke's retreat, being left master of the field, soon recovered all the towns that had been taken in Guienne; he even pushed his conquests as far as Poitiers, which he reduced, and, passing a fortnight in the place, exacted from the inhabitants an oath of allegiance to the king of England.

While the kingdom was thus harassed at either extremity, the war was carried on with equal ardour in the distracted province of Brittany. The countess of Montfort, assisted by the English, having reduced the fortress of Roche-derien, Charles of Blois repaired thither with a considerable army and invested the place; but the countess, reinforced by a body of troops under Sir Thomas Dag-

* Chron de Fland,

† Spicil. Cont. Nang. Froissard,

worth, attacked him during the night in his entrenchments. A bloody conflict ensued, in which Charles himself was dangerously wounded and taken prisoner. Most of the nobility who accompanied him were killed. The viscount of Rohan; the lord of Laval, Chateaubriand, Rays, Tournemine, Rieux, Boisboissel, Machecou, Rosternen, Loheat, and La Jaille, were found among the slain.

France exhausted in men and money; the people groaning beneath the weight of imposts; the nobility discouraged by the fatal defeat at Crecy; the king a prey to suspicion and chagrin—such was the melancholy picture now exhibited by this late flourishing kingdom. Every expedient which the necessity of affairs required, and the misery of the inhabitants would admit of, was adopted; new duties were laid upon salt, new taxes upon every species of merchandise, new imposts upon the citizens; but of all these resources, that which excited the greatest murmurs among the people, and proved least serviceable to the state, was the adulteration of the coin, and the augmentation of its current value. New money was coined, in weight and purity inferior to the old, which was now called in. The variations in the coin during this reign were infinite: the people, who at first were not aware of the disadvantage arising from thence, preferred this mode of supplying the wants of the state, to that of levying imposts, which they more immediately felt. They were soon, however, made sensible of their error; each augmentation of the current value of money produced a considerable increase in the price of provisions, which never fell in proportion when the value was diminished; new ordinances continually occasioned fresh confusion; and those changes became so frequent that people were uncertain, whether the money of the day would be current on the morrow. The evil was still heightened by the adulteration of the metals; those who had any of the ancient coin were compelled to carry it to the clerks appointed to cut it through the middle; and these clerks exacted for their trouble a duty upon each piece of money, which the proprietor was afterwards obliged to change for base coin, with an enormous loss upon its intrinsic value*. In the course of this reign, the price of the mark of silver experienced more than fifty variations, from fifty-five sols to thirteen livres ten sous. The price of a mark of gold varied, in proportion, from forty livres to one hundred and thirty-eight livres. At one time the evil had arisen to such an alarming height, that the value of money became entirely arbitrary; and a piece of gold passed, in trade, for a half, sometimes a quarter, (or even less) of the value affixed to it by the king's edict. Besides the profits which Philip derived from this destructive resource, he levied a tenth on all ecclesiastical property†; but, the more money was thus extorted from the people, the poorer the king became; it was all absorbed by the nobles and military men, who spent, in frivolous gratifications, and in games of chance, those sums which they had received for the service of the king, and the defence of the state.

* Ducauge ad verb. *Moneta et Marca*.

† *Chamb. des Comp. Memor. f. 17 and 18.*

Philip now attempted to detach the Flemings from their alliance with Edward. Lewis, count of Flanders, who was killed at the battle of Crecy, left only one son, in his sixteenth year*. Young Lewis had been brought up in the court of France, and his attachment and fidelity might the more safely be relied on, as he had conceived a violent hatred against the English, whom he considered as the assassins of his father. Edward wished to make him his son-in-law; and, having communicated his wishes to the Flemish deputies, his proposals were accepted with joy—but the count's consent was necessary, and he then resided at the French court. The duke of Brabant, who had the same views with Edward, secretly traversed the negotiations of that monarch, and Philip was engaged to favour his designs, by a promise from the duke to gain over the Flemings to his interest. The young count, at the requisition of his subjects, was sent into Flanders; and his marriage with the daughter of the duke of Brabant was concluded; when the king of England, apprised of a treaty so prejudicial to his own interest, exerted himself with such success that the Flemings once more changed their resolution. They now declared that they would never suffer their prince to marry the duke's daughter, and gave Lewis to understand that he must consent to espouse the daughter of the English monarch. The count appearing indisposed to comply with their wishes, they seized and confined him; reduced to this extremity he found the necessity of dissimulation; expressed his determination to accede to their proposals, and repaired to Bergues-Saint-Winoc, where the king of England (who was then before Calais) went to meet him, with his daughter, the princess Isabella†. The young couple were betrothed to each other, to the great content of Edward, and the apparent satisfaction of the future bridegroom; but Lewis soon took an opportunity to elude the vigilance of his guards, and, escaping to France, there married, before the expiration of the year, Margaret of Brabant.

The king had flattered himself with the vain hope that the inclemency of the season would compel Edward to raise the siege of Calais; and that the irruption of the Scottish monarch, at the head of a powerful army, would induce him to return to England; but Edward having, previous to his departure, made every necessary arrangement for the safety of his dominions, resolved not to quit the place till he had accomplished the object of his enterprise. Fortune, indeed, seemed to favour all the designs of this prince. The queen of England, having collected a body of twelve thousand troops, which she entrusted to the command of lord Percy, came up with the Scotch army at Neville's-cross, near the city of Durham, on the twelfth of October, 1346. An action ensued, in which the Scots, notwithstanding their superiority of numbers, sustained a total defeat; fifteen or twenty thousand of them were slain, and their monarch, with many of the nobles, was taken prisoner, and sent to the tower of London. Philippa

* Froissard, Spicil. Cont. Nang.

† Rymer, vol. i. p. 4.

hastened herself to the English camp before Calais, to take the news of this victory to her husband.

John de Vienne, the brave governor of Calais, still cherishing hopes of relief, pertinaciously refused to surrender the town, though the inhabitants were reduced to the greatest distress. At length Philip, informed of their condition, determined to make a last effort in their favour. With this view he assembled an army of sixty thousand men, at the head of which he approached the camp of the besiegers; perceiving the impossibility of forcing their entrenchments, he sent the lords of Charny, Ribaumont, and Nesle, with the marshal de Beaujeu, with a challenge to Edward, who replied, that he was there to take Calais, and that, if the king was anxious to fight, it was his place to find out the means of bringing him to action. Before he dismissed the messengers he made them examine every part of his camp, that they might give an exact account of its strength to their sovereign. Philip now experienced the extremes of shame and indignation; loth to retreat, but still more loth to risk the loss of his army, and the ruin of his state, by imprudently listening to the dictates of despair.

A. D. 1347.] The pope sent two cardinals to effect an accommodation between the rival crowns; but all their efforts for this purpose proved fruitless. The king, therefore, at length compelled to yield to the law of necessity, which is superior to all human power, drew off his troops, and left the faithful citizens of Calais to their fate. The wretched inhabitants beheld his departure from the walls, and gave themselves up for lost. They were now reduced to the last extremity; their provisions had long been gone; and not a dog, horse, cat, nor any species of vermin that was eatable, however unpalatable, remained in the town. The governor, therefore, finding that his hopes of relief from the army of Philip were all vanished, resolved to surrender a fortress he was wholly unable to preserve. He accordingly appeared on the walls, and, making a signal to the English centinels that he desired a parley, Edward sent Sir Walter Manny to receive his proposals:—"Brave knights," said the governor, "I have been entrusted by my sovereign with the command of this town: it is almost a year since you began the siege; and I, and those under me, have endeavoured to do our duty; but, you are acquainted with my present condition: we have no hopes of relief; we are perishing with hunger; I am willing therefore to surrender; and desire, as the sole condition, to ensure the lives and liberties of these brave men, who have so long shared with me every danger and fatigue*."

Manny replied, that he was well acquainted with the intentions of his sovereign, who, enraged at the long resistance he had experienced, was determined to take exemplary vengeance on those who had occasioned it; and would not

* Froissard, l. i. 146.



Singleton Del

Bowen Sc.

*Queen Philippa interceding for the brave
Citizens of Calais.*

Philadelphia Publish'd by Ja.^s Stewart & Co. May 1st 1797.

therefore listen to any terms which should preclude him from inflicting such punishment as he should think fit on the objects of his resentment. "Consider," replied Vienne, "that this is not the treatment to which brave men are entitled: if any English knight had been in my situation, your king would have expected the same conduct from him. The inhabitants of Calais have done for their sovereign what merits the esteem of every prince; much more of so gallant a prince as Edward. But I inform you that, if we must perish, we shall not perish unrevenge; and that we are not so reduced, but that we can sell our lives at a high price to the victors. It is the interest of both sides to prevent these desperate extremities; and I expect that you yourself, brave knight, will interpose your good offices with your prince in our behalf."

Manny was stricken with the justness of these sentiments, and representing to Edward the danger of reprisals in case he should commit any act of cruelty, that monarch was at length persuaded so far to recede from his determination, as to grant their lives to all the inhabitants and garrison, except to six of the principal citizens, who, he insisted, should bring the keys of the town to his camp, bare-headed and bare-footed, and with ropes round their necks. Intelligence of this declaration being conveyed to the inhabitants of Calais, they were thrown into the utmost consternation; all was tumult and confusion; and every one was at a loss how to act; till Eustace de Saint-Pierre, one of the most opulent citizens—whose name most richly deserves to be recorded in history—boldly stepped forward and offered himself a voluntary victim, to the safety of his friends and companions. An example so noble soon excited a spirit of emulation; and five of the burgesses joined him, in devoting themselves to voluntary destruction. The names only of three of these generous martyrs have been preserved; John Daire, and James and Peter Wissant, two brothers. The governor accompanied them to the gates of the city, where he delivered them into the hands of Sir Walter Manny, whom he earnestly entreated to plead their cause with his sovereign. When they came into the presence of the English monarch, they presented him with the keys of the town. The nobility who attended the king could not refrain from giving vent to those emotions of pity and admiration with which such an instance of magnanimity inspired them: nothing but a confused murmur—the offspring of compassion—was heard around the prince. Edward alone appeared inflexible: he looked on them with an air of severity; and ordered them to be led to the gibbet. Such cruelty in a sovereign hitherto renowned for his generosity, is truly astonishing. He remained deaf to the solicitations, the prayers, and the tears of his courtiers; even the entreaties of his favourite son, the prince of Wales, who threw himself at his feet, and begged aloud for mercy, were rejected; blinded by rage, and callous to every tender emotion, he persisted in his barbarous purpose, and repeated his orders for conducting the victims to the place of execution. These illustrious sons of misfortune had been lost to their country, and the lustre of Edward's

glory been totally eclipsed, but for the intervention of his queen Philippa. That virtuous princess entering the tent, threw herself on her knees, and conjured her husband by every principle of honour, humanity, and religion, not to sully the splendour of his arms by so flagrant an act of inhumanity. The king cast down his eyes; and, after a moment's silence, exclaimed, "Ah, madam, "I could have wished you had been any where but here: your prayers are so forcible, that I cannot resist them. To you, then, I give them up." Having obtained her request, she led the six patriots to her tent, where she ordered a repast to be set before them; and, after making them a present of money and clothes, dismissed them in safety*.

The English monarch took possession of Calais, on the fourth of August; and, in order to secure a conquest which had cost him so much trouble to acquire, he expelled all the inhabitants, and re-peopled the town with English; an act of policy which, though it favoured of cruelty, was certainly justifiable, as men who had exerted so much courage in resisting the attacks of a foreigner, could never be supposed to bear his government with patience. Edward made Calais the staple of wool, leather, tin, and lead, the chief commodities of his kingdom, for which there was any considerable demand on the continent. Through the mediation of the pope's legates, a truce was concluded between the French and English, soon after the surrender of Calais, to continue till the eighth of July, 1348, and which was afterward prolonged, by different treaties, till the conclusion of the reign of Philip.

A. D. 1348.] No sooner were the people released from the horrors of war, than they had to encounter the more dreadful assaults of pestilence and famine. A general contagion, unexampled in the annals of history, spread over the face of the globe; and, having ravaged Asia and Africa, pursued its destructive progress through the different countries of Europe; in some of which scarce a twentieth part of the inhabitants escaped its fury. It continued to rage in France

* Such is the account of this extraordinary transaction as recorded by Froissard; but it should be remembered, that it rests on the single testimony of that author, whose frequent errors and misrepresentations, arising either from credulity or a love of the marvellous, are universally acknowledged. Robert de Avesbury, also a contemporary writer, says not a word on the subject; yet he is particular in his narration of the surrender of Calais, and his whole History of the Reign of Edward, up to the year 1356, bears evident marks of candour and sincerity; and, from the original papers which it contains, affords the strongest ground for belief, that he had consulted every source of authentic information: a circumstance so striking and notorious, had it really occurred, could not indeed be unknown to him, and his forbearance to record it can only be ascribed to a want of fidelity, the result of prejudice or fear, repugnant to the general character of his work. From these considerations, and from the known disposition of Edward to acts of generosity, humanity, and mercy, so recently exemplified in his conduct to the exiled inhabitants of Calais, at the commencement of the siege, we strongly incline to suspect the veracity of Froissard's account. It is possible that Edward, exasperated by the obstinacy of their resistance, might endeavour to excite the fears of the inhabitants, in an unjustifiable manner, by promulgating a pretended resolution to sacrifice six of their principal citizens; but stronger testimony, than the unsupported assertion of a single historian, must be adduced to convince us that he seriously intended to punish with death an uncommon exertion of courage, when, at other times, deeds of extraordinary valour formed the chief object of his praise and admiration.

for more than a twelvemonth ; during which time five hundred bodies were daily carried for interment from the Hotel-Dieu, at Paris, to the burying-place of *The Innocents*. The provincial towns and villages were so far depopulated by the pestilence, that not a sufficient number escaped to bury the dead. The superstition and ignorance of the times ascribed this calamity to the Jews, many of whom were inhumanly massacred and burned, in various parts of the kingdom.

The king of England, during this time, had nearly lost the important fortress of Calais, by the treachery of its governor, Amerie of Pavia, a man of great courage, but devoid of honour. Allured by the offers of Geoffrey de Charny, governor of Saint Omer, (who, it is affirmed, by the French historians, embarked in this enterprise without the knowledge of his sovereign) he had engaged, for a bribe of twenty thousand crowns, to deliver the town and castle to the French. Edward, informed of his perfidy by his secretary, summoned Amerie to London, on some other pretence, and there, having convinced him that he had sufficient proof of his guilt, offered to remit the punishment due to his crime, on condition that he would implicitly follow the instructions he should receive. The Italian joyfully consented to redeem his forfeited life, on such easy terms ; and, having returned to Calais, informed Edward of the day which he had appointed for the admission of the French. That monarch accordingly departed secretly from London, accompanied by the prince of Wales, taking with him eight hundred men at arms, and one thousand archers, under the command of Sir Walter Manny ; and arrived, unperceived, at Calais the night before the plot was to be accomplished. Having made every necessary disposition for the reception of the enemy, at the appointed time a hundred of the French were admitted at the postern, and, after they had paid the stipulated sum, were suddenly surrounded by the English troops, who put some of them to the sword, and surrounded the rest. During this time, Charny, with a strong body of forces, had advanced to the gate of Boulogne, where they remained in eager expectation of being admitted into the town ; but they were greatly surprised, when the gates opened, to see an English army march out to attack them. Soon, however, recovering from their astonishment, they defended themselves with great bravery ; and a bloody conflict ensued, which continued till break of day ; when the king of England, who wore no particular badge of distinction, and who fought as a private man under the standard of Sir Walter Manny, remarking a French knight, named Eustace de Ribau mont, who was giving the most signal proofs of extraordinary valour, conceived a desire of encountering him in single combat. As he knew Ribau mont, he challenged him by name, and a desperate action took place. Edward was twice beaten to the ground, and twice recovered himself ; equal courage and skill were exerted for some time by both parties ; but at length the Frenchman was compelled to acknow=

ledge the superiority of Edward ; and yield up his sword to him. The defeat became general, and all the party were either slain or taken prisoners.

The French officers were conducted to Calais, where Edward ordered a magnificent repast to be prepared for them in the great hall of the castle ; and during the banquet made his appearance, discovered to them the antagonist with whom they had had the honour to be engaged, and treated them with great regard and courtesy. Charny, indeed, he gently reprehended for the insidiousness of his attempt ; but on Ribauumont he bestowed the highest encomiums ; he declared him to be the most valorous knight he had ever been acquainted with ; and acknowledged that he himself had never been exposed to such imminent danger as during his combat with him. He presented him with a chaplet of pearls, saying—" Sir Eustace, this present I bestow on you as a small testimony of my esteem for your bravery. I entreat you to wear it for my sake ; and, as I know you to be of a gay and amorous disposition, delighting in the company of ladies and damsels, let them all be told from what hand you received it. You are no longer a prisoner : I acquit you of your ransom ; and to-morrow you will be at liberty to dispose of yourself as you think proper*."

The king's uneasiness at the losses he had experienced during the war, and at the misery of his people, was considerably encreased by misfortunes of a domestic nature. Jane, his queen, daughter to Robert, duke of Burgundy, died at the Hotel de Nefle, the ordinary residence of the French monarchs at this period, of the contagious distemper which prevailed throughout the kingdom, and which she caught by piously attending the sick, and bestowing on them such assistance and consolation as their situation required. Her death was sincerely regretted by the nation, as well as by Philip himself, to whom she was justly endeared by every virtue that can embellish and dignify the human mind. The duchess of Normandy died soon after, and was interred at the abbey of Maubuisson which she had founded ; the body of the queen was conveyed to Saint Denis, and her heart to Citeaux.

It was about this time that the pope annexed the city and county of Avignon to the see of Rome. After the death of Robert, surnamed the Sage, his granddaughter Jane succeeded to the kingdom of Naples. This princess had been married, when very young, to her cousin Andrew, brother to Lewis, king of Hungary ; but the difference of their tempers gave rise to continual disputes, and proved finally productive of crimes and calamities. Charles di Durazzo, brother-in-law to the queen, persuaded her to get rid of a husband that thwarted her inclinations and destroyed her repose ; Jane was base enough to listen

* The conduct of Edward, on this occasion, tends to corroborate the opinion we have advanced in the preceding note : though the human mind may be replete with contradictory sentiments, and subject to continual changes that baffle the power of argument, and the efforts of reason ; it is still difficult to conceive, that the prince who could act thus generously, should be guilty of such flagrant barbarity as is laid to the charge of Edward in his behaviour to the six citizens of Calais.

to the treacherous advice, and the wretched Andrew was accordingly strangled in a room adjoining her apartment. In a short time after his death, she married the prince of Tarentum; but a crime so atrocious was not suffered to pass unpunished; Lewis the Great, king of Hungary, hastened to revenge the murder of his brother. His arms proved every where successful; Charles di Durazzo was arrested, and suffered the same death which he had caused to be inflicted on his sovereign. Jane then fled into Provence; and the pope—says Mezeray—“residing on her territories, paid her great honour; but, profiting by her situation, he drew from her the town and county of Avignon. For this acquisition he paid only eight thousand Florentine florins of gold; but his approbation of her marriage with the prince of Tarentum was thrown into the bargain.” The purchase was confirmed by the emperor Charles the Fourth, who entirely released this country from all kind of subjection to the empire, of which it was holden, as a sub-fief of the ancient kingdom of Arles.

The want of money compelled the king's ministers to have recourse to every expedient that could tend to recruit the royal treasury, exhausted by a war equally tedious and unfortunate. On these occasions the financiers were the first objects of persecution; and, as they were always found guilty of malversation, it is fair to presume that their sovereigns connived at their enormities till such time as they stood in need of their assistance. Peter des Essarts, treasurer to the king, was now condemned to the restitution of one hundred thousand florins of gold; but he had sufficient influence to procure a mitigation of the sentence to one half of the sum. All the Italian and Lombard usurers who had either farmed, or been appointed to receive, different branches of the revenue, were constrained to give an exact account of the exorbitant sums which they had extorted from the necessity of the state and the wants of the sovereign. Their conduct was scrutinized with the utmost rigour, and though they obtained from the king letters of suspension, which ought to have put a stop to the proceedings against them, still the *chamber of accounts* pursued them; they were finally compelled to quit the kingdom, and the sums they had advanced were confiscated to the crown.

Ever since the year 1343, Philip had been engaged in a negotiation for the acquisition of Dauphiny, which was not brought to a conclusion till 1349.—Humbert the Second, dauphin of Vienne, being inconsolable for the death of his only son Andrew, who was killed by a fall from a window, had formed the resolution of quitting the world. With this view he treated with the king, and agreed, in case he died without heirs, to transmit his dominions to the duke of Orleans, Philip's second son, or if the duke should die before him, to any one of the children of the duke of Normandy, or of his descendants, that the king and his successors should chuse to appoint, to be holden in perpetuity; and on the express condition that the person who should be appointed, should assume the title of dauphin, and bear the arms of Dauphiny quartered with

those of France ; and that this country should never be incorporated with the kingdom unless France and the empire should become subject to the same sovereign. This treaty was signed at the wood of Vincennes, by the king, and the deputies from the dauphin, who ratified it that same year. In return for this cession, Philip engaged to give the dauphin the sum of one hundred and twenty thousand florins of gold, payable in three years, besides one annuity for his life of ten thousand livres, and another, in perpetuity, of two thousand.—By a new deed, signed on the seventh of June, in the following year, the dauphin transferred the cession of his dominions to the duke of Normandy or one of his children. Nothing, however, could be more uncertain than the execution of these treaties, although the dauphin had actually received from Philip a part of the stipulated sum. Humbert was still young, and the death of his wife, Mary of Baux, which happened two years after this period, far from taking away all hopes of an heir, gave reason to apprehend that he would be induced to marry again. The pope, in a consolatory bull which he addressed to this prince, even advised him to look out for a wife by whom he might have children. The dauphin, roused by this exhortation, actually paid his addresses first to Blanche, sister to Amadeus, count of Savoy, and afterwards to Joan of Bourbon ; but the king, who kept a watchful eye on his motions, contrived to break this last alliance, by marrying Joan to Charles, eldest son to the duke of Normandy. Humbert at length gave up all thoughts of marriage, and finally resigned to Charles, on the conditions above specified, Dauphiny ; the duchy of Champfour ; the principality of Brianconnois ; the marquissate of Cefanne ; the counties of Vienne, Albon, Grayfivodan, Ebrionnois, and Gapençois ; and the baronies of la Tour, Valbonne, Fucigny, Meuillon and Montalbin. In consequence of this cession, which was signed on the thirteenth of March, 1349, the duke of Normandy repaired to Lyons with his son Charles, where the ceremony of the investiture was performed. On the sixteenth of July the dauphin made a formal resignation of his domains to Charles. In the deed of cession it is expressly said—“ That the title and arms of the dauphins shall be preserved “ for ever by those who shall succeed them ; and that their dominions, although “ forming, from this time, a part of the kingdom of France shall be holden by “ their successors, separately, and by a different title ; unless they should happen “ to govern the empire at the same time*.” There can be no doubt—says the author of the History of Dauphiny—but that the kings of France have always deemed themselves bound to observe these conditions ; whence it is, that in all their declarations and letters addressed to the inhabitants of Dauphiny, they only exact obedience to their orders, in their capacity of dauphins ; and those orders are all sealed with the arms of the ancient dauphins. Their ordinances, also, although binding throughout the kingdom, are only

* Hist. du Dauphiné par M. de Valbonais.

received in this province as in a separate state, and when sanctioned by the title, and sealed with the arms, of the dauphin of Vienne. The province has always preserved a particular seal, which is kept by the chancellor, whereas all the other provinces lost their distinctive marks on their annexation to the crown. The eldest son of the king of France has, from this period, always assumed the title of dauphin, although not bound so to do by the conditions of these treaties, as some writers have pretended.

The day after the ceremony of the investiture, Humbert took the habit of a Dominican friar; and, the following year, being admitted into orders, he was first made patriarch of Alexandria, and afterward created perpetual administrator of the archbishopric of Rheims. He died at Clermont, in 1355. His body was conveyed to the convent of the Jacobins at Paris, and was interred in the choir of their church, where his tomb, and that of queen Clemence, sister to Beatrice of Hungary, his mother, are still to be seen on either side the great altar. The king had before acquired Roussillon and Cerdagna, with the lordship of Montpellier, from James, king of Majorca, who was first expelled from his dominions, and afterwards massacred by Pedro, king of Arragon, justly furnamed *The Cruel**.

A. D. 1350.] Blanche, daughter of Philip, king of Navarre, who died in 1343, had been brought to the court of France, as the intended wife of the duke of Normandy. But the king had no sooner seen this princess, who was one of the most accomplished women of the age, than he became deeply enamoured of her; and, changing his first design of marrying her to his son, resolved to espouse her himself†; and to procure for the duke of Normandy the hand of Jane, countess of Boulogne, widow to Philip of Burgundy, who lost his life at the siege of Aiguillon. These two marriages were celebrated nearly at the same time; that of the king at Brie-Comte-Robert; and that of the duke of Normandy at Saint Geneviève, near Saint Germain-en-Laye. In the month of April, in the following year, Charles, the new dauphin, married Joan, eldest daughter to Peter, duke of Bourbon, grand *chamberer* (chambrier) of France‡. This dignity, one of the first in the gift of the crown, had passed from the house of Burgundy into that of Dreux, and afterwards into the Bourbon family.

The grand-chamberer was entrusted with the care of the king's chamber, or apartment, and private treasury||. There were several important privileges annexed to this office; it had an exclusive authority over the furriers, sadlers, glovers, and other trading companies at Paris, the members of which could not exercise their profession without buying their freedom of the chamberer. This dignity was suppressed by Francis the First, on the death of Charles, duke of Orleans, who was the last person that enjoyed the title of chamberer.

* Mem. Humb. Palat. Ann. 1345.

† Spicil. Cont. Nang. Froissard.
1350. || Du Cange.

‡ Mem. Humb. Pal. Ann.

Philip had just prolonged the truce with England for three years, when he fell sick at Nogent-le-Roi, where he died in a few days, on the twenty-second of August, 1350. On his death-bed, he sent for his two sons, the dukes of Normandy and Orleans; and, having shewn them the decisions of the doctors of law and divinity, confirming the validity of his own title to the crown, and the injustice of Edward's pretensions, he exhorted the duke of Normandy, as his successor, to defend the state, after his death, against all its enemies; observing, that although the defenders of a just cause were not always successful, yet God never suffered them to sink beneath their misfortunes; but always made justice prevail in the end. He expired in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign.

Few monarchs have been more praised by historians than Philip of Valois, though few, it must be confessed, have had less claims to commendation; he was endued, indeed, with great personal courage, and was possessed of a strong mind, that sunk not beneath the pressure of misfortune: but, though bold, he was not magnanimous; though profuse, not liberal; though devout, not pious. The man of piety is equitable, merciful, and mild; the man of magnanimity turns with horror from deeds of cruelty, and rejects, with disgust, the dark dictates of revenge; the man of liberality, though not, perhaps, over-nice in selecting the *objects* of his bounty, is ever scrupulously just in the *means*; he never oppresses his dependents to enrich his favourites. Villaret has falsely ascribed the odium incurred by Philip to the perfidy and ingratitude of his subjects; the source of that odium he might surely have discovered, in the tyranny and oppression under which those subjects too frequently laboured. Stern, cruel, imperious, vindictive, and inflexible, the people of Flanders and the nobles of Brittany experienced the fatal effects of his pride and revenge. With few qualities to command respect, with still fewer to conciliate affection, Philip lived unbeloved and died unlamented. His unexpected accession to the throne had, in the early part of his reign, procured him the appellation of *Fortunate*—a title which but ill-accorded with the many reverses of fortune he experienced towards the close of his life.

Philip had, by his first wife, Jane of Burgundy, two sons and one daughter; John, duke of Normandy, who succeeded him in the throne; Philip, duke of Orleans, and count of Valois, who died without heirs; and Mary, who married John, duke of Luxembourg, son to John the Third, duke of Brabant. He left his second wife, Blanche, in a state of pregnancy; and she gave birth to a princess, who was named Jane, and who died at Beziers, in 1373, on her way to Barcelona, whither she was going to espouse John, son to Peter the Fourth, king of Arragon.

On the accession of Philip to the throne of France, he found the people possessed, by the emancipation of the commons, of a degree of liberty unknown to their ancestors. They had begun to shake off that rude barbarism which

the mind contracts in the fetters of slavery ; but the nation had not yet made a sufficient progress in the acquisition of useful knowledge, to derive, from their new existence, all the advantages which it was calculated to ensure. The arts were still in their infancy ; commerce, totally neglected by the natives, was abandoned to the avidity of foreigners, Italians, Spanish, and Flemings. The produce of a few manufactures, badly planned and worse conducted, was insufficient to establish an internal communication between the various parts of the kingdom. Yet even here luxury was known ; though generally considered as the child of opulence and refinement, she here sprang from the womb of misery, displayed her pomp by the side of ignorance and sloth, and grew into vigour by the unnatural nourishment of public calamity. Ridiculous fashions were already introduced, and had become the objects of attention to the nobility, and of ambition to the common people. A head loaded with feathers, a long beard, chains round the neck, a dress so tight and short as scarcely to conceal from the sight those parts which modesty forbids to shew ; such was the habiliment newly invented by the knights, esquires, and other fashionable men, and adopted by their servile imitators, the citizens. The kings and princes of the blood were the only persons who resisted the torrent of innovation, and preserved the decent gravity of the ancient modes. This taste for superfluities, which vanity can only be allowed when industry facilitates the means of gratification, prolonged the dreary reign of indigence, notwithstanding the fertility of the soil, and the number of inhabitants. These defects in the economy of the state proved a continual obstacle to the raising supplies, either for the execution of works of public utility, or for resisting the efforts of an enemy. The most moderate impost became an insupportable burthen to an indolent and impoverished people ; it is no wonder, therefore, that the frequent and onerous exactions which it was found necessary or expedient to levy, should excite the murmurs of the citizens, whose ideas of patriotism, moreover, were yet so imperfect as to preclude the conception, that the welfare of the individual was inseparably blended with the safety of the state.—The evil was farther augmented by the usurious interest extorted by the Florentine and Lombard merchants, or bankers. The rapid fortunes acquired by these foreigners formed a dreadful contrast to the public misery. Some idea of their rapaciousness may be formed from the account of the sums which were due to them when banished the kingdom ; they had advanced only four hundred thousand livres, and the interest amounted to no less than two millions !

In these wretched times the most monstrous disorders openly prevailed. The general corruption of manners which obtained was not even disguised by that external semblance of decency, beneath which, in more polished ages, vice conceals her deformity. This depravity gave rise to every enormity of which the human heart is capable ; the extremes of avarice and prodigality were alike encouraged ; duties the most sacred were neglected ; virtue was despised ; perfi-

dy, violence, and revenge were universally exercised; nor were these vices confined to the people; among the nobles and the great did the country find its most dangerous enemies.

The superstitious credulity of the age is strongly exemplified in the conduct of Philip, during the illness of his son, the duke of Normandy. He was so thoroughly persuaded that John would not recover, without the intervention of supernatural means, that he assured the queen, in case he should die, he would not suffer him to be buried, from a full conviction that God would bring him to life again. The clergy of Paris, and the monks of Saint Denis, followed by an immense crowd of people, went in procession with their feet naked, to Taverny, where the duke lay, apparently, at the point of death. They carried with them the crown of thorns which had been placed on the head of our Saviour, one of the nails which had served to fasten him to the cross, and a finger of the apostle of France. These precious relics were deposited in the prince's chamber, who, in a few days, to the astonishment of all present, perfectly recovered his health. This miraculous cure—says the continuator of William de Nangis—was attested by the king, the queen, the princes of the blood, all the nobility, and even by the physicians themselves. The king, from motives of gratitude, performed a pilgrimage from Taverny to Saint Denis, accompanied by the whole court. After passing a day at the abbey, and remaining two hours shut up in the tomb of Saint Denis, he returned to the capital.

The generality of writers have fixed the origin of the tax upon salt, in France, called the *gabelle**, in the reign of Philip of Valois. "In this same year, 1342," (according to an ancient manuscript†) "the king imposed a duty upon salt, which is called *gabelle*, whereby he acquired the indignation and ill-will of all his people, both great and small." It is, nevertheless, certain that Philip of Valois was not the inventor of this impost‡. So early as the reign of Saint Lewis, a similar tax was levied in many of the provinces. That monarch, by an edict issued in 1246, exempted the town of Aiguemortes from the salt-*gabelle*. Philip the Long also laid a duty upon salt. Philip of Valois, at the commencement of his reign, established magazines of salt, in different parts of the kingdom||; on which occasion, Edward gave him the appellation of, *Author of the Salic Law* (*Auteur de la Loi Salique*;) and Philip in return called his rival, *The Wool Merchant*, in allusion to the supplies of that article so frequently granted him by the parliament. On the remonstrance of the states, who were

* The term 'gabelle' is derived either from the Saxon word 'gapol,' or 'gapel,' which signifies 'tribute;' or else from the Hebrew word 'gab' which has the same signification. It was always made use of in France, to designate any kind of impost whatever. The wine-gabelle, fish-gabelle, cloth-gabelle, salt-gabelle, &c. were common expressions; and all the collectors of these different duties were indiscriminately called 'gabellatores,' 'gabellators.' Du Cange Glossar. ad verb. Gabella.

† Joh. Abb. Laud. in specul. Hist. lib. ix. cap. 17. ‡ Villaret.

|| Cham. des Comp. Memor. B. fol. 156.

fearful that this impost might become perpetual, the king, by an edict, bearing date the fifteenth of February, 1345, promised to abolish it at the conclusion of the war. His son John, by an edict of the twenty-eighth of September, 1355, renewed the tax with the consent of the states of the kingdom. After the battle of Poitiers, the duty was augmented; the price of salt in Paris, in 1358, was fixed at sixty crowns of gold the hoghead, twenty-six of which were paid to the vender, twenty-six to the king, and eight to the town; the same year it was raised to a hundred crowns; twenty-six of which were for the vender, fifty-six for the king, and eighteen for the town; it soon after experienced a still greater augmentation. This duty, which, in the sequel, became arbitrary and perpetual, was first farmed out by Henry the Second, who, in the month of January, 1548, let it on a lease for ten years.

JOHN THE SECOND.

A. D. 1350.] THE acts of rigour and severity which had marked the preceding reigns, had laid the foundation of a general revolution in the manners and genius of the nation. The kings, solely intent on giving to the sovereign authority its primitive force, had formed projects—often counteracted, though sometimes successful—the sole object of which appeared to be, the security of the regal prerogatives; but, in seeking to consolidate their power, they had neglected to define its bounds; the rapidity of its progress had prevented the establishment of a proper balance, which, by restraining its abuse, could ensure its duration. The people, but recently emerged from a state of slavery, were still more ignorant than their monarchs of the nature and extent of their duties; incapable of distinguishing the precise limits which separate liberty from licentiousness, they soon began to exert their freedom for the destruction of that authority which, properly modified, constitutes its best security. The nobles, discontented with their sovereigns, who were anxious to humble their pride and curtail their power, and impatient of the yoke which they sought to impose on them, deplored in secret the loss of their ancient privileges; they beheld with indignation an emancipated people forming a body in the state, whose credit at least counterbalanced their own, by its influence in objects of public deliberation. The conflict between these opposite orders had been hitherto suspended

less from motives of policy than from ignorance of their respective strength. A weak administration was well calculated to encrease the bursting of that storm which had been gathering under the restraint of a violent government. Under such dangerous circumstances did John ascend the throne of his ancestors. With the dominions of his father, he inherited his defects; and to his imprudence, temerity, and inflexibility of temper, he added, a boundless prodigality, and all the weakness of a narrow mind.

The new monarch and his queen were crowned at Rheims on the twenty-sixth of September; and, on the same day, John conferred the dignity of knighthood on his three sons, Charles the dauphin, and the counts of Anjou, and Alencon; on his brother, the duke of Orleans; and on Philip, duke of Burgundy, son to his wife Jane; he likewise conferred the same honour on the counts of Estampes and Dammartin; the viscount of Touraine, nephew to the pope; the lord of Efcun, and on several princes and noblemen, among others, on John of Artois, (son to the unfortunate Robert of Artois) who, in the preceding reign, had been involved in the disgrace of his father.

The pope was no sooner informed of the death of Philip of Valois, than he wrote to the kings of France and England, exhorting them to peace*. Edward, adhering to those maxims of policy which he had adopted at the commencement of his reign, appeared willing to accept the mediation of the sovereign pontiff; but he could only be brought to consent to a confirmation of the truce concluded in the preceding reign; a truce which was prolonged, at different times, for the space of three years.

The respective situations of the two kingdoms still remained the same; the English monarch had not given up his schemes of conquest; his ambition only seemed to repose in order to acquire fresh strength; and unfortunately for France, the disposition of the king,—who, though he possessed many virtues, was nevertheless violent, suspicious, and vindictive—was such as to afford the fairest prospect of success to the dangerous machinations of his formidable foe.

Before the authority of John was fully established, he had recourse to one of those violent exertions of power, of which his father had set him the example, and which, by disgusting the nobility, encreased the number of his domestic enemies. Ralph, count of Eu and of Guisnes, had been taken prisoner by the king of England at Caen; for the purpose of negotiating his own ransom, as well as that of several of his fellow captives who had been taken at the same time, he had been permitted to pass several times between France and England, during the preceding reign. On the death of Philip of Valois, he went to Paris to solicit the new monarch to facilitate the means of his release; and he was commissioned at the same time by Edward to negotiate the confirmation and prolongation of the truce.

* Rymer, vol. iii, *Chambre des Comtes*, Memorial c. fol. 145.

Among the nobility who had insinuated themselves into the confidence of the king, Charles de la Cerda, brother to Lewis D'Espagne, held a distinguished place*. Proud of his birth and the credit he enjoyed, his ambition led him to aspire to the first dignities in the state, the attainment of which he thought a necessary consequence of the blind friendship which his infatuated sovereign entertained for him. For some time he had exercised the office of constable in the absence of the count of Eu ; and, being anxious to acquire this important place for himself, he is supposed to have contributed to the destruction of that nobleman. He gave the king to understand that the sole object of the constable's frequent voyages to France was, to promote discord between the princes, and to effect a revolution in favour of Edward, to whom he was rather a friend than prisoner. The doubtful conduct of the count at the siege of Caen, was recalled to the mind of John, and represented in the most odious colours ; in short, nothing which the artful ingenuity of interested malice could devise was neglected to tarnish his reputation, and to effect his ruin. The king, naturally inclined to suspicion and mistrust, soon suffered himself to be persuaded that the constable was a traitor ; he accordingly issued orders to apprehend him, and the count was seized as he left the palace, and thrown into prison. His friends loudly exclaimed against the king's injustice, while such as were disinterested in the matter, waited, in silence, the developement of a mystery, which there was no intention of disclosing to them. The court of peers was the only tribunal which could take cognizance of the crime imputed to the constable ; and it was not probable that such a respectable body could be induced, through a servile complaisance to the king, to dishonour itself by a precipitate judgment. As the act of eluding the laws was not yet known, the only alternative was, to suffer them to take their course, or openly to violate them ; this last measure was adopted, as best suited to the occasion. The unfortunate count was taken from prison, during the night of the thirteenth of November, and, without undergoing any previous trial or examination, was beheaded, by the king's orders, in the Hotel de Nesle, in the presence of the duke of Burgundy ; the counts of Armagnac and Montfort ; Gaucher de Chatillon ; the lords of Boulogne and Ruel, and of several other noblemen and knights.

Such an abuse of arbitrary power could not fail to disgust all ranks of people, and particularly the nobility. The constable was now regarded as the victim of his rival's ambition, and his sovereign's injustice ; his innocence was universally acknowledged ; and the accusations preferred against him were considered as an odious calumny, the offspring of darkness and iniquity. In fact that prince was a just object of indignation, who could put to death the first subject in the realm, without deigning to consult the laws, or even preserving an appearance of justice, by conforming to those sacred rules which were prescribed by the

* Hist. Gen. de la Maison de France, tom. i. p. 536.

constitution of the kingdom, which were ever deemed inviolable, and which formed the only security for the lives and liberties of the people. Nor did John pay a greater respect to the rights of nations, since the count Eu, being only released on his word, was still a prisoner to the king of England, of course he was dead in the eye of the law, and, during his captivity, could not be considered as amenable to the tribunals of France*.

The spoils of Ralph were divided among the favourites of John; Charles de la Cerda obtained the post of constable; and the county of Eu was given to John of Artois. The county of Guisnes was re-annexed to the crown till the reign of Lewis the Eleventh, when it was conferred on Anthony de Croui.

A. D. 1351, 1352.] Though the truce with England had been renewed, the mutual animosity which prevailed between the two nations superinduced its violation, whenever an opportunity occurred. Frequent incursions were made both by the English and French governors on the territories of each other; which, as usual, gave rise to mutual complaints, but no event occurred of sufficient importance to be recorded in history, except an action on the plain of Mauron, near Rennes, in Brittany, which took place on the fourteenth of August, 1352, between a body of English troops under the command of Sir Walter Bently, and a French army conducted by the marshal de Nesle; in which the former, though taken by surprise, and greatly inferior in numbers to the enemy, obtained a complete victory. The marshal was slain, with eighty knights, and five hundred gentlemen; and one hundred and sixty knights and gentlemen were taken prisoners.

The kingdom, in the mean time, was again harassed by a general famine, attended with the most dreadful effects. The scarcity of corn necessarily produced such an augmentation of its price, that none but the most opulent could possibly afford to purchase it; and the misery of the people was so great, that the wretched inhabitants of the country were constrained to feed on the roots of the earth, and even on the bark of trees. In this situation, John, far from being able to levy new imposts on his subjects for the renewal of the war with England, was under the necessity of stopping the collection of certain taxes, which had been granted by particular provinces, in the last year of the reign of Philip. In vain did he seek to derive some assistance from those who had been entrusted with the administration of the finances. The investigation of their accounts, though strict and severe, was productive of no advantage. The culprits, indeed, were arrested and punished, but no money could be obtained from them, and those violent remedies were not calculated to strike at the root of an evil which the government wanted vigour to suppress.

Yet, notwithstanding the wretched state of his kingdom, John rejected the offer of Edward, who gave instructions to his plenipotentiaries, the archbishop

* Villaret, tom. ix. p. 26,

of Canterbury, and the earl of Derby (now duke of Lancaster) to propose the entire resignation of his pretensions to the French crown, on condition that the king of France would, in return, give up to him the absolute sovereignty of Guienne, Aquitaine, and the town and marches of Calais. Policy should have induced the king to accept these terms; by this means he would have got rid of a formidable enemy, and procured leisure to regulate the internal economy of the kingdom, which, weakened as it was by frequent and unsuccessful exertions, and convulsed by domestic feuds, required the most delicate and the most judicious management.

The elevation of Charles de la Cerda to the office of constable had, as we have before observed, excited an inveterate spirit of discontent; the embers of faction lurked beneath the murmurs of indignation, and the minds of the people appeared to be in that state of ferment which only required the appearance of some powerful leader, to promote a general insurrection: that leader soon appeared in the person of Charles, king of Navarre, on whom the epithet *Bad*, or *Wicked*, had been justly bestowed. This monarch was possessed, in an eminent degree, of wit, penetration, eloquence, and generosity—specious endowments which give a lustre to virtue, and render vice more dangerous! The possessions which he inherited from his mother, who was the daughter of Lewis Hutin, were considerable; and his pretensions, as being descended from the blood-royal of France, were still greater. John, aware of the danger to be apprehended from a prince of his turbulent disposition, resolved, if possible, to attach him firmly to his interests; and, for that purpose, gave him his own daughter, Jane, in marriage. But experience soon convinced him, that the mind which is deaf to the precepts of morality will always be found callous to every impulse of gratitude: where the ties of religious duty cannot deter a man from the commission of evil, the more feeble bonds of affinity must ever prove insufficient.

A. D. 1353.] Jealous of the influence which the constable possessed over the mind of his sovereign, an influence which he deemed highly prejudicial to his own ambitious views, Charles soon resolved on the destruction of that nobleman. After long waiting, in vain, for an opportunity to assassinate him at Paris, he was at length apprised that the constable had made a journey to Aigle; upon which he immediately hired a band of armed ruffians, who followed him to that place, and massacred him in his bed. Far from seeking to conceal the part he had taken in this infamous deed, he gloried in the act, swearing to protect his accomplices, and to accept no pardon whence they should be excluded. As he was convinced the king would not suffer a crime so atrocious to pass unpunished, he adopted such precautions as he thought necessary to screen him from the effects of his resentment. With this view he published a manifesto containing a justification of his conduct, and displaying the pretended necessity under which he lay to commit this act of violence.

The duke of Lancaster, who was then in Flanders, being informed of the murder of Charles de la Cerda, immediately conceived that the king of Navarre would be constrained to throw himself on the protection of England. He therefore dispatched a messenger to that prince, requesting he would send to some confidential person, with whom he might treat on the subject. The king accepted the proposals, and sent his chancellor to the duke, accompanied by a knight, named Friquet* ; at the same time he dispatched two other of his officers to Bruges, in order to borrow money upon his jewels. The duke promised the messengers of Charles to grant their master all the assistance he required, as well for the present, as the future, and assured that prince that all the forces of England would be ready to second him ; he even pressed the chancellor of Navarre to go with him to London. The first succour to be supplied was a body of five hundred men at arms, and two hundred archers, who received orders to hold themselves in readiness to march at the shortest notice.

During these negotiations Charles fortified his possessions in Normandy, collected troops from all quarters, endeavoured to secure what allies he could, and made every preparation for war ; but, either for the purpose of gaining time, or in the hope of still being able to appease the king's indignation, he sent the count of Namur to Paris, in order to sound the disposition of the court, where he had a number of secret partisans.

When the king was informed of the murder of the first officer of the crown, who was, moreover, a prince of the blood, his friend and his favourite, he gave way to such immoderate grief, that, for four days, he would suffer no one to speak to him. In the first transports of his rage, he vowed vengeance against the assassin ; but the present situation of his affairs neither suffered him to listen to the suggestions of resentment, nor even to pursue the dictates of justice. The king of Navarre was a powerful prince ; and his possessions on the coast of Normandy were so situated, that, if driven to despair, he could introduce the English into the heart of the kingdom ; and as the towns of Mantes, Melun, and Pontoise were his, he could even bring them to the gates of the capital. Thus circumstanced, John was constrained to lend a favourable ear to the solicitations of Jane of Evreux, widow to Charles the Fair, and to the earnest entreaties of Blanche, widow to Philip of Valois, and sister to the king of Navarre. The intercession of those princesses was seconded by the cardinal of Boulogne, and by several other noblemen and prelates. At this period the count of Namur arrived at Paris, in order to obtain for Charles a pardon, which

* This Friquet was arrested some time after, when the king secured the person of Charles of Navarre, and several of his knights, at Rouen. Friquet underwent several examinations, copies of which are still extant ; he was put to the torture, and would, probably, have suffered death, but for the address of his servant, who enabled him to effect his escape from the prison of the Châtelet. These examinations contain the particulars of the murder of the constable, and of a plot which the king of Navarre had formed, and in which he had persuaded the dauphin to engage. Villaret,

it was not deemed prudent to refuse. The cardinal of Boulogne and Peter de Bourbon were, with some other commissioners, appointed to treat with the king of Navarre and his accomplices.

The treaty concluded on this occasion affords a strong proof of the weakness of the government; of the wretched condition of the prince and of the state; and of the perfidy of the ministers. By a convention signed at Mantes, on the twenty-second of February, 1353, John granted to the king of Navarre, the county of Beaumont-le-Roger, and the lordship of Conches and Breteuil, which belonged to the duke of Orleans, but the possession of which that nobleman resigned to Charles. The king also ceded to him Port-Audemer, the Cotentin, and the viscounties of Valognes, Coutances, and Carentan. Some farther privileges and indulgences were secured to the regal assassin, who, in return, gave up the town of Pontoise, and his pretensions to Beaumont-upon-Oise, and to Ancenes. A general amnesty was published for the king of Navarre, and all his adherents. To complete this ignominious transaction, the king's second son was given him as an hostage for the safety of his person, while he repaired to court to ask pardon for the violence he had committed.

But while such a criminal as Charles was rewarded for his crimes, a culprit of inferior distinction was punished with severity. A gentleman of Poitou, named Regnault de Preffigny, had become the tyrant of the country in which he lived, and exercised every species of oppression over his vassals and dependants. He seized the inhabitants, and, if they refused to pay the ransom he demanded, he threw them into prison; if they persisted in their refusal, he put them to death. He even attacked the monks, and imprisoned them, to extort a ransom from the convents; and, when he released them, he put out one of their eyes, and plucked their beard up by the roots. The inhuman wretch was at length apprehended, committed to the Chatelet, tried by the parliament, and sentenced to be hanged—a punishment scarcely adequate to his crimes!

A. D. 1354.] Those dark machinations and intrigues, which produced consequences the most fatal to the welfare and tranquillity of the kingdom, now began to appear. The count of Harcourt and his brother Lewis, who had always been firmly attached to the king of Navarre, became suddenly reconciled to the French monarch, without any apparent cause for a measure so extraordinary and unexpected. It was said that these noblemen were to reveal many important secrets to the king, and, among others, the particulars of the plot which had been formed against Charles de la Cerda. The effects of this discovery were soon made visible. The cardinal of Boulogne, who had openly tarnished the glory, and betrayed the interests, of his sovereign, in the disadvantageous treaty concluded at Mantes, with Charles of Navarre, was disgraced, and retired to Avignon. Robert de Lorris, chamberlain to the king, eluded the vengeance of his master by a timely evasion. Entrusted with the secrets of his prince, he had the baseness to betray them to the king of Navarre; and he

had been privy to the design formed against the life of the constable, long before it was put in execution; a circumstance which excited the resentment of John more than any other instance of his treachery. In fact he could never cordially forgive those who were concerned in the assassination of his favourite, though he was compelled to defer his vengeance till a more favourable opportunity.

The king of Navarre, who was informed of every thing that passed in the privy council, having received intelligence that measures were adopted for arresting his person, secretly withdrew from court, and fled to Normandy; but, hearing that John had assembled a body of troops at Rouen, and the neighbouring towns, he left that province, and repaired to Avignon, where the conferences for a peace between the crowns of France and England were then holding. During his stay there, he concealed himself in the mansions of the cardinals of Ostia and Bologne, and every night paid a visit to the duke of Lancaster, Edward's plenipotentiary; and exerted all the resources and manœuvres which his restless and turbulent mind could suggest for breaking off the negotiations. But, though the two cardinals, who were the pope's ministers, were suspected of favouring his plan, he could not prevent a prolongation of the truce for one year.

At length the king determined openly to pursue a prince whose conduct fully justified every exertion of severity. With this view he repaired to Caen, and ordered all the possessions of the king of Navarre to be seized; but Charles had taken care before his departure to fortify his towns, and supply them with numerous garrisons; the orders of John were therefore despised; and the principal towns, such as Evreux, Pont-Audemer, Cherbourg, Gauray, Avranches, and Mortagne, refused to open their gates. The governors of these places told the officers who were sent to take possession of them, that they would surrender them to no one but the king of Navarre, their sovereign, who had entrusted them to their care.

Charles, in the mean time, negotiated a treaty with the duke of Lancaster, who was entrusted by Edward with full powers for that purpose*; and, having collected a body of troops in the kingdom of Navarre, he landed at Cherbourg with two thousand men at arms. It would have been an easy matter for the king, by uniting all the forces of France, to crush this turbulent prince, before he could possibly have put himself in a state of defence. But John was ever too apt to temporise; ignorant of the wise policy of prevention, he neglected such precautions as circumstances seemed to require; and seldom made the necessary preparations for attacking his foe, till the moment of action arrived. Alarmed at the vigorous resistance of Charles, who committed ravages in his Norman territories, and retook Conches, the only place that had been reduced

* Rymer, vol. iii. p. 1; Chron. M. S.; Froissard, &c.

by John ; intimidated, moreover, by the appearance of the duke of Lancaster off the isles of Jersey and Guernsey, who seemed waiting for an opportunity to co-operate with the king of Navarre, he consented to purchase an ignominious peace. James of Bourbon, count of Ponthieu and constable of France, and the duke of Athens, being appointed to treat with Charles, repaired to Valogne, where an accommodation was concluded. John agreed to grant a general pardon to Charles and all his accomplices, to the number of three hundred ; in this list, which was delivered in by the king of Navarre himself, were included the noblemen who had signed the treaty of Mantes ; the duke of Bourbon ; the cardinal of Boulogne ; Geoffrey de Charny ; Robert de Lorris ; and Le Cocq, bishop of Laon ; Charles, on his side, promised to renew his protestations of obedience and fidelity to the king, and to ask pardon for his offences, in presence of the princes of the blood, who were to bind themselves by oath to enforce a strict observance of the treaty ; and the king's ministers were likewise compelled to swear that they would never advise their sovereign to any violation of it. Such articles of the treaty of Mantes as concerned the interest of Charles, and had not been fulfilled, were renewed in the present treaty ; and the sums due to him from the king were estimated at a hundred thousand crowns.

A. D. 1355.] The truce between France and England, which had been so repeatedly prolonged and so frequently violated on both sides, finally expired at Midsummer ; when Edward resolved on an immediate renewal of hostilities, and projected an invasion of France, at either extremity of the kingdom, at the same time ; he accordingly landed at Calais with a numerous army, in the month of October, laid waste the Boulonnois, and Artois, and penetrated as far as Hesdin, on the frontiers of Picardy*. The king, in the mean time, having appointed a general rendezvous of his troops at Amiens, advanced to oppose the English monarch. Historians differ in their accounts of the motions of the two sovereigns ; those of England assert that John fled before the arms of Edward ; while the French writers affirm, that Edward declined the combat offered by John. It is certain, however, that the English monarch, after he had ravaged the country, retired to Calais, whence he embarked for England, where his presence was required to repel a threatened invasion of the Scots.

The prince of Wales, in the mean time, having passed over to Bourdeaux, made an irruption into the fertile province of Languedoc ; he presented himself before Thoulouse, passed the Garonne, burned the suburbs of Carcassonne ; and, after a most destructive course, in which five hundred villages, and many considerable towns, were reduced to ashes, he returned about Christmas to Bourdeaux, with a vast booty, and put his army into winter quarters†. During these depredations, the prince did not experience the smallest opposition, though the

* Froissard, Spicil. Cont. de Nang. &c.

† Avesbury, p. 210 to 227. ; Knighton. 2608.

French army, in those parts, was superior to his own, owing to the misunderstanding which prevailed among the generals, who were, James of Bourbon, constable of France ; the mareschal de Clermont ; the count of Armagnac ; and Gaston Phœbus count of Foix.

It was the misfortune of France to be exposed, at the same time, to the powerful attacks of a foreign enemy, and to the treacherous machinations of domestic foes*. The king appeared wholly occupied in making the necessary preparations for defending his dominions against the incursions of the English, placing an implicit reliance on the fidelity of those to whom he had entrusted the execution of his designs, when he was suddenly roused from this security, by the discovery of a dangerous plot.

Immediately after the conclusion of the treaty of Valogne, the king of Navarre began to form fresh intrigues ; and he unfortunately found means to insinuate himself into the good graces of the dauphin, John's eldest son, who was then in his eighteenth year. The youth of this prince, the mildness of his disposition, and the generosity of his mind, joined to his inexperience, rendered him susceptible of any impressions, which designing malice might wish to inculcate. Seduced by deceitful professions of confidence and friendship, he listened to the treacherous advice of Charles the Bad, who gave him to understand that he was an object of hatred to the king, his father ; he endeavoured to support this assertion, by remarking to the prince, that John had never given him any appanage, although he was already in possession of Dauphiny, the government whereof was administered in his name. The credulous dauphin, notwithstanding the absurdity of the charge, suffered himself to be convinced that his father was an unnatural parent, who only sought to thwart his hopes, and interrupt his felicity ; and, yielding to the suggestions of Charles the Bad, he formed a design secretly to withdraw from court, and claim the protection of his uncle the emperor, Charles the Fourth, son to John, king of Bohemia, who was killed at the battle of Crecy. The day was fixed for his evasion ; and he wrote to the king of Navarre, who was then in Normandy, to desire he would send him some confidential servants to assist him in his escape. Charles the Bad, rejoiced at the success of his plan, hastened to Mantes, that he might be at hand to forward its execution ; every thing favoured his views, and thirty men at arms were stationed at Saint Cloud, to wait for the heir-apparent to the throne, and to deliver him into the hands of the basest of mankind. Fortunately the dauphin became sensible of his danger ; and, shuddering at his own imprudence†, revealed to his father the advice of Charles, and of his own intentions. John, less astonished at the criminal audaciousness of the king of Navarre, than moved by the repentance of his son, not only pardoned him, but, at his request, extended his forgiveness to all who had had any concern in this project. The king and the dauphin were alike

* Pièces Justif. rap. dans les Mém de Litt. Proces. M. S. du Roi de Navarre. † Knyghton.

ignorant of the extent of the plan that had been formed against them, nor was it till some time after that they discovered the particulars of this iniquitous mystery. Friquet, a dependent of Charles the Bad (whom we have already had occasion to notice) having been arrested and thrown into prison, was put to the torture; when he confessed that his master had intended to seize the king's person, and put him privately to death. The king of Navarre had concealed his real designs under pretence of pitying the dauphin's hard fate, and of inducing him to apply to his uncle for protection and redress. He had laid a plan for surprising the king on his journey to the abbey of Grandpre in Normandy, whither he was going to perform the office of godfather to a child of the count of Eu. The joy which Charles experienced at the idea of having both father and son in his possession, could only be equalled by his astonishment at the failure of his plot. The dauphin entered into no explanation with him, but simply sent him word that he need not send any body to meet him, as he had changed his mind.

The king represented to the danger to him which his imprudence would have exposed him, had he put himself in the power of a prince who was not alarmed at the commission of crimes the most atrocious, and who had a visible interest in sowing dissension between him and his children. After these paternal remonstrances, John, though convinced of the sincerity of his son's repentance, determined to remove all future pretence for seducing him from his duty, by investing him with the duchy of Normandy. The dauphin accordingly did homage to the king for that territory, in the house of Martin de Marle, canon of Notre-Dame.

The failure of this enterprise induced Charles the Bad to have once more recourse to the king's clemency. The dauphin (whom we shall henceforth distinguish by the appellation of the duke of Normandy) had so little idea of the extent of his guilt, that he was the first to solicit, in favour of the parties concerned in the plot, the forgiveness of his father, who, himself, deceived by appearances, made no difficulty to grant the pardon he desired. Letters of absolution were accordingly published, in which the dauphin himself was, at his own request, included. They run thus—"As it has lately been represented to us that our dearest son, Charles, duke of Normandy, intended to leave the kingdom without our permission, and repair to the court of our dearest brother the emperor, &c.; we, after being made acquainted with the full extent of his designs, pardon our said son, and all those who were to accompany him to the emperor's court, for every thing relating thereto." By the terms of these letters it is evident, that the real intentions of Charles the Bad were equally unknown both to the dauphin and the king. When, however, the whole extent of this nefarious plot had been revealed to John, he determined to seize the first favourable opportunity for the infliction of exemplary vengeance—a gratifica-

tion, which, at present, the critical situation of his affairs, and the strength and influence of Charles compelled him to forego.

Harassed by the persevering spirit of Edward ; distressed by domestic feuds ; and destitute of the means of opposing his enemies, the king, agreeably to the custom, on like occasions, in the preceding reigns, convened a meeting of the states general. As the principal business of these assemblies was, the discovery of resources to support a war, and as the chief burden generally fell upon the third estate, the suffrages of the deputies of the people, must naturally have had a considerable influence on the deliberations. Hence the third order began, by degrees, to take advantage of the necessity of the times ; and, after forming a balance to the credit of the nobility, it at length ventured to discuss the rights, and attack the limits of the sovereign authority. The first symptoms of this spirit of freedom appeared at the meeting of the states now assembled by John ; and the king's declaration, in consequence of their remonstrances, has, by some writers, been compared to the Magna Charta of England ; it therefore requires particular notice.

The kingdom of France was, at this time, divided into two parts ; one of these was called *La Langue d'Oyl**, or the *Customary Country*, from being governed by the customary law ; it comprehended all the northern provinces : while the southern provinces of which the other division consisted, were termed *La Langue d'Oc* ; here the statute or written law prevailed. The Lyonnais formed the only exception to this rule ; for, though it was subject to the written law, it belonged to the customary country. The two divisions were separated by the Garonne. As Guienne, and some of the neighbouring provinces were in possession of the English ; the *Langue d'Oc* was the smallest part, containing only the present province of Languedoc, with the addition of Quercy and Rouergne.

The assembly, composed of the deputies of the *Langue d'Oyl*, met on the second of December, 1355, when the session was opened in the king's name, by Peter le Forest, archbishop of Rouen, and chancellor of France. After having explained to the assembly the situation of the kingdom, and the wants of the prince, he told them, from the king, that they were to consult among themselves on the best means of providing for the necessities of the state, and the defence of the country. He added, that the king being informed that his subjects were grievously oppressed by the frequent changes and gross adulteration of the coin, he was willing to make a sufficient quantity of good money, and to establish a proper standard, on condition that they would supply him with every necessary assistance for supporting the war. When the chancellor sat down, those members who were deputed by the three orders to answer him : viz. John de Craon, archbishop of Rheims, by the clergy ; Gauthier de Brienne, duke of

* This term is said to be derived from the word OYL which the inhabitants of those provinces used for OUI ; Oc being used in the same sense by the inhabitants of the northern provinces, procured for them the appellation of ' *La Langue d'Oc*,' Du Cange ad verb, L'impia.

Athens, by the nobility ; Stephen Marcel, provost of Paris, by the third estate—protested that they were all ready to devote their lives and their fortunes to the service of the king. They then begged the king's permission to confer among themselves on the necessary expedients to be adopted, in the present situation of public affairs, and on the representations which they wished to make with regard to various abuses which had been introduced into the government. The session was accordingly adjourned till the next day, when the conferences commenced.

The first article they agreed on, and which they laid down as a general maxim, was, that the *unanimous* consent of the three orders was indispensably requisite to give to any decree the force of a law ; and, that the decisions of two of the orders could not be deemed binding on the third. By this preliminary arrangement, some idea may be formed of the degree of influence to which the third estate had attained at this period.

The authority of the assembly being thus defined, they proceeded to deliberate on the different objects of discussion. It was determined to oppose the enemy with an army of ninety thousand men, independent of the militia ; a force sufficient to secure the kingdom from every insult. In order to raise the necessary supplies for the support of these troops, they laid a duty upon salt, and imposed a tax of eight deniers per livre on all articles exposed to sale, except estates of inheritance. No person was exempted from this impost ; and in order to take away every pretext from such as might seek to elude it, the king and queen, with their children and the princes of the blood, were equally bound to pay it. The states reserved to themselves the power of choosing commissioners to superintend the collection and appropriation of the money thus granted ; though the king, and his council, strenuously opposed a determination which tended to deprive them of the privilege they had ever enjoyed of disposing of the supplies destined to defray the expences of the war.

The king sanctioned with his approbation the proceedings of the states, and passed an ordonnance conformable to their wishes. This ordonnance prescribes the collection of the imposts, and the appointment, by the states, of nine superintendants-general, three of each order ; the nomination of particular deputies in the provinces to regulate the distribution of the taxes granted by the states, with the form of the oath to be taken by the superintendants. The king engaged that the produce of the taxes should not be appropriated to any other purposes but those for which the taxes were imposed ; and, in case of any orders being issued repugnant to this engagement, the deputies were bound by an oath to resist them to the utmost of their power. The decision of any disputes that might arise between the superintendants was referred to the parliament ; and the examination of the accounts of money received and expended, to the members of the council. As the new taxes were only granted for a year, the states were summoned to meet again at the expiration of that period. Such was the regu-

lation concerning the collection and employment of the subsidy granted for carrying on the war.

The king, in return, fulfilled his promise of coining a sufficient quantity of good money, and of establishing a regular standard for ascertaining its weight and purity; he also renounced for himself, his family, and principal officers, the right which they had hitherto enjoyed of exacting from the people, whenever they travelled, wine, provisions, horses, carriages, and, in short, every thing of which they stood in need. And he farther engaged never more to extort loans from his subjects against their wills.

All creditors were forbidden to transfer their debts to persons in power, or to privileged officers, under pain of forfeiture and an arbitrary fine; all the debts due to the Lombard bankers, (who were always termed usurers) were declared to be void at the expiration of ten years; and, with regard to all lawful debts, it was decreed that no debtor could be sued before any other than the judge of his district.

By the same edict, the king ordained that all jurisdiction should be confined to the proper judges; and that no man should, in future, be cited to appear before the officers of the crown; many other abuses with regard to privileges claimed, and fees exacted by such officers, were abolished; for the encouragement of trade, all members of the council; presidents and counsellors of the parliament; masters of requests; masters of accounts; treasurers of France; receivers; masters of the mint; seneschals; king's secretaries; and, in general, all judges and officers, were forbidden to carry on any kind of traffic, directly or indirectly, under pain of confiscation of their merchandizes, and arbitrary punishment; the king promised never to convoke the *arriere-ban*, without an evident and urgent necessity, nor without the advice of the deputies of the three estates, unless an impossibility of assembling them should subsist; and all former imposts were to cease so long as the new taxes should continue.

The other parts of this ordonnance consisted of military regulations, tending to secure the inhabitants from being molested by the troops on their march; and to prevent an imposition, then frequent, of exacting payment for men who were not with the army by getting others to answer for them when their names were called over; the same imposition too was practised with respect to horses, which were, therefore, ordered in future to have some particular mark, that the same horse might not appear twice, and so produce a double salary to his owner. The ordonnance concluded with a promise from the king to exert his utmost efforts for bringing the war to a speedy termination, and not to conclude any peace or truce without the advice of a committee of deputies from the three estates. This ordonnance was dated the twenty-eighth of December, 1355, sealed on the eighteenth of January following, and published on the twenty-second of the same month.

Such is the substance of that famous declaration, which formed a subject of exultation to contemporary writers, and has even been spoken of in terms of triumph by later historians. To people long accustomed to a state of abject submission, this participation of power must have proved highly flattering; that they should not have displayed the most rigid moderation in the exercise of their newly-acquired privileges, is rather an object of regret than a matter of surprise; the power of appropriating the supplies, granted by the states, should certainly, from respect to the throne, as well as from motives of expediency, have been confided to the king's ministers, under the necessary responsibility; and the right of making peace formed an essential prerogative of royalty, vested in the monarch for the wisest and most obvious reasons. No danger could be apprehended from a repetition of the abuses by which the kingdom had been harassed during the preceding reign; for, since the states had, very properly, assumed to themselves the power of granting supplies, the monarch would naturally be careful not to incur their displeasure by a wanton prodigality, or the conclusion of a dishonourable peace. By securing that power, the states had established the most effectual and salutary check to the destructive ambition of their monarchs; and, at the same time, had opened an easy road to the acquisition of other privileges, and the abolition of other abuses: had they adhered firmly to this point, and acted moderately in other respects; had they endeavoured to strengthen themselves without *degrading* their sovereign; all the calamities in which the kingdom was, afterward, involved, might easily have been avoided, and this basis of a free constitution have given birth and support to a fabric strong, useful, and durable.

The measures adopted by the states for procuring the necessary supplies proved ineffectual and unproductive; many of the provinces refused to submit to the new taxes, and to furnish their stipulated quota. The king had expressed his apprehensions of this failure, and had strenuously recommended the adoption of a poll-tax; but the states, jealous of their newly-established power, had refused to listen to his suggestions. They were at length, however, compelled to have recourse to this measure, and a general poll-tax was accordingly imposed on all subjects indiscriminately, without even excepting the princes of the blood*. It was fixed at four per cent. on those annual incomes which amounted to one hundred livres or upwards; two per cent. on those which exceeded forty, and did not amount to a hundred; and one per cent. on all under forty. But this tax proved most burdensome and oppressive to the poorer class of people, such as workmen, labourers, &c. whose wages, when they amounted to a hundred sols, were taxed at the rate of ten per cent.; a sure proof that the states were not guided by the best principles in the exercise of their new privileges. All moveables were taxed at four livres in the thousand.

* Ordonn. des Etats, MS,

Widows, minors, nuns, *cloistered* monks, and mendicant friars, were alone exempted from the impost.

While these preparations were making for repelling the attacks of a foreign enemy, the first symptoms of internal commotion appeared. An insurrection of the populace took place at Arras; and the nobility, in their attempts to quell the revolt, were defeated by the rebels, and compelled to quit the city, with the loss of twenty persons of note. This attempt, however, soon met with the punishment due to its enormity; the mareschal d'Andreghen, entering the town without any shew of hostility, seized a hundred of the principal insurgents, twenty of whom were publicly beheaded; this well-timed exertion of severity had the desired effect; and tranquillity was, for the present, restored.

The king now resolved to execute a plan which he had long had in contemplation. If we may credit the testimony of contemporary writers, he had never forgotten the death of his favourite Charles de la Cerda, and had determined to inflict an exemplary vengeance on the authors and accomplices of his assassination, the moment a favourable opportunity should occur*. The subsequent injuries he had sustained from the king of Navarre, and his partisans; their continual intrigues to thwart his projects; the conspiracy in which they had engaged the dauphin; the consequences of that plot, which had been since discovered; the pardon which he had been constrained to grant them; their efforts, in the assembly of the states-general, to prejudice the three orders against the government; all these circumstances tended to nourish and strengthen that resentment to which the murder of his favourite had given birth.

John, however, had hitherto disguised his feelings; and, notwithstanding the violence of his indignation, his desire of obtaining a more complete vengeance had enabled him to overcome the natural impetuosity of his temper.—The duke of Normandy contributed to the accomplishment of his scheme; for what passed, on this occasion, will not permit us to doubt that he entered into the views of his father. That prince was then at Rouen, the capital of his new appanage. His court was brilliant and numerous; and he had found means to induce the king of Navarre, with whom he still maintained a close correspondence, frequently to attend it. The noblemen, in the retinue of Charles the Bad, generally accompanied their master on his excursions from Evreux to Rouen. The dauphin one day invited that monarch to a grand repast; this invitation was accepted; and Charles came, attended by a number of his most faithful adherents.

During the preceding night, the king left Manneville, accompanied by a hundred men at arms: among whom were his son, the count of Anjou; his brother, the duke of Orleans; John of Artois, count of Eu, with his brother

* Froissard; Spicil, Cont, de Nangis; Grande Chronique; Chron. MS. du Roi Jean.

Charles of Artois; the count of Tancarville; the marshal d'Andreghen, and several other noblemen. He arrived at the gates of Rouen, at the very hour of dinner; and, passing round the outside of the walls, entered the castle by a private door, and presented himself in the room where the guests were assembled. The moment he appeared, every body arose from their seats; a goblet of wine was immediately offered him, but he refused to take it, and exclaimed, with a countenance inflamed with rage, "Let no one stir, under pain of death!" He immediately went up to the king of Navarre and secured him. The count of Harcourt attempted to escape, but was instantly stopped. All the nobles and knights, in the retinue of Charles the Bad, attempted to force a passage; some few of them escaped, but the greater part were seized and confined in different parts of the castle. The king then sat down to dinner; and, when he rose from table, he ordered the count of Harcourt, the lord of Gravelle, Maubue de Mainemars, knight, and Oliver Doublet, esquire, to be put into two carts; when he mounted his horse, and, attended by his son, the dauphin, and his men at arms, he conducted the prisoners to a field near the town, called *The Field of Pardon*, where he caused them to be beheaded. A contemporary historian* relates, that, as the fatal procession was passing through the streets of Rouen, the inhabitants, astonished at a sight so extraordinary and unexpected, attempted to liberate the prisoners, but the king pulling off his helmet, and making himself known, they immediately desisted. At the same time John took from his pocket a deed, from whence several seals were suspended, and assured the people it was a treaty concluded with the king of England. The same author adds, that the count of Harcourt, and the three other noblemen, denied to the last the existence of such a treaty.

On coolly considering the king's conduct on this occasion, we cannot but deplore that dangerous impetuosity of temper, which, leading him to follow the inconsiderate dictates of rage, gave an air of injustice to all his actions, degraded the dignity of the monarch, and the majesty of the throne; while he might easily have gratified a resentment founded in justice, by sanctioning his proceedings with the authority of the law. The four bodies were suspended on the public gibbet, and their heads placed on lances, fixed for the purpose. John dismissed all the other prisoners, except the king of Navarre, Friquet, and a gentleman named Vaubattu. Charles the Bad was conducted to the Louvre at Paris; or, according to some, to the fortress of Gaillard, near Andely, and from thence to the Chatelet,† where he underwent an examination, as we learn, from the certificate of the king's secretary, annexed to the copy of Friquet's examination.

A. D. 1356.] The imprisonment of Charles the Bad, and the execution of the nobles of Navarre, far from extinguishing the zeal of his partisans, only

* Villani.

† Spicil. Cont. Nang. Froissard.

served to light the torch of revolt in a part of the province of Normandy. Philip of Navarre, brother to that prince, assembled all the friends of his house, fortified the towns and castles in his brother's dominions, placed strong garrisons therein, and expressed a determination to defend himself to the last extremity. At the same time, he wrote to the king*, declaring, that he would never cease to wage war against him, should he presume to offer any violence to his brother. The seizure now attempted to be made of the domains of the king of Navarre, proved as ineffectual as on a former occasion prior to the treaty of Valognes; his troops that were stationed in the Cotentin, resisted every effort to reduce them. The nobility, too, and most of the inhabitants of the Norman towns, being disaffected to the government, either embraced the cause of the king of Navarre, or observed a strict neutrality. Geoffrey of Harcourt, who, during the preceding reign, had directed the English arms to the reduction of Normandy; and, who, after the battle of Crecy, had been reconciled to Philip, now, from resentment for his brother's death, proved himself the most bitter enemy which the king had to encounter.

Not content with having taken proper measures for opposing the first attacks of John, Philip of Navarre and Geoffrey of Harcourt determined to apply for the assistance of a foreign power, under whose banner the enemies of the state might, at all times, rally. They addressed themselves to the king of England†, who, lending a favourable ear to their remonstrances, sent over a passport to their agents, to enable them to repair to London. He went still farther; as John, when he arrested the king of Navarre, and caused the four noblemen to be executed, had accused them of a conspiracy against the state, and of having concluded a treaty with England, Edward undertook to destroy the reputation of his rival, by convicting him of falsehood, in the face of all Europe.

With this view, that monarch addressed a manifesto to the pope, the emperor, and to all the other princes and nobles of Christendom‡. “The prudent men of the age,” said Edward, in this manifesto, “endeavour to disguise their own faults, by attacking the innocence of others: we believe it to be conformable to our duty to God and man, to tear the veil which covers the face of truth, and to expose it naked, by wiping away, through the means of a public testimony, those false colours which serve to obscure it. Every body knows that John of France, actual possessor, in spite of God and justice, of that kingdom which belongs to us, he having strengthened by an oath his reconciliation with the king of Navarre, and having promised that prince to forget all past subjects of discontent, which he might have either against him or his adherents, has, nevertheless, seized the count of Harcourt, and several other noblemen, and has treated them in a manner which our respect for the honourable profession of arms forbids us to explain. But, as the said John

* Trésor des Chartres,

† Rymer, vol. iii. p. 122.

‡ Ib. p. 122.

“ of France, in order to justify his conduct, pretends, as we are told, to have
 “ in his possession certain letters of the king of Navarre and his nobles, by which
 “ it appears, that they had conspired against him, and had promised to join us,
 “ and to surrender the province of Normandy into our hands ; fearful, lest such
 “ reports should injure our honour, and that of the king of Navarre, and wish-
 “ ing, from the ties of blood by which we are united, to clear the said king
 “ of Navarre from this false imputation, we declare, on the word of a king,
 “ and before God, that the king of Navarre and his friends never concluded
 “ any treaty with us, never favoured our cause, and that, on the contrary, we
 “ have ever regarded them as our enemies.” Signed at Westminster, on the
 fourteenth of May, 1356.

The king's enemies did not fail to circulate this manifesto, and succeeded but too well in accelerating the progress of faction, and encreasing the number of malcontents. The prince of Navarre went to England, accompanied by Geoffrey of Harcourt, in order to press the conclusion of the treaty*. The latter, yielding to the dictates of resentment, immediately after his arrival at London, acknowledged Edward for king of France and duke of Normandy, did homage to him as such, and confessed that he held of him the lordship of Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte, and other considerable estates in Normandy, and finally declared him heir to all his possessions. Edward in return, made him lieutenant in Normandy. Philip of Navarre likewise did homage to the king of England. In the deed of homage are inserted the terms of that alliance, the principal condition of which is the war against France which the contracting parties bind themselves to continue till Edward shall have effected the entire conquest of the kingdom, and procured the liberation of the king of Navarre. They farther engaged to conclude no truce nor peace without the consent of all parties.

The duke of Lancaster, had, in the mean time, entered Normandy with a considerable re-inforcement of English†, which, joined to the troops of Navarre, formed a body of forty thousand men at arms, besides infantry. A short time before his arrival, the count of Tancarville, constable of Normandy, and king's lieutenant of that province, had taken the town and castle of Evreux, which were first pillaged and then reduced to ashes. The duke of Lancaster, having formed a junction with the forces of Philip of Navarre, took possession of Breteuil, which he fortified, and from thence committed depredations on the circumjacent country. He then penetrated into Perche, and reduced Verneuil, which he dismantled, and partly burned.

As soon as the king was informed of the invasion of Normandy by the duke of Lancaster, he assembled his troops, and took the road to Verneuil, where he expected to meet the enemy ; but he found that they had altered their course, and directed their march towards the town of Aigle. Thither he accordingly

* Rymer, vol. iii. p. 122.

† Froissard. Grande Chronique.

repaired, but, on his arrival, he found the English so strongly intrenched in the neighbouring forests, that, fearful of falling into an ambuscade, he thought it prudent to retreat. On his return, he took and garrisoned the castle of Tilliers, and afterwards reduced Breteuil, after a siege of two months.

These transactions in Normandy were but the prelude to the operations of this campaign, although the season was so far advanced that there appeared to be but little time left to undertake any enterprise of importance. An enemy more formidable than the Navarrese and the duke of Lancaster threatened the opposite extremity of the kingdom. While John was employed in the siege of Breteuil, the prince of Wales was laying waste the southern parts of France. After passing the Garonne, he penetrated into Auvergne and the Limousin, which he over-ran with the rapidity of a torrent. He then entered the province of Berry, and made an unsuccessful attack on the towns of Bourges and Issoudun. Pressing forward with incredible celerity he arrived on the frontiers of Touraine, when he thought of proceeding to join the duke of Lancaster in Perche, but he was informed that all the bridges of the Loire were broken down, all the passages carefully guarded, and that the king was at Chartres with a formidable army. He therefore resolved to hasten back to Guienne through Touraine and Poitou.

John had not been informed of the irruption of the prince of Wales till his return to Paris, after the reduction of Breteuil. The moment he received the intelligence he swore, that he would march against him, and bring him to action wherever he should find him*. All the nobility of France had orders to march, and the general rendezvous of the troops was appointed on the frontiers of Touraine and the Blois. While the army was assembling, the king dispatched the lords of Craon and Boucicaut, with the hermit of Chaumont, to harass the prince's troops. The French formed an ambuscade in a kind of defile, near Romorantin, where they surprised a body of two hundred lances, whom they attacked with great fury. The English, however, defended themselves with such vigour, that the prince of Wales had time to come to their assistance. The French were then obliged to retreat, and to take refuge in the castle of Romorantin, the town not being in a state of defence. The prince determined to revenge this affront, appeared to forget for a time the necessity of using the utmost dispatch in his return to Guienne. He summoned the three noblemen to surrender at discretion, and, on their refusal, laid siege to the place, which he reduced in a few days.

The delay, however, occasioned by this important attack, had nearly proved fatal to the English. The king, having collected his troops, left Chartres, reached Blois the first day, and, in two days more, arrived at Loches, where he learned that the enemy had entered Touraine. The prince pursued his route

* Froissard, Spicil, Cont de Nang. Grande Chronique, Chron. MS. &c,

to Poitiers, and endeavoured, by forced marches, to recover the time he had lost before the castle of Romorantin. As the two armies advanced towards Poitiers the distance between them gradually diminished. Already had the French passed the small river Creuse by the bridge of Chauvigny, and, marching round a wood, within two short leagues of Poitiers, pitched their camp near the village of Maupertis, when the English arrived at the same spot, from the opposite side of the wood. Here the prince learned, from some prisoners, that the king of France, with his whole army, were before him, and that it was impossible either to advance or retreat without coming to action. He sent a detachment of two hundred men at arms to reconnoitre, and, on their return, he first learned the strength of the enemy he had to encounter. But his courage seemed to encrease with the danger that threatened him; "God's will be done!" said he, "nothing remains but to know how we shall fight them to the best advantage." It was on Saturday the seventeenth of September, 1356, that the two armies came in sight of each other. The English employed the night in fortifying their camp; the ground which the prince had pitched on was a small plain, gently inclining, surrounded by woods and vineyards, and accessible only by a narrow defile in front, which was enclosed with thick hedges on either side.

But neither the courage of the prince, nor the prudence he displayed in the choice of his ground could possibly have availed him in this emergency, had John known how to profit by the present advantage. The English army, fatigued with a long and toilsome march, had, for some days, experienced a want of provisions and forage, from the necessity of returning through a country which they had before laid waste. Enclosed on all sides by an army more numerous than their own in the proportion of at least eight to one*, a delay of three days must have forced them to lay down their arms, and surrender at discretion. The war would then have been finished; the capture of the prince of Wales would have obliged the king of England to submit to almost any terms that his rival might wish to impose. But the blind impetuosity of John deprived the kingdom of this advantage, and proved a source of endless misfortune to himself and his people.

At dawn of day the king and his officers attended mass, which it was always usual to celebrate previous to an action. He then called a council of war, which was attended by the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon; the count of Ponthieu; James of Bourbon; the duke of Athens, constable of France; the counts of Sallebrache, Dammartin, and Ventadour; marshal d'Andreghen; the lords of Clermont, Saint-Venant, Landas, Fiennes, Chatillon, Sully, Nesle, and Duras; Eustace de Ribault, Geoffrey de Charny, and many other noblemen. Whether the members were apprised of the king's intention, and

* Villaret,

were afraid to oppose them, or whether the small number of the enemy inspired them with a blind confidence, there was not one man, among this crowd of princes and knights, the flower of French chivalry, endued with sufficient spirit or prudence to give the only advice that ought to have been pursued.—The attack of the enemy's camp was unanimously resolved on; and the troops accordingly received orders to hold themselves in readiness. While Eustace de Ribaumont, John de Landas, and Guichard de Beujeau were employed in reconnoitring the enemy, the king, mounted on a white courser, rode along the ranks and thus addressed his men—"Soldiers, when you are at Paris, Chartres, Rouen, or Orleans, you threaten the English, and wish to be in their presence with your helmets on; now you are in their presence, yonder they are: if you wish to take vengeance for the injuries you have sustained, and to punish your enemies for what they have made you suffer, now is your time, for we shall certainly fight them." The soldiers replied to this laconic harangue by protestations of courage and fidelity.

John now commanded one of the first armies that France had produced for a long time; it amounted to more than sixty thousand men, among whom were three thousand knights bannerets. The four sons of the king, the princes of the blood, and all the men of distinction in the kingdom, able to bear arms, were assembled at Maupertuis. To this formidable army was opposed a body of eight thousand men, not more than three thousand of which were English, the rest were chiefly Gascons; but weak as it was in comparison with the enemy whose attack it was destined to sustain; it had the advantage of being commanded by the gallant prince of Wales, the celebrated hero of Crecy.

The French army was formed into three divisions, each containing sixteen thousand men at arms, besides infantry. The first was commanded by the king's brother, the duke of Orleans; the second by the dauphin, attended by his two brothers, Lewis and John; these three princes were entrusted to the care of the lords of St. Venant, de Landas, de Tibault, de Bodenay, and Arnaud de Cervolle; the king reserved the command of the third division for himself, attended by his favourite son, Philip, then about fourteen years of age. The three knights, whom he had sent to reconnoitre the enemy's position, brought him word that the prince of Wales had strongly fortified his post; and that, in order to attack him, it would be necessary to pass through a defile, so narrow as scarcely to admit four men abreast, and well guarded by thick hedges that afforded a complete shelter to the enemy. The king asked Eustace de Ribaumont, which was the best mode of beginning the attack; and that nobleman advised him to dismount all the men at arms, except three hundred of the bravest and best mounted, who should lead the way, and endeavour to force a passage through the English archers. This advice being approved, orders were given accordingly; all the men at arms dismounted, except the three hundred that were to begin the attack, under the command of

Anno
1356



Alardice 21.

John the 2^d surrendering to Denis de. Herber

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mareschals Clermont and D'Andreghen, and the German cavalry who were destined to support them. The men at arms were ordered to take off their spurs, and to cut their lances down to five feet, for the greater convenience of engaging in close fight.

As soon as the troops began to move, they were stopped by the appearance of the cardinal de Perigord, the pope's legate, who having learned the approach of the two armies to each other, had hastened to prevent, if possible, the effusion of blood. By John's permission, he repaired to the prince of Wales, whom he found sensible of his dangerous situation; and indeed, willing to listen to any terms of accommodation that were not inconsistent with his own honour, and with that of England: he even offered to purchase a retreat, by a cession of all the conquests he had made in the course of that and the preceding campaign; by restoring all the prisoners and booty he had taken; and by engaging not to bear arms against France for seven years. But John peremptorily insisted, that the prince should surrender himself prisoner, with a hundred of his knights: the negotiation, therefore, was broken off, Edward declaring, that he would never accede to such dishonourable terms; and that, whatever fortune might attend him, England should never have his ransom to pay.

Both sides now prepared for action, though the day was so far advanced, that it was found necessary to defer it till the next morning; and, during the night, the English prince strengthened, by additional entrenchments, the post he had so judiciously chosen. Early in the morning of the nineteenth of September, the two armies were drawn up in order of battle; the French were disposed as before; and the prince of Wales had, in imitation of his adversary, also divided his army into three lines; the van was commanded by the earl of Warwick, the main body by the prince himself, and the rear by the earls of Salisbury and Suffolk. The lords Chandos, Audley, and many other brave and experienced officers, were at the head of different corps. Edward had also taken the precaution to place the captal de Buche, with three hundred men at arms, and as many archers, behind an elevated spot, at the foot of which the dauphin's division was posted; and he lined the hedges on both sides of the defile which led to his camp with a body of his best archers.

Just before the action began, the cardinal de Perigord, being resolved to make one final effort for an accommodation, again appeared at the head of the French army; but the king and his generals told him they would listen to no terms, and advised him to make a hasty retreat, or he might perhaps have reason to repent his forwardness. He then took his leave of John, and riding up to the prince of Wales, said, "My fair son, do your best, for you must fight." "It is our intention so to do," replied Edward; "and may God assist the just*!"

* Villaret.

The signal for battle was given about nine in the morning, when the three hundred men at arms, under the conduct of mareschals D'Andreghen and de Clermont, entered the defile, in order to clear the passage for the rest of the troops ; but the English archers plied their arrows with such effect, that the lane was, in a manner, stopped up with the bodies of men and horses, so that the last ranks were unable to advance. The two mareschals, however, and some of their best-mounted followers, forced their way to the end, and attacked the van of the English with great intrepidity ; but their courage was ineffectual ; overcome by numbers, they were almost instantly surrounded, and either killed or taken. Mareschal de Clermont was slain by lord Chandos, who, having had some altercation with him on the preceding day, determined to decide the quarrel, the moment they should meet in battle* ; and D'Andreghen was felled to the ground by the lord Audley, who took him prisoner. This first check, trifling as it appeared, decided the fate of the day : the men at arms, who had been prevented from reaching the end of the defile, turned the heads of their horses, and flying back with precipitation on the dauphin's division, threw it into confusion. Those who were dismounted, quitted the ranks, and ran towards their horses ; and at that moment the capital de Buche rushed from his station, and attacked them in flank with great fury. The noblemen who attended the dauphin and his two brothers, instead of attempting to remedy the disorder, occasioned by the attack of six hundred men on a body of twenty thousand, gave way to the suggestions of fear, and taking the young princes off the field, fought to conceal their own cowardice beneath the specious pretext of preserving the hopes of the state. The duke of Orleans, who commanded the second division, acted still more cowardly, by setting an example of flight to his men, even before he had drawn his sword. The prince of Wales, observing the confusion that now prevailed in the French army, mounted his horse, and gave orders to such of his men at arms as had hitherto fought on foot to follow his example. Lord Chandos, who was near him during the whole action, said, " Come along, Sir, the victory is our own ; no thing now remains but to attack the battalion commanded by the king."— Pointing to the king of France, who was distinguished by his martial air, and by a coat of mail, embellished with golden *fleurs de lis*, he exclaimed, " I know that his courage will prevent him from flying ; so, with the aid of God and St. George, we shall soon have him in our power." " Come along, Chandos," replied the prince, " no one, this day, shall see me retreat†." He then advanced to attack the king's division, which still remained entire, though somewhat dismayed by the flight of their companions, and was far superior in numbers to the whole English army.

The battle now became serious ; the king of France, enraged at the desertion

* Villaret. † Idem.

of his two first divisions, determined, by his own conduct, to set a worthy example to his remaining troops : never did monarch display a greater intrepidity of soul than John evinced on this memorable occasion. Had a fifth part of those that accompanied him exhibited the same determined courage, the fortune of the day might probably have been changed. He gave his orders with the utmost tranquillity, arranged his troops, and presented a firm front to the enemy. The shock was dreadful ; neither party could claim a superiority of valour in the bloody fray ; equal resolution appeared on both sides ; and the ground, strewn with the bodies of the dead and dying, was now disputed inch by inch.

That a whole nation may not be involved in disgrace for the cowardice of a few, the names of those brave men, who, by their spirited, though successful efforts, preserved the fame they had justly acquired, and did honour to their country, ought to be recorded in history. The chief of these were the duke of Bourbon ; James of Bourbon ; John and James of Artois ; the duke of Athens ; John de Melun, count of Tancarville, with his three sons, William, archbishop of Sens, and John and Simon de Melun ; Arnaut Chaveau, bishop of Chalons, in Champagne ; the lords of Pons, Parthenay, Damp-Marie, Montabouton, Surgeres, Rochefoucault, Saintre, L'Angle, Argenton, Linieres, Montandre, Rochecouart, Aulnoy, Beaujeu, Chateau-Villain, Montpensier, Ventadour, Cervolle, Mareuil, La Tour, Charenton, Montagu, Rochefort, La Chaire, Apchon, Linal, Norvel, Pierre-Buffiere, Merle, Raineval, Saint-Dizier, Charny, Hely, Monfant and Hagnes.

This worthy band of valorous knights, crowding round their prince, long enabled him to resist the impetuous attacks of the enemy. A body of German cavalry, commanded by the counts of Sarbruck, Nydo, and Nassau, being placed in the front, the prince of Wales rushed on them with great fury, soon routed them, killed two of their leaders, and took the third prisoner. Still, however, the French, animated by the presence and example of their sovereign, made a desperate resistance. But the duke of Athens being slain, his brigade gave way, and left the king to sustain the undivided fury of the English. His son Philip, fighting by his side, displayed an intrepidity superior to his age ; whenever a blow was aimed at his father, he rushed forward to catch it ; and the wound he received, in thus nobly discharging the duties of a child and a hero, was the most glorious of any that was inflicted that day. The duke of Bourbon was by this time slain, and the standard of France lay prostrate on the ground, clasped in the lifeless arms of the valiant Charny, who had refused to quit the precious charge. The ranks were thinned ; the carnage was dreadful ; but the king seemed to rise superior to misfortune, and rallying round his person the few surviving nobles, determined, by a desperate effort, to retrieve, if possible, the fortune of the day. Wielding his axe with amazing strength and dexterity, he dealt destruction to all who dared to approach him : in vain did his enemies exhort him to yield ; he seemed intent on death or victory.

But exhausted, at length, by such violent and continued exertion, and having received two wounds in the face, from the loss of his helmet, which had fallen off in the heat of the action, a French knight, who had been expelled his country for a murder committed in a private war, approached him, and again exhorted him to surrender. "To whom shall I surrender?" said the king, "where" "is my cousin, the prince of Wales; could I see him, I might consent to surrender." "The prince," answered the knight, "is not here, but surrender" "to me, and I will conduct you to him."—"Who are you?" replied the king: "Sire," said he, "I am Denis de Morbec, a knight of Artois; I serve" "the king of England, because I cannot return to France, having spent my" "fortune." John then threw down his gauntlet, saying to Denis, "To you I" "yield myself."

The prince of Wales, who had pursued the fugitives to some distance, finding the field entirely clear on his return, had ordered a tent to be pitched, that he might repose himself after the fatigue of the battle. Having enquired after the king of France, and found that he had not fled, he dispatched the earl of Warwick, and lord Cobham, in search of him; and these noblemen arrived just in time to save the life of the captive prince, which was in as much danger after he had surrendered, as it had been during the heat of the action; from a violent altercation which had arisen between a party of English and Gascon soldiers, who had taken him from Morbec, and were disputing about his ransom. When Warwick and Cobham appeared, their presence put a stop to the contention: they approached the king with the greatest demonstrations of respect, and offered to conduct him to the prince of Wales.

France lost on this disastrous day, six thousand of her bravest citizens; among the nobles who fell in the action were, the marshal Clermont; Peter, duke of Bourbon; Robert de Duras; the duke of Athens; Geoffrey de Charny; Richard de Beaujeu; William de Nesle; the lords of Surgeres, Rochefoucault, la Fayette, Laval, Humieres, Urfe, l'Angle, Dammartin, Pons, Montagu, Chambly, la Heuse, la Tour, Ribault, and the bishop of Chalons*. There was scarcely a noble family in the kingdom, but had to deplore the loss of a relation. The prisoners were still more numerous than the slain; for besides the king and his son Philip, there were taken three princes of the blood, the counts of Eu, Ponthieu, and Tancarville; one archbishop; seventeen counts; and fifteen hun-

* As this prelate, and the archbishop of Sens, were both present at the battle of Poitiers, it is evident that the feudal laws, which compelled the ecclesiastics to personal service in the wars, still subsisted in several parts of France. The laws of the church expressly condemned this custom, to which the clergy were rendered subject by their temporal possessions. The contradiction which prevailed in this respect between the French government and the national religion, continued to obtain, in its full force, till the reign of Francis the First; who, by an edict of the fourth of July, 1541, exempted the clergy from the obligation of personal attendance in the field, on condition of paying a certain sum in lieu of it. By a contract passed on the twenty-ninth of April, 1636, under the reign of Lewis the Thirteenth, they were totally released from the duties of military service. Villaret, t. ix. p. 189.

dred barons, knights, and gentlemen, besides several thousand men at arms*. Among the prisoners, the three sons of the count of Tancarville ; the lord of Pompadour ; the counts of Vaudemont and Vendome, Gravelle and Etampes ; John of Saintre, who was esteemed the bravest knight of his time ; James of Bourbon ; the two princes of Artois ; the lords of Rochechouart, Damp-Marie, Parthenai, Montandre, Brunes, Malval, Pierre-Buffiere, Sauverac, and Grenville.

All historians unite in declaring that the generosity displayed by the conquerors after the battle, added a new lustre to their victory. Minds the most brutal may be endued with courage ! and ignorance of danger may impel the callous and unfeeling soul to exertions of valour ; but the virtues of moderation and humanity are indispensably requisite to the formation of a hero ; and never did mortal possess those virtues in a more eminent degree than young Edward. Though furious amidst the din of battle, he was now all mildness and humility. When the captive monarch approached his tent, the prince went forth to meet him, with a countenance that bespoke the sympathetic feelings of his mind ; he received John with every possible mark of tenderness and regard ; attempted to soothe him by the most consolatory language that dignified compassion could suggest ; paid the tribute of praise that was due to his valour ; ascribed his own success to accident, that often, he observed, overturned the best concerted plans ; and, finally, assured him he had fallen into the hands of those who knew how to honour his virtues, and to respect his misfortunes. John's conduct, on this trying occasion, shewed him worthy the generous treatment he experienced ; he suffered no mean depression of spirits to render him forgetful of his own dignity ; or to sink the sovereign in the captive. More affected by the liberality of Edward, than by his own calamities ; he confessed he was conscious that the defeat he had sustained could not be ascribed to any impropriety of conduct in him, nor could possibly convey the smallest reflection upon his honour ; and he expressed his satisfaction that, since he was doomed to captivity, he was so fortunate as to be prisoner to the most gallant and generous prince in the universe.

Young Edward ordered a repast to be prepared in his own tent for the royal captive, and assisted in serving him : he constantly refused to be seated at table, declaring that he knew too well the distance between a subject and a sovereign to be guilty of such an impropriety. The French officers who had been taken in the battle, were stricken with astonishment at this singular instance of generosity and moderation ; regarding the prince as a being of some superior species, their admiration was mingled with reverential awe ; and the veneration they manifested for the great qualities he displayed, was only checked by the reflection that their country was reduced to a situation more pregnant with danger, from being exposed to the resentment of an enemy possessed of such extraordinary endowments†.

* P. Emil. p. 197 ; R. d'Avesbury, p. 252 to 255 ; Knyghton, col. 2613.

† Froissard, l. i. c. 168.

This calamitous event was productive of the most fatal consequence to the welfare and tranquillity of France. The prince of Wales having continued his march to Bourdeaux, the dauphin, instead of rallying his troops and attacking him on the road, when encumbered with booty, returned to Paris. But his appearance in the capital by no means diminished that consternation which the dreadful intelligence of the defeat at Poitiers had universally diffused. The safety of the state appeared wholly to depend on him ; and his past conduct was not calculated to inspire confidence. His inconsiderate engagement in the conspiracy formed by the king of Navarre had induced people to conceive a very unfavourable opinion of him ; and his hasty retreat from the late battle, where he had failed in his duty to his father, his king, and his country, rendered his courage more than suspected. These first impressions contributed not a little to disturb the commencement of his administration. He experienced contradictions which put his spirit to the test ; but his genius being compelled to develop itself by the obstacles he encountered, he became inured to business from habit and necessity. He gained by application the esteem he had lost by his weakness ; and finally acquired, by the prudence of his conduct, the flattering appellations of saviour, and restorer of the monarchy.

The first object of Charles, on his return to the capital, was to calm the minds of the people, and to give some consistency to the government, which the captivity of the king left, in some measure, without a guide. Some time before the battle of Poitiers, the duke of Normandy had been created lieutenant of the kingdom*, as appears by letters of the preceding months of June and September, in which he assumes that title. The exact degree of authority which that office conferred is not ascertained ; but, whatever it might be, it was certainly insufficient to sanction the free and unreserved exercise of the sovereign power. In that capacity, however, Charles hastened the convention of the states, which, accordingly, met on the seventeenth of October.

The first act of this assembly was the acknowledgment of the authority of the heir apparent as lieutenant-general of the kingdom. He did not assume the title of Regent till two years after, when he had attained the age of twenty-one ; for, according to the laws of France, no minor could be appointed to the regency. This was doubtless one of the principal motives which engaged Charles, on his accession to the throne, to issue that edict, by which the kings of France were declared to be of age at fourteen. He wished to prevent the inconveniences arising from the too long minority of princes ; inconveniences which he himself had experienced ; for it is certain, that, could he have assumed the quality of regent, immediately after the battle of Poitiers, that title superior to the rank of lieutenant, would have rendered his power more efficient, and have enabled him to restrain his subjects within the bounds of their duty.

* Froissard ; Mem. de Litt. ; Hist. du roi de Navarre par M. Secousse.

The members of the states evinced a disposition very different from that which the present situation of affairs required. While the kingdom stood in need of immediate relief, they talked of nothing but abuses and reform: instead of re-establishing the finances, they wasted their time in complaints against those who had formerly been entrusted with the administration thereof. A cordial union of all the orders was necessary to oppose the powerful efforts of the formidable enemy they had to encounter; but a general division appeared among them, and in nothing were they unanimous, except in murmurs of discontent.

The nobility who, since the commencement of the war with England, had suffered considerably, now found their credit and influence reduced almost to nothing; the battle of Crecy had diminished their numbers, and the defeat at Poitiers had completed their ruin. The bravest noblemen and gentlemen had either lost their lives or liberties on that disastrous day; and such as had dishonoured themselves by an ignominious flight, become objects of general contempt or detestation, did not dare to shew their faces in public. Those who were not present at the battle were minors whose tender years incapacitated them from bearing arms. Most of the surviving nobility augmented the odium under which their order laboured by an ill-timed display of ostentation and luxury.—Gaming, and every species of debauchery were now at the height. The people were enraged at seeing the money which they had granted for carrying on the war, consumed in superfluous expences. It was then that the inhabitants of the country thought themselves entitled to retort on the nobles the injurious appellation of *Jacques Bonhomme*, with which they stigmatised such as were accused of having deserted their sovereign at the battle of Poitiers. It is not surprising that, under these circumstances, the people should have acquired a superiority in the assembly of the states; what use they made of that advantage will soon be seen.

The assembly, composed of eight hundred members, was opened by the chancellor, who, in the prince's name, explained the present situation of the kingdom, and asked advice and assistance, as well for the defence and government of the realm, as for the release of the king. The three orders then desired time to deliberate on these matters, before they should be called on to make any proposals; this request was made by John de Craon, archbishop of Rheims, in the name of the clergy; by the king's brother, the duke of Orleans, in the name of the nobility; and by Stephen Marcel, provost of the merchants of Paris, in the name of the commons, or third estate. The dauphin, having given his consent, the conferences were opened the next day, at the convent of the cordeliers, where the three orders assembled in separate apartments. Some members of the king's council had been appointed to attend the conferences; but as their presence operated as a restraint on the freedom of debate, the deputies insisted they should retire.

After a week passed in useless discussion, on various subjects, without any

fixed object in view, they found it necessary to appoint a committee of fifty persons, taken from the three orders, to draw up a project of reform, to be presented for the approbation of the general assembly. The choice, as might naturally be expected from the temper of the times, fell upon several members to whom the dauphin and his council had the strongest objections. When they had drawn up several articles, the assembly requested Charles to go to the Cordeliers ; where, before they delivered the resolution they had come to, they wished to exact from him an oath of secrecy. This request, however, the prince with becoming spirit rejected as injurious to his dignity ; they then presented to him the heads of those demands which were the result of their conferences.

Robert de Coq, bishop of Laon, who was appointed by the members to communicate their sentiments, observed that the cause of all the calamities with which the kingdom was afflicted, was to be found in that vicious administration which called for an immediate remedy : that the ministers and counsellors, by whom the king had been hitherto surrounded*, had been guilty of the most heinous offences ; that they ought, therefore, to suffer degradation, to be deprived of their places, and to have their effects confiscated ; that as some of them were exempt, by their profession, from the temporal jurisdiction, the dauphin ought to write himself to the pope, to request permission of his holiness for the states to appoint commissioners who might be authorised to pass a definitive sentence on such ecclesiastics as should be found guilty of malversation in office.

Le Coq then gave in a list of proscriptions, which contained the names of twenty-two persons. At the head of the list was Peter de la Forest, chancellor of France, and archbishop of Rouen ; then followed Simon de Buffi, first president of the parliament ; Robert de Lorris, chamberlain to the king ; John Chamillart, and Peter d'Orgemont, presidents of the parliament ; Nicholas Braque, maitre d'hôtel to the king ; John Poilvillain, master of the mint : Enguerrand du Petit Cellier, and Bernard de Fermont, treasurers to the war department ; Stephen de Paris, Peter de la Charité and Ancel Coquart, masters of requests ; Robert Despreaux, king's notary or secretary ; John Turpin, knight of requests in the parliament ; John d'Auxerre, master of accounts ; John de Brechaigne, king's valet de chambre ; Borgne de Beauffe, master of the stables ; Geoffrey le Mazanier, cup-bearer (the three last belonged to the dauphin's household) and Regnaut Meschin, abbot of Falaïse.—The states accused these ministers and officers “ of having flattered the king, of having paid “ no regard, in their advice, either to the fear of God, the honour of the sovereign, or the misery of the people ; of having confined their attention solely “ to the acquisition of wealth, the extortion of excessive donations, and to the “ procuring for themselves or their friends, dignities and places ; and especially “ of having concealed the truth from the king.”

* Froissard, Chron. de St. Denis.

After these general representations, which might, with equal justice, be applied to almost any ministers, of any country, the members proceeded to state the project they had formed for remedying such disorders. They declared the necessity of chusing, from among themselves, reformers, authorised by express commissions, to repress all malversations in public officers ; they maintained, that the dauphin ought to form a council comprised of four prelates, twelve knights, and twelve members of the third estate ; and that nothing should be decided without the advice and approbation of these twenty-eight counsellors. The deputies concluded their remonstrance by demanding the release of the king of Navarre ; a demand which plainly proved that their conduct was actuated by very different motives from those of patriotism, and concern for the welfare of the people. John de Pequigny, for the nobility ; Nicholas le Chanteu, advocate, and Stephen Marcel, for the third estate, confirmed all that the bishop of Laon had advanced, in the name of the assembly.

The dauphin, notwithstanding he had reason to suspect the disaffection of the states, never imagined they would venture to make such proposals as these. Surprised at the boldness of the members, he replied, that he would examine, in concert with his council, the nature of their demands. In the mean time, he expressed a wish to know what assistance the states could afford in the present conjuncture. The members answered, that, if their demands were complied with, they would engage to maintain thirty thousand men at arms, and that, in order to raise the necessary supplies for their support, they would establish a tax of one tenth and a half, or of three twentieths on all annual incomes, as well of ecclesiastics as of the nobles ; and that the third estate would pay for the equipment and support of one thousand men at arms, for every twenty hearths. They then desired, in order to ascertain how far such an impost would suffice for the support of the proposed number of troops, that the assembly might be prorogued till the commencement of the third week after Easter.

The prince's council were, for some time, divided, as to the propriety of accepting or rejecting these proposals ; those who were included in the list of proscriptions naturally inclined to reject them. Some of these secretly negotiated with the members of the assembly, in the hope of obtaining some modification of the conditions proposed ; but they remained resolute. At length it was resolved, by a majority of votes, that the dauphin should comply with the demands which had been preferred to him. Charles was aware of the consequence of such a condescension, which must finally prove fatal to his own authority ; but, unwilling to act in contradiction to the opinion of his council, he feigned a compliance with the resolution adopted by the states, and promised to attend the assembly, on the eve of the festival of All-Saints, in order to give his formal consent to the various articles.

But, while the dauphin openly flattered the deputies with the hope that their

projects would be crowned with success, he secretly adopted measures for disconcerting them. The matter was again discussed by his council, the members whereof finally decided, that the prince was deeply interested in promoting the dissolution of an assembly, who sought to annihilate the royal authority, and, profiting by the critical situation of affairs, endeavoured to seize the reins of government. On the day appointed for the publication of the ordinance decreed by the states, the deputies assembled. The people, collecting in crowds about the gate of the palace, awaited the effect of the dauphin's promises, which had been industriously circulated throughout the city. His arrival, however, soon destroyed all their hopes; the moment he arrived at the palace-gate, he sent an order to the states to depute nine of their members, whom he named, to attend him—these were, the archbishops of Lyons and Rheims, with the bishop of Laon, from the clergy; Valeran de Luxembourg, the lord of Conflans, and John de Pequigny, from the nobles; and from the third estate, Stephen Marcel, provost of the merchants of Paris, Charles Confac, alderman, and Nicholas le Chanteur, who were accompanied by several of the deputies from the principal towns. When they came into the prince's presence, he told them, in the hearing of all present, that he expected news from the king, without whose orders he could come to no decision; and that he had likewise resolved to consult his uncle, the emperor; for which reason he required a farther delay, and with that view adjourned the assembly till the Thursday following. The states began to murmur, but the duke of Orleans exerted his eloquence with success, in justifying the conduct of the dauphin, and calmed the rising tumult. The assembly then broke up; and several of the deputies either foreseeing how this matter would terminate, or else being bribed by the members of the council, withdrew from the capital and returned to their respective homes. Two days after this, the duke of Normandy sent for some of the deputies, to whom he declared his intention, which he desired they would communicate to the rest. He ordered them to retire till farther orders; and told them, that he would assemble them when he thought proper; that at present he could come to no resolution till he knew his father's intentions; and had consulted his uncle whom he meant to visit immediately. After this concise declaration of his will, he dismissed them.

Many of the deputies expressed their disapprobation of the dauphin's conduct; but, as there was no pretext for prolonging the session, they were obliged to submit. Previous to their dissolution, they drew up an account of their debates, a copy of which was delivered to each member, that they might be able, they said, to justify their conduct.

While the states of the Langue d'Oil, assembled at Paris, were thus engaged in sowing discord between the prince and the people; the states of Languedoc*,

* Ord. MS. des etats, dans la Bibliotheque du roi,

convened by the count of Armagnac, king's lieutenant of those provinces, gave the most striking proofs of their fidelity and attachment. They assembled at Toulouse, where they unanimously agreed to raise and support five thousand men at arms, with at least two horses for each, one thousand archers on horseback, and two thousand infantry. Not satisfied with having granted this voluntary aid, in proof of their loyalty, the states ordained, that neither men nor women should wear gold, silver, pearls, rich furs, or other costly embellishments, for the space of a year, unless the king should recover his liberty before the expiration of that term; all minstrels and farce-players were forbidden to follow their profession during the same period. The count of Armagnac sent a deputy from each of the three orders to Paris, to impart the decrees of the states to the dauphin, who immediately confirmed them.

The resolution adopted by the states-general, previous to their dissolution, to draw up an account of their proceedings, was chiefly the work of Robert le Coq, and Stephen Marcel, two of the most dangerous characters of the age*. The first, a meddling priest, who, having insinuated himself into the good graces of kings Philip and John, was first raised from the station of private advocate, to the more important charges of counsellor and advocate-general; and was afterwards promoted to the dignities of bishop and duke of Laon; loaded with the favours of his sovereigns, he became one of their most bitter enemies, without the ability to adduce a single circumstance, that could either justify or palliate his ingratitude. Stephen Marcel was one of those men, whom almost every nation has, in times of tumult and disorder, produced; a specious demagogue, who assumed the appellation of *man*, in order to become *master, of the people*; who talked loudly of the majesty of the people, with a view to reduce them to a state of humiliation the most abject; who taught the people to lord it over their superiors, that he might tyrannise over them; who flattered their passions that he might gratify his own; who rendered their vanity the instrument of his pride, and made their boasted rights productive of misery to themselves, and subservient to his own ambitious purposes. Artful, vindictive, treacherous, and overbearing, his cruelty was only equalled by his insolence; dead to honour, and callous to remorse, his abject soul was marked by none of those striking features which even villainy, of superior magnitude, not unfrequently exhibits. His dark intrigues, his open professions, and his place of provost of the merchants of Paris, all contributed to secure that extraordinary degree of popularity, which it was his grand object to acquire, as the only possible means of elevation for a man of his birth and principles. The honour recently conferred on him, of being appointed chief of the deputies of the third estate in the last general assemblies, considerably augmented the credit he already enjoyed. That credit he exerted to the

* Chron. MS. du roi Jean; Chron. de St. Denis; Annales de France.

degradation of the sovereign authority : with a mad rabble at his heels, whom he had seduced from their duty, he was frequently seen to brandish the torch of sedition, and to give the signal for murder. He wished to overturn the whole fabric of government, and raise himself upon its ruins. That he had long meditated this design is certain. He had entered into the conspiracy projected by the king of Navarre, with whom he maintained a close correspondence. He had been at Evreux, where he remained concealed for some time, during which he had many private conferences with Charles the Bad. These intrigues were, probably, not discovered, since he was afterwards promoted to the office of provost of the merchants.

The states not having granted any subsidy, previous to their dissolution, the dauphin made several applications to Marcel and the aldermen, in the hope of obtaining some assistance ; but they rejected his requests without ceremony, declaring they would grant nothing unless the estates were assembled. As the prince had strong reasons for not consenting to this proposal, he had recourse to another method ; he sent the members of his council to the different towns of the kingdom, to exhort the inhabitants to contribute to the defence of the state. While he was waiting to see the effect of these deputations, he repaired to Metz, where his uncle, the emperor, then resided.

Charles the Fourth, son to John, king of Bohemia, had been chosen king of the Romans, so early as the year 1346. He succeeded to the kingdom of Bohemia on the death of his father at the battle of Crecy, where he himself was wounded*. It was this prince who, to induce the pope to favour his promotion to the empire, was weak enough to sign an agreement, by which he engaged never to enter Rome, but on the day of his coronation, without the permission of the sovereign pontiff ; a mean condescension which rendered him an object of contempt to most of the German princes and nobles, and even to the Italians ; and procured him the appellation of *emperor of the priests*.

Charles possessed so little power, and was so extremely poor, that he was arrested at Worms, by his butcher, and would not have been suffered to leave the city, had not the bishop of the diocese discharged the debt. Armed with bulls and decrees he disputed the empire with more perseverance than success, during the latter years of Lewis of Bavaria, after whose death his party acquired a superiority ; and, having purchased the claims of his competitors, he was, at length, received as emperor by the electors. Charles was the author of that celebrated constitution, called the Golden Bull, formed after a model drawn up by Bartholo, the most famous lawyer of the age ; it contains thirty chapters, the object of which is to regulate the form of government, the election of the emperors, the succession of the electors, the privileges of the members of the empire, the assemblies or general diets, the ceremonies of the

* Hist. Gen. de l'Allemagne par Le P. Barre, t. 6.

imperial court, the functions of the electors, and the service of the emperor's table, on the day of his coronation, and on other public days. The first part of this bull was published at Frankfort in 1356, and the last at Metz, on Christmas day, in the same year, the very day on which the dauphin reached that city.

The dauphin, before he left Paris, had appointed his brother, the count of Anjou, to preside over the capital in quality of his lieutenant; and, as he had not been able to procure any assistance from the states, he thought of adopting the old mode of procuring money by adulterating the coin. The completion of this project was left to the count, but the publication of an ordonnance for that purpose excited universal discontent, which was studiously fomented by the enemies of the state.

Hitherto the Parisians had not departed from that zeal and attachment to their sovereign, which had ever marked their conduct from the first foundation of the monarchy; but they were now about to exhibit a very different scene; to forget that respect to their superiors and that spirit of subordination without which no government can long subsist; to hoist the standard of rebellion, and give way to the most criminal excesses, under the specious pretext of concern for the welfare of the state, and the liberty of the people. Marcel and his partisans were sensible that the design of the duke of Normandy was to procure money by a new coinage, in order to exempt himself from the necessity of submitting to the rigorous terms which the states endeavoured to impose. As it was necessary to their views to deprive him of this resource, they openly refused to suffer the circulation of the new coin. This was the signal of revolt; the provost of the merchants, accompanied by several of his adherents, repaired to the Louvre, where the count of Anjou resided, insisted on the revocation of the edict, and protested, in the name of the people, that the money in question should never become current. The count replied, that he must consult his council before he could come to any decision on the subject; the next day Marcel and his gang again made their appearance, and received a similar answer. By these delays the count hoped to gain time till the return of his brother, to whom he had sent intelligence of the opposition he experienced: but the provost of the merchants, whose insolence daily increased, went to the Louvre with such a strong body of insurgents, that the fear of a general revolt compelled the council to suspend the execution of the ordonnance, and to await the arrival of the duke of Normandy. This first attempt of Marcel being thus crowned with success, that factious demagogue acquired fresh confidence, and became more enterprising. Proud of having compelled the sovereign authority to bend before him, he thought himself in a situation to proceed to extremities.

The Parisians were now solely employed in intrigues and disputes concerning the form of government which it would be most eligible to adopt. To see the avidity with which the opposite parties grasped at the sovereign authority, every

one would have supposed that the captivity of John had left the throne vacant*. The war meanwhile continued in Normandy; Geoffrey, of Harcourt, cantoned in the Cotentin, laid waste that province by continual incursions, which no one attempted to repel, till the duke of Normandy and the states sent eight hundred men at arms to oppose him. Robert de Clermont, the duke's lieutenant, had no sooner received this reinforcement, than he entered the Cotentin, where Geoffrey of Harcourt, rejecting the advice of his friends, assembled all his forces, and offered him battle; Robert gained a complete victory; the troops of Geoffrey were routed; many of them being killed, the rest fled, and their unfortunate leader soon found himself wholly deserted. Scorning to owe his safety to flight, he determined to sell his life as dear as he could. He knew that if taken he must expect to perish on a scaffold; and he deemed it more glorious to die nobly in the field. Impressed with these ideas, he seized a battle-axe, and put himself in a posture of defence; being endued with extraordinary strength, he defended himself for a considerable time, killing all that ventured to approach him. His blows were so fatal, says Froissard, that no one dared to encounter him; till, at length, two men at arms mounted their horses, and couching their lances, galloped furiously towards him; the shock was too violent to sustain; Geoffrey was thrown on the ground, and instantly dispatched.

The cardinals of Perigord and Saint-Vital had been ordered by the pope to attend the interview of the duke of Normandy with the emperor at Metz; where they endeavoured in vain to promote a pacification between the hostile crowns of France and England. Edward, elated with his past successes, was still disinclined to listen to any reasonable terms, and the confusion which at present prevailed in the kingdom, was well calculated to favour the accomplishment of his ambitious designs. Charles returned to the capital, accompanied by Peter de la Forest, who had recently been promoted to the dignity of a cardinal; but the Roman purple proved inadequate to protect him from the vengeance of the opposite faction, which daily acquired fresh strength.

Charles, on his return, found the minds of the Parisians less favourably disposed towards him, than before his departure. A few days after his arrival he commissioned the archbishop of Sens (who had been taken at the battle of Poitiers, and released on his parole) the count of Rouffi, the lord of Renel, Robert de Lorris, and some other members of his council, to confer with the provost of the merchants, at a house near Saint Germain l'Auxerrois. Marcel attended, with a train of armed followers; and, on the commissioners pressing him to forbear all farther opposition to the circulation of the new coin, a violent dispute ensued; the provost, not contented with rejecting their demand, had no sooner quitted the house, than he excited an insurrection of the people, as well by his own exhortations as by those of his emissaries; he caused the shops to be shut,

* Froissard; Spicil, Cont. de Nang.; Chron. MS.; Chron. de Saint Denis; Memoire de Literature.

and all the labour and business to cease ; and, at the same time, gave orders to the citizens to take up arms.

The prince's council, having assembled in great haste, unanimously decided that it was absolutely necessary, for a while, to give way to the torrent. Charles, accordingly, repaired the next day to the palace, where he declared, in presence of Marcel, and the chief leaders of the insurgents, that he pardoned every attempt against his authority, and particularly the riots and disorders of the preceding day ; he suppressed the new coin ; and, finally, consented to the dismissal and imprisonment of the officers proscribed by the states. The chancellor, and Simon de Buffy, first president of the parliament, who were among the number, had been appointed by the king to attend him at Bourdeaux, in the capacity of negociators ; but Marcel insisted that the commission should be revoked, with respect to the latter ; and Charles was obliged to comply. The provost of the merchants did not stop here ; he extorted from the dauphin an order, which authorised him to seize the effects of Buffy, Nicholas Prague, Enguerrand du Petit Cellier, and of John Poillevilain, sovereign master of the mint.

A. D. 1357.] Charles was at length reduced to the necessity of consenting to assemble the states, which accordingly met on the fifth of February ; when the last blow was given to the sovereign authority. In proportion as their power increased, it was easy to perceive that they would rise in their demands ; and the possibility of refusing to confirm their proceedings no longer subsisted. They assumed to themselves the privilege of assembling whenever they should think proper ; instead of twenty eight of their members, which, according to their former plan, was to form a council for the prince, they now chose thirty-six, to whom they delegated the management of public affairs, and the administration of the finances ; leaving to the dauphin not even the shadow of authority, unless the vain formality of confirming the despotic decrees of the states, by an ordinance published in his name, may be so called. This ordinance contained many articles which had been previously discussed by that assembly of the states which had met before the battle of Poitiers. To these several other regulations were added ; such as, the revocation of all excessive gifts, and alienations of the domains of the crown, since the time of Philip the Fair ; an express prohibition, in all criminal cases, to receive any composition for the offence ; an abolition of all *State Letters*, the object of which was to suspend the operations of justice ; and an order to all subaltern judges, who left causes undecided (from the fear of incurring the penalty to which they were liable whenever their decisions were corrected by the superior judges) to bring them to a speedy conclusion, and to pronounce sentence without delay, under pain of arrest and deposition.

Most of these regulations were just and equitable ; but, unfortunately, the states were not influenced by proper principles in the promulgation of such laws ; they only wished to impose on the people, by an appearance of concern for their

welfare. Their principal object was, to arrogate to themselves every species of authority, under the specious pretext of promoting order and enforcing economy. The disposal of the subsidies which had been decreed for the support of thirty thousand men at arms, was left to themselves; by which means the most essential part of the government became vested in their own hands. In order to render themselves still more formidable, they obliged the prince to insert in his declaration, that every member should be allowed an escort of six armed men. The session was terminated by a seditious harangue, appropriate to the occasion, pronounced by the bishop of Laon.

In order that nothing might be wanting to complete the degradation of the sovereign power, the dauphin was compelled to suspend, or rather to dissolve the two superior courts of parliament, and the chamber of accounts*; so that Paris was exempt from all jurisdiction till such time as the states chose to replace them. The members of the new council appointed the new judges of the parliament, whom they reduced to sixteen, including presidents, and they were careful to select such only as were wholly devoted to themselves. They also reduced the chamber of accounts, and composed it entirely of their own creatures; but the new officers had such little knowledge of the business they were appointed to transact, that they were under the necessity of calling in some of the old members, in order to give them the necessary instruction.

During these transactions, the king remained at Bourdeaux, whither young Edward had conducted him after the battle of Poitiers. Several attempts to promote an accommodation had been made; and the cardinal of Perigord, who, as pope's legate, acted in the character of mediator, found the prince of Wales not averse from listening to reasonable terms; but the ambitious policy of his father led that monarch to expect from his late victory all those advantages it was calculated to insure. He had given his son, previous to his departure from England, full power to conclude a treaty of peace or alliance†, but, at that time, the king of France was at liberty. Affairs were now changed; he rejected, therefore, every project of pacification that was presented to him, and required that John should be conducted to London. He would only consent to the conclusion of a truce for two years, and that merely from motives of interest, that he might convey the captive monarch with safety to England.

This truce was signed on the twenty-third of March, about a month after the prorogation of the states. The archbishop of Sens then returned to the capital with his father the count of Tancarville, and the count of Eu; and these noblemen brought with them a letter from the king‡, which annulled all the decrees of the states, and expressly forbade the levying of the subsidy. The dauphin published this letter on the fifth of April, which disconcerted the new governors, who were thereby deprived of the opportunity of enriching themselves by

* Mem. de la Chambre des Comptes.

† Rymer.

‡ Froissard,

the produce of the new imposts. They had the art, however, to persuade the people, that this suppression of a tax was an infringement on their rights ; and Paris now exhibited the unprecedented scene of an enraged populace calling aloud for the collection of a burthen some impost with the same symptoms of indignation and impatience, as, at any other time, they would have evinced in urging the *repeal* of a similar tax. The counts of Eu and Tancarville, and the archbishop of Sens, were obliged to leave the capital, in order to elude the effects of their resentment. The duke of Normandy, again constrained to yield to superior force, published an ordonnance, by which, notwithstanding the prohibition of the king his father, he prorogued the states and commanded that the subsidy should be levied. This condescension appeased the tumult for a while, and a short calm was restored to the metropolis.

But Marcel and his adherents entertained views that were wholly incompatible with even the semblance of public tranquillity ; they propagated a report, that the counts of Eu and Tancarville, and the archbishop of Sens, were employed in raising troops, in order to inflict vengeance on the inhabitants of Paris, for the insult they had sustained in being compelled to leave the city.—The people were alarmed ; they immediately flew to arms ; established corps-de-gardes and placed centinels, in different parts of the town ; kept all the gates closed except three, in the vicinity of the great bridge, (now the Pont-au-Change) and, during the night, those also were shut*. For the first time they placed iron chains across the streets ; the western walls of the town they enclosed with a ditch, as well as the eastern suburbs ; they built parapets, raised redoubts, and fixed cannon and other warlike machines on the ramparts. A great number of beautiful edifices were destroyed, in order to make way for the new fortifications ; and the proprietors suffered this demolition without a murmur ; though, when Philip wished to remove a few houses for a similar purpose, when the king of England lay encamped at Poissy, the attempt had almost produced a general insurrection. But the times were changed ; “ The spirit of revolt,” says father Daniel, “ on this occasion, made the Parisians forget their private interests, to which, ten years before, they had nearly sacrificed the safety of the whole kingdom.”

After the conclusion of the truce, the prince of Wales made the necessary preparations for conveying his royal prisoner to London ; but, apprehensive that an attempt might be made to intercept him in his passage, he prudently kept secret the time of his departure, and embarked in the night of the twenty-fourth of April ; he arrived in England the beginning of May, when he was received, by his father, and the people, with the honours that were due to his merit, and to the rank of the captive who accompanied him. The lord mayor of London was commanded to raise triumphal arches on his road, and

* Spicil. Contin. Nang. ; Mém. de Literature ; La Myrre, Traite de la Police, t. i.

to regulate the procession which was appointed to attend him. That magistrate, accordingly, met the prince in Southwark, followed by the aldermen, all adorned with the insignia of their office, and one thousand of the principal citizens. The captive monarch was arrayed in royal robes, and mounted on a superb white courser, conspicuous from its size and beauty, and the magnificence of its furniture; while his princely victor, simply habited, rode by his side on a black palfrey, whose figure and trappings bespoke that humility which dignified and adorned the mind of its master. The houses were hung with tapestry and military weapons, and the streets were lined with an infinite concourse of people. In this situation, more glorious than that of a Roman emperor in the hour of triumph, insulting the misfortunes of his shackled captives, did the prince proceed to Westminster-hall, where his father descended from his throne, and advanced to meet the king of France, whom he received with the same respect and cordiality, as if he had voluntarily repaired to his court, for the purpose of paying him a visit of friendship*. When the ceremony of reception was over, John and his son were conducted to the palace of the Savoy, where they were entertained in the most sumptuous and hospitable manner.

France, in the mean time, was exposed to all the horrors of sedition; the conduct of the new reformers soon made the wiser and more virtuous part of the nation regret the loss of the old ministers. The specious veil of public good was drawn aside, and avarice and ambition appeared in their native colours. Marcel, more vicious and aspiring than his colleagues, had usurped the chief authority. That factious prelate, Robert le Coq, had exerted his utmost efforts to seduce the clergy from their duty; and John de Pecquigny had made a similar attempt on the fidelity of the nobles; but these two orders, more prudent and circumspect than a mad populace, refused to yield to their remonstrances. Even such of them as had been chosen members of the new council of reformation disdained to partake, with such associates, an authority that was raised on the ruins of the constitution. They abandoned the reins of government to those subaltern tyrants, from a conviction that their power, if left to itself, would soon operate its own destruction. Many of the third estate, too, refused to become the accomplices of Marcel and his adherents; so that, of the thirty-six reformers, who had been placed by the states at the head of affairs, there were but ten or twelve, chiefly aldermen and citizens of Paris, who would consent to take a part in the government.

The subsidy which the people were so eager to have collected, produced much less than was expected; the nobility and clergy refusing to pay it, the whole weight fell upon the third estate. The chiefs of the faction had appointed collectors, who were creatures of their own; and they paid them such

* Froissard, l. i. c. 123.

exorbitant salaries, that no inconsiderable part of the produce was absorbed by that means ; the rest, the provost of the merchants, and the reformers, appropriated to their own use. Marcel thus accumulated considerable sums, while no money could be found for raising and paying the stipulated number of troops. The Parisians, themselves, began to be displeased with the new administration. The brother of the king of Navarre had taken Evreux by surprise ; and his troops, extending towards the confines of Normandy, made incursions into the vicinity of the capital, which now found itself threatened with a dangerous neighbour, without an army to oppose him. The eyes of the people were at length opened ; and the chimerical projects of order and economy, with which they had been flattered, speedily disappeared, and left their authors exposed to merited contempt.

The dauphin seized this favourable opportunity to shake off the yoke which had been imposed on him. The provost of the merchants, Charles Confac, and John Delisle, aldermen, with other chiefs of the sedition, were ordered to attend him at the Louvre. The prince assuming, for the first time, that air of authority which became his birth and station, told these factious demagogues that he was resolved, in future, to govern without the aid of guardians ; forbidding them, at the same time, on his own authority, to interfere in matters of state, the superintendence of which they had hitherto so monopolised, that greater obedience was paid to them than to himself. Marcel, alarmed at this address, which he had not expected, was obliged to submit. He was too well aware of the diminution of his influence to venture on resistance ; and he and his partisans retired in confusion. The bishop of Laon, who also had lost his boldness with his credit, left the capital, and repaired to his diocese.

A little time after this exertion of authority, the dauphin visited many of the provincial towns, in order to solicit that assistance which the present situation of the state required. But it is probable he reaped but little advantage from this excursion, as, at the end of six weeks, he returned to Paris, and again put himself in the power of Marcel and his accomplices.

During the short absence of the duke, the opposite faction had seriously reflected on their past conduct ; their leaders became sensible of the consequences to which the prosecution of the measures they had pursued must finally tend ; but they had advanced too far to retreat. They now had recourse to such expedients as they thought best calculated to avert the impending danger ; and, having covered these precautions with an impenetrable veil, they deputed some of their party to the duke, to engage him, by the most flattering offers, to return to Paris. They promised to supply him with money in abundance, and no longer talked either of dismissing the ministers, or of liberating the king of Navarre ; they even appeared to have totally forgotten that prince. They only requested, as a favour, that deputies from twenty or thirty of the principal towns might be summoned to assemble at Paris, to act in concert with them,

The dauphin, seduced by this appearance of submission, yielded to their solicitations, and returned to the capital. The insincerity of the provost and his partisans, however, soon appeared ; when called upon to fulfil their promises, they said, they could come to no decision, till the states-general were assembled. Though experience had shewn the inefficacy of compliance, Charles once more consented to convene the states ; which were, accordingly, summoned to meet on the seventh of November. Marcel had the insolence to write, in his own name, to the principal towns, and to send his letters of invitation with the prince's summons. Le Coq hesitated some time, but, pressed by the solicitations of the provost, he at length dismissed his fears, and determined to obey the citation.

The states had no sooner met than they received intelligence that the king of Navarre had effected his escape* ; all virtuous men shuddered at the news ; while Marcel, le Coq, and their factious adherents, triumphed. This event had been planned and executed with the utmost secrecy and address. John de Pecquigny, governor of Artois, attended by thirty men at arms, surprised the castle of Arleux en Pailleul, on the frontiers of Picardy and the Cambresis, where the king of Navarre was confined, during the night ; and, releasing that prince, conducted him to Amiens. The long captivity of Charles the Bad, far from softening the native ferociousness of his mind, only served to redouble his implacable hatred. When he arrived at Amiens, he assembled the inhabitants, and, in a public harangue, inveighed against the government, and complained of the severity with which he had been treated during his confinement ; studious to secure the attachment of the populace, he caused the doors of all the prisons to be thrown open ; and the emancipated culprits, enlisted in his service, prepared to evince their gratitude, by any act of desperation which their abandoned leader might command.

As soon as his partisans, at Paris, were informed of his escape ; they began to conciliate the affections of the Parisians, and to prepare every thing for securing him a favourable reception in the capital. Pecquigny, le Coq, and Marcel, had the insolence to go to the dauphin, and, with all the boldness of successful villainy, demanded a safe-conduct for the king of Navarre ; while the prince, astonished at their audaciousness, had not the courage to refuse what, indeed, he had not the ability to prevent. From that moment the bishop of Laon placed himself at the head of the dauphin's council, without even asking his consent ; and dictated and delivered all his answers. Charles the Bad, having received his safe-conduct, hastened to Paris ; and, in the different towns through which he passed, endeavoured, by seditious harangues, to excite the people to revolt. At his approach most of the deputies from the principal towns, parti-

* Spicil. Cont. Nang. ; Mém. de Littérature ; Mém. pour servir à l'Histoire du roi de Navarre, par M. Secousse.

cularly from those of Champagne and Burgundy, hastily retired, to avoid any suspicion of being concerned in his escape. John de Meulant, bishop of Paris, went to meet him as far as Saint Denis; and this unprincipled monarch, whose machinations had ever been directed against the repose and tranquillity of the state, made his triumphal entry into Paris, with all the pomp of a conqueror, attended by John of Pecquigny, the provost, and the aldermen, and was received by the people with the same tokens of respect, and symptoms of joy, as if he had come to release them from slavery. He paraded the streets of the city, and alighted at the abbey of Saint Germain-des-Pres, where apartments had been prepared for his reception. The day after his arrival, he harangued the people; professed his attachment to their interests; and artfully alluded to his own right to the crown of France. This allusion, being reported to Edward; confirmed that prince in the resolution he had adopted never to afford Charles sufficient assistance, to give him a decided superiority over his enemies. The people, ever fond of novelty, listened to his harangues, which were calculated to rouse their feelings, and inflame their passions, with incredible satisfaction.

Marcel, emboldened by the success of his first attempt, went to the palace, and begged the dauphin to redress those grievances of which the king of Navarre complained. The bishop of Laon, without waiting for orders, immediately replied, that the prince would do ample justice to the king, and treat him as one brother ought to treat another. The dauphin, compelled to yield to the importunities of a council that was wholly devoted to his enemies, consented to an interview with the king of Navarre, at the residence of queen Jane; whither he repaired with a small retinue: but the king was attended by a numerous body of armed men, who obliged the duke's attendants to retire, and placed themselves at the door of the apartment where the two princes were to meet. Nothing particular passed at this conference, at which mutual hatred naturally gave rise to mutual dissimulation.

It was now determined by the council to grant all the demands of Charles the Bad; some members, indeed, who were not absolutely sold to the faction, ventured to remonstrate, but their opposition was set aside by a majority of suffrages. The provost of the merchants, perceiving that the dauphin evinced some repugnance to their proceedings, said to him, "Sire, amicably grant the king of Navarre all that he requires; for it is proper it should be so." It was therefore decreed, that Charles should be restored to all his possessions, estates, and fortresses; that the bodies of the count of Harcourt, the lord of Graville, Mainemars, and Doublet, should be taken down from the gibbet, and delivered to their friends or relations, to be honourably interred; and that their effects should be restored to their heirs. With regard to the sums which the king of Navarre pretended were due to him, the discussion of that article was referred to the next assembly of the states, which was convened for the fifteenth of January following.

But nothing can convey so just an idea of the cruel situation to which the dauphin was reduced, as his compliance with the last condition exacted by the king of Navarre. That monarch, inured to crime, and willing to secure the attachment of men whose souls were congenial with his own, insisted that all the prisons in Paris should be thrown open*. The dauphin was, in consequence, obliged to issue a declaration by which, at the request of the king of Navarre, he ordered the provost of Paris to release prisoners of every description—*Thieves, murderers, highwaymen, coiners, forgers, seducers, ravishers of women, disturbers of the public repose, assassins, sorcerers, witches, poisoners, &c.* The king, himself, furnished this list of crimes. Similar orders were also issued to the abbot of Saint Germain-des-Prés, to release all the criminals confined in the prisons within his jurisdiction. The king's debtors were comprised in the general liberation; and the provost of Paris, and the other heads of the different jurisdictions, were ordered to apply to the creditors of such as were confined for private debts, to consent that they should be released; and, in case of refusal, other means were to be adopted.

The king of Navarre remained some time at Paris; during which the dauphin and he often met and dined together several times, as well at the palace, as at the residence of queen Jane, and at the house of the bishop of Laon. It is supposed to have been at one of these repasts that Charles the Bad found the means of administering poison to the dauphin, which was so violent in its operation, that, notwithstanding he had immediate assistance, his nails and his hair fell off, and he felt the effects of it all the rest of his life. The circumstances attending this horrid transaction are but imperfectly explained by the ancient historians; and it is probable that the king of Navarre had taken his measures with such secrecy, that nothing like a proof could be furnished against him, particularly as no mention was made of the transaction during the criminal process that was instituted against him, in the reign of Charles the Sixth.

When Charles the Bad presented himself before those towns, which, according to the late treaty, were to be restored to him, most of the governors refused to give them up; observing, that, as they had been entrusted to them by the king, to the king alone would they surrender them. This refusal served as a pretext to the king of Navarre, for complaining of a violation of the treaty, and consequently for levying troops, in order to enforce its execution; for which purpose he had, before he left Paris, been supplied, by the chiefs of the sedition, with considerable sums of money. The governors of such places in Normandy as still acknowledged his authority had a private conference with him at Mantes, when they received instructions as to their future conduct.

The reception which his brother experienced at Paris, and the influence which that monarch possessed in the capital, could not induce Philip of Navarre

* Trés. des Chart. Reg. 89. Pièce 254.

† Ib. Reg. 80. Pièce 288.

to trust himself to the mercy of a wavering and inconstant populace. So little respect, too, did he pay to the late treaty, that his troops advanced to within five leagues of Paris, on the side of Trappes and Villepreux, where they laid waste a considerable extent of country, took Maule-sur-Mauldre, which they fortified, and from thence continued their depredations. Peter de Villiers left the metropolis with a body of militia, in order to attack him, but he returned either from fear or disaffection, without effecting the object of his sally; and the unprotected inhabitants of the country, to escape the fury of Philip, were compelled to retire within the walls of the capital.

The dauphin, anxious to repress these destructive incursions, gave orders to assemble a body of men at arms*; but the factious leaders of the people gave him to understand, that the Parisians disapproved of his intentions to introduce troops into the capital. In vain did he urge the integrity of his designs, and the necessity of such a force; they placed guards at the different gates, with orders to suffer no armed man, that was unknown to them, to enter the city. The king of Navarre continued his preparations unmolested, and the nation was threatened with all the horrors of a civil war.

Marcel and his accomplices, at length, determined to lay aside even the small appearance of respect for the government which they had hitherto preserved, and openly to declare themselves, by giving to their party a stamp of independence, and a public badge of distinction†. The badge they adopted was a kind of cap resembling a monk's hood, composed of red and blue cloth, embellished with a silver enamelled clasp of the same colours, bearing this inscription, *A bonne fin*‡—when the rebels had hoisted this signal of revolt it was dangerous to appear in the streets without the party-cap, so that even those who condemned their proceedings, were compelled to wear it. The university alone—to its honour be it spoken!—evinced its loyalty and attachment to the laws; the rector issued a prohibition to all students and others belonging to the university, to wear any mark of faction||.

The dauphin, anxious to stifle this spirit of sedition, and to conciliate, if possible, the affections of the Parisians, invited the people to meet him in the market-place, that he might have an opportunity of explaining his intentions. In vain did the bishop of Laon and the provost of the merchants seek to dissuade him from this attempt; he repaired to the appointed place, accompanied by a small retinue. This proceeding made a visible impression, on the populace who attended in great numbers. The prince assured them it was “his wish to live “and die with them;” that his sole object in assembling troops, was to employ them in their defence; that he should already have repelled the destructive measures of the enemy, which desolated the neighbouring country, had he pos-

* Chron. MS. † Spicil. Cont. de Nang.; Froissard.; Grande Chronique.

‡ For a good purpose.

|| Histoire de l'Université, t. iv. p. 336.

possessed the necessary power ; but that those who were entrusted with the administration of the finances, had seized the produce of the taxes, with the design of appropriating it to their own private use ; that he hoped, however, he should one day be able to make them answer for a conduct so prejudicial to the welfare of the state. This speech was received with great applause ; all present were affected at seeing the heir-apparent condescend to justify his conduct to his future subjects, and to call on them to be the judges of his actions.

Marcel, alarmed at this sudden change, summoned the people to meet him the next day at St. Jacques de l'Hopital ; where the duke of Normandy, who had been apprised of his intentions, also attended. John de Dormans, chancellor of the duchy of Normandy, addressed the people in the prince's name, and repeated the same remarks and protestations which Charles had made the preceding day ; which were received with the same marks of satisfaction. When he had finished, Charles Confac, an alderman, attempted to speak, but was prevented by a general murmur. As soon, however, as the duke had retired, impressed with the idea that his triumph was complete, the emissaries of the provost and the bishop of Laon, dispersed among the crowd, insisted that Confac should be heard. He accordingly made a long speech in which he inveighed bitterly against the duke's officers. Marcel next spoke, and affirmed, with an oath, that the money arising from the taxes had neither been touched by him, nor by any of the deputies chosen by the states. An advocate, named John de St. Onde, one of the superintendants of the revenue, declared, that the greatest part of the produce of the new imposts had been employed for bad purposes ; and that there had been delivered to different knights, by the duke's orders, sums to the amount of fifty thousand *moutons* of gold*, as could be proved by the accounts. Confac then pronounced an eulogy on Marcel, who was present, protesting that he had never done any thing but with a view to the general good ; and observing, that, if the Parisians forbore to protect their provost of the merchants, he must seek for some other asylum, where he could be screened from the danger to which he had exposed himself by his strenuous exertions in the cause of liberty. This appeal had the desired effect ; the inconstant multitude, who but a moment before had declared themselves in favour of the dauphin, now embraced the opposite party with the same facility ; they unanimously exclaimed, that Marcel was in the right, and they would defend him against every one. Thus terminated this ridiculous scene, in which the sovereign pleaded his own cause before the people, against a band of audacious rebels ; “ but the worst part of “ the story,” says father Daniel, “ is, that he lost it.”

In the midst of this tumult, the new deputies arrived at Paris ; but the re-

* The *Mouton d'Or* was a piece of money bearing the impression of a lamb, with this inscription, “ *Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis ;*” and on the reverse, a cross with these words, “ *Christus regnat, Christus imperat.*” Fifty-two of these pieces were equal to a mark of fine gold. *Du Cange, Glossar, ad verb. Muttones.*

presentatives of the third-estates, and some of the clergy, only attended. The nobility disdained to appear in an assembly, where the principal authority was usurped by those who had the smallest pretensions to it. No business was transacted; the members agreed to meet at Mid-Lent, and, in the interim, ordered a new coinage, less pure than the former; one-fifth of the profits arising from thence was appropriated to the duke of Normandy, for his own private expences, and the remainder was reserved for defraying the expences of the war. But a few months before, the very attempt to adulterate the coin had nearly excited a general insurrection.

An incident which occurred about this time, though of no great consequence in itself, served to display, in a stronger light, that spirit of revolt and independence which marked the present period. A low fellow, named Perrin Marc, stabbed John Baillet, treasurer to the duke of Normandy; the murder was committed in the Rue Neuve St. Merry, and the culprit took refuge in the church of that name. The duke, being informed of the circumstance, gave orders to John de Chalons, marshal of Champagne, to seize the assassin. The marshal, accompanied by William Staië, provost of Paris, and a body of armed men, broke open the church-door, which was shut against him, and apprehended Perrin Marc, who was publicly executed the next day, after having his hand cut off at the spot where the crime was committed. The body of this villain was claimed by the bishop of Paris, as that of a *clerk*, and, being conveyed to the church of Saint Merry, was there interred with the same pomp as if he had died a martyr; the ceremony was attended by the provost of the merchants, and several of the citizens; and the funeral service was performed at the same time as that of the murdered treasurer, at which the dauphin assisted.

Charles, with a view to intimidate the leaders of the faction, propagated a report that peace was on the point of being concluded between the crowns of England and France, when the king would be restored to liberty; but their intelligence was too good to suffer them to be deceived by such a stratagem: John de Pecquigny was now dispatched to Paris, by the king of Navarre, to complain that the articles of the last treaty had not been fulfilled: but the dauphin, at a public audience, formally denied the assertion, and told Pecquigny, that though he could not himself cope with a man of such inferior rank, he had many knights in his court, who were ready to support the charge of falsehood which he had just preferred against him. The bishop of Laon, however, interrupted the discourse, by observing, that the duke would consult with his council on the propriety of granting the king's demands, and would speedily give a satisfactory answer.

Some days after this, the Parisians, at the instigation of Le Coq and Marcel, sent a formal deputation to the duke, to engage him to satisfy the king of Navarre. Simon de Langres, general of the order of Saint Dominic, was at the head of the deputies, and acted as their orator. This audacious monk had the

impudence to tell the prince, that he and his colleagues had assembled, and decreed, that the king of Navarre should prefer all his demands at once ; that, as soon as he had made them, all his fortresses should be restored ; and the other articles taken into immediate consideration. When he had said this, the orator paused : but another monk (the prior of Effone near Corbeil) exclaimed—" You have not told all." He then addressed himself to the duke, and gave him to understand, that it was the unanimous determination of the Parisians to declare themselves either against him or the king of Navarre, if either of them should refuse to submit to their decisions. As soon as these rebellious monks had fulfilled their commission, they withdrew, with their followers, without waiting for an answer.

A. D. 1358.] Matters were now come to a crisis, and the chiefs of the sedition resolved, by the destruction of their principal enemies, to remove every obstacle to the accomplishment of their designs. On the twenty-second of February, Marcel assembled the greater part of the Parisian artisans, in the vicinity of the church of Saint Eloy. As the populace was repairing, in arms, to the appointed place of rendezvous, Regnaut d'Acy, the advocate-general, was attacked, on his return from the palace, near the church of Saint Landry, and pursued as far as that of the Magdalen. The mob overtook him just as he entered a pastry-cook's shop, with the view of escaping their rage ; and instantly put him to death. The provost of the merchants then led the furious rabble to the palace, and entered, without ceremony, the dauphin's apartment, who betrayed symptoms of fear, when he saw such a multitude come into his room. " Sire," said Marcel, " do not be astonished at any thing you see ; for it is so ordained, and it is proper it should be so." Then, turning to his followers ; " Come," said he, " and quickly dispatch the business you came about."

He had no sooner said this, than the mob rushed on the marshals of Champagne and Normandy ; the first of whom, who was the lord of Conflans, was instantly murdered in the presence of the dauphin, whose cloaths were stained with his blood. The other, Robert de Clermont, ran into an adjoining closet ; but the ruffians followed him, and massacred him without mercy. All the duke's officers, alarmed at this scene of blood, left the palace with precipitation. It is said that the prince himself, forsaken by every one, and exposed to the mercy of these lawless assassins, besought Marcel to spare his life : to which the villain replied, " Sire, be not afraid." Then taking off his cap, the badge of faction, he placed it on the head of Charles ; and took the prince's in return, which he wore in triumph the rest of the day.

The bodies of the murdered noblemen were dragged through the room where the dauphin was, down the steps of the palace, and placed on a piece of marble, immediately before the window of his apartment, where they remained till night, when, by command of the provost, they were carried to the convent of Saint Catharine du Valdes-Ecoliers. But the monks durst not enter them, till they

had received an express order from Marcel, who told them, in that respect they might comply with the duke's orders. Charles, at a loss how to act, desired they might be interred without any ceremony. When they were about to render them the last service, the bishop of Paris forbade them to bestow the rites of sepulture on Robert de Clermont, who had been excommunicated for apprehending Perrin Marc, in the church of Saint Merry. The two mareschals, therefore, were privately buried, together with Regnaut d'Acy, (who had been murdered the same day) by two servants, who were rewarded for their trouble with one of their cloaks.

From the palace Marcel repaired to the town-house, from one of the windows of which he harangued the populace; telling them that what he had just done was solely with a view to the public good; that the noblemen who were killed were false, wicked, and treacherous; and that it was necessary the people should screen him from the consequences of an action which had their welfare for its object. This speech was answered by a general acclamation, followed by an assurance that they would live and die with him. Elated with this proof of popular favour, he returned to the palace, and repaired, with a chosen party of his followers, to the dauphin's apartment, who fully expected he was come to put him to death. The mangled bodies of his attendants, which were still before his eyes, encouraged this idea. The provost of the merchants insulting that grief, which any but a villain inured to crime must have respected, brutally told him, that he ought not to grieve at what had happened, as it had been done by the will of the people, in whose name, he now came to demand his approbation of all that had passed; and, at the same time, to request that he would enter into a close union with the Parisians. The dauphin, aware of the inutility of refusal, granted all his requests. He begged the inhabitants of Paris would become his friends, and assured them that he would be theirs. That same night, the provost sent him two pieces of cloth, one red and the other blue, to make caps for himself and his officers.

Such of the members of the states, as had repaired to Paris, assembled previous to these transactions, and decreed that a subsidy should be levied of *half a tenth*, on the revenues of the clergy; and that the walled towns should supply one man at arms for every sixty-five hearths; and the inhabitants of the country one man for every hundred hearths. After the murder of the mareschals, Marcel requested the deputies to meet at the convent of the Augustins, where he extorted from them an approbation of his conduct.

Every day produced some new scene of violence and disorder. The chiefs of the sedition paid the dauphin a visit, at which they insisted that he should confirm the decisions of the deputies; suffer them to hold the reins of government as they had hitherto done; dismiss some of the members of his council, and replace them with three or four citizens whom they named. All resistance being fruitless, they obtained whatever they asked.

During these transactions the king of Navarre arrived at Paris, with a numerous train of armed followers. Relying on the present disposition of the people and the impotence of the dauphin, he came to encrease the trouble and confusion which prevailed in the capital. The very day of his arrival he had a long conference with the provost of the merchants, at the hotel de Nesle, where he established his residence: and the dauphin was constrained to submit to an accommodation with this treacherous prince, the conditions of which were drawn up by Marcel and le Coq.

While the capital exhibited a scene of murder, treachery, and revolt, the provinces were exposed to desolation, though proceeding from a different cause. After the battle of Poitiers, the troops, who, from the deficiency of pay, were no longer retained in discipline, threw off all regard to their officers; sought the means of subsistence by plunder and robbery; and, associating to them all the disorderly people, with which that age abounded, formed numerous bands, which infested all parts of the kingdom. They desolated the open country; burned and plundered the villages; and, by cutting off all means of communication or subsistence, reduced even the inhabitants of the walled towns to the most extreme necessity. As a part of these troops were secretly encouraged by the king of Navarre, all travellers were compelled to obtain a passport from that prince, to which more respect was paid than to those which were signed by the duke of Normandy.

When the king of Navarre had settled his projects, and established a proper correspondence with the chiefs of the sedition, he left Paris to pursue the same measures in other parts. The day after his departure, the duke of Normandy, who, since the captivity of his father had only borne the title of lieutenant, assumed that of regent of the kingdom. Charles had then completed his twenty-first year; the age required by the laws to enable him to hold the reins of government*. Hitherto all decrees of parliament, and other edicts, had been issued in the king's name, although the king was absent; but henceforth the prince's new title of "Charles, eldest son to the king of France, and regent of the kingdom," was prefixed to all edicts, declarations, &c.

In none of the ancient historians is the smallest trace to be discovered of any opposition to the dauphin's assumption of the regency; although the power of that prince was never, at any period, so limited and confined, no one presumed to dispute his right to a title which lawfully belonged to him as heir apparent to the throne. These circumstances combined, clearly demonstrate that his minority was the only obstacle which prevented him from assuming it before, or from engaging the states of the kingdom to confer it on him. But though, by the acquisition of the regency, the whole sovereign power became

* Trésor des Chartres; Registres du Parlement; Mém. de la Chambre des Comtes; Recueil des Ordonnances, 3 vol.; Conférences des Ordonnances; Chron. MS.; Grande Chronique.

vested in Charles, he was not suffered to enjoy any greater extent of authority. The lawful augmentation of his power only tended to encrease his real dependence. The leaders of the faction compelled him to admit into his council three aldermen of Paris ; Robert de Corbie, Charles Confac, and John de L'Isle ; without whose consent, and the previous approbation of the provost of the merchants, and the bishop of Laon, no measure was adopted ; the regent even lost his personal liberty ; surrounded by a desperate banditti, all his motions were watched.

At length the yoke, under which he groaned, became so intolerable, that he resolved to shake it off. The perpetual contradictions he had experienced, for the last eighteen months, had inured him to constraint ; and the obstacles he had encountered had instructed him in the arts of government. In concert with the king of Navarre, and his partisans, he had convened an assembly of the nobles of Picardy, at Senlis ; which gave him an opportunity of leaving the capital without alarming the Parisians. From Senlis, the regent, instead of returning to Paris, repaired to Compiègne, where he was met by numbers of the nobility. Several deputies of the three orders, for the province of Champagne, assembled at Provins, in obedience to his citation ; but the king of Navarre, who had promised to attend, did not appear. The Parisians, who began to be alarmed at the absence of the prince, sent Arnaud de Corbie, an alderman, and the archdeacon of Paris, to confer with the deputies for Champagne.

The regent explained to these deputies the situation and wants of the state ; pointed out the necessity of a strict union between the prince and the people to preserve the kingdom from destruction at this critical conjuncture ; and concluded by observing, that the two deputies for Paris would communicate the intentions of the inhabitants of the capital. The other deputies, however, refused to admit the Parisian envoys to the private deliberation which they requested to hold among themselves ; and the result of which was made known to the prince the next day by Simon de Rouffy, count de Bresne. That nobleman assured the regent, in the name of all the inhabitants of Champagne, that they were ready to give him proofs of their zeal and fidelity as their sovereign, and to supply him with all necessary assistance ; requesting, at the same time, that he would appoint another assembly at Vertus, to deliberate on the nature of succours the most speedy and effectual ; and declaring that the deputies for the province were determined never more to attend at Paris.

The count of Bresne, turning towards Arnaud de Corbie, and the archdeacon, told them that he had no answer to make to them ; then addressing himself to the regent, he asked him, in the name of his countrymen, whether he had ever found the lord of Conflans, marechal of Champagne, guilty of any base or criminal act, which merited that death which the Parisians had thought proper to inflict on him, observing, that he did not speak of the massacre of

Robert de Clermont, marechal of Normandy, because he was convinced that province would take care to revenge it. The prince replied, that the two marechals had always proved themselves faithful servants and able counsellors. The count then threw himself on his knees, and said, "My lord, we, the inhabitants of Champagne, who are here assembled, return you thanks for this declaration; and we expect that you will inflict a proper punishment on those who put your friend to death without cause."

On this delicate occasion, where it was necessary to soothe both parties, Charles displayed that consummate prudence, which, in the sequel, gave him the superiority over his enemies; and procured him the character of the greatest politician of the age. To betray a partiality to either party was equally dangerous; had he disgusted the deputies for Champagne, he would have lost those supplies which were absolutely necessary to the accomplishment of the plan he had in contemplation; and, had he openly declared for them, he would have given the rebels of Paris to understand what they had to fear. To extricate himself from this difficulty, he exhorted the former to consent to an union, without explaining the nature of that union which the latter wished to contract with them; and he only spoke of the murder of his officers in general terms. This conduct produced the desired effect; it increased the indignation of the inhabitants of Champagne against the citizens of Paris, and urged them the more strongly to gratify his private resentment, which he had prudence to conceal.

On the dissolution of the states the regent hastened to Meaux, where his consort had taken refuge, and which the Parisians had formed a plan for reducing. Finding their project frustrated, they wrote letters to Charles, couched in terms of insolence, and containing what was tantamount to a declaration of war. When the regent left Paris, he was followed by all the nobles in the place, and this general desertion of the first order of the state had excited the fears of an inconstant and timid populace, whose minds receive, with equal facility, the impressions of fallacious hope, and of sudden terror. Marcel wished, by some bold enterprise, to dissipate the consternation into which they were thrown. With this view, he seized the castle of the Louvre, which was then situated without the walls of the city, and placed in it a strong garrison, composed of men who were entirely devoted to his service. He there found a large collection of arms and weapons of all kinds, which he distributed in the different quarters of the town. By this show of hostility, he flattered himself he should render it impossible for the Parisians to procure a reconciliation with the regent, and that, consequently, they would preserve their attachment to him, from interest and necessity.

The states of Vermandois, presided by the regent, assembled at Compiègne, and granted a similar subsidy to that which was voted by the states of Champagne, which met at the same time, at Vertus. These subsidies consisted of a

tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues ; a twentieth of the revenues of the nobles and their vassals ; the support of a man at arms for every seventy hearths in the towns, and for every hundred in the country. This impost even extended to people in a state of servitude, who were compelled to furnish and support one man at arms for every two hundred hearths.

The time now approached for the convention of the states-general of the kingdom at Paris. The regent, having secured those of Champagne, Vermandois, and of some other provinces, ventured to change the place of meeting from the capital to Compiègne. The conduct of the faction had so far disgusted the greater part of the kingdom, that the majority of the deputies were highly pleased with the alteration. At their first sitting, the states entreated the prince to expel from his council and presence Robert le Coq, who was considered, by every honest man, as a traitor, and as one of the chief conspirators and promoters of those disorders with which the kingdom was afflicted. This prelate, who had become an object of universal hatred and contempt, was happy to escape the indignation of the nobles, who threatened him with an exemplary punishment ; he secretly withdrew from Compiègne, and, repairing with precipitation to Paris, arrived in that capital under the escort of a numerous guard, whom his friends had dispatched to meet him on the road.

Hitherto Charles had been reduced to the necessity of running from province to province, in order to solicit assistance from each separately ; but he had now the satisfaction to see most of the towns, which had not been infected with the spirit of revolt, unite their suffrages in his favour. The states-general, assembled at Compiègne, regulated their grants by the subsidies accorded by Champagne and Vermandois. All the proceedings of the states holden at Paris in the preceding year were generally condemned, as well as the conduct of the Parisians and others who had followed their example, while Charles received the praises of the assembly, which, in the name of the nation, thanked him for not having despaired, in those tempestuous times of trouble and calamity, of saving the kingdom from destruction.

The Parisians sent no deputies to this assembly, some days before the meeting of which, the king of Navarre had desired an interview with the regent, who, accordingly, met him at Clermont in Beauvoisis. Charles the Bad, wishing to penetrate into the prince's designs, talked to him of a reconciliation with the Parisians ; the regent replied, that he was attached to the city of Paris, and knew it contained many loyal citizens, and good patriots ; but that he never would enter it again, till the authors of the revolt, and of the disorders and excesses consequent thereon, had met with the punishment due to their crimes. This answer being taken by the king to Paris, Marcel began to be sensible of the danger which threatened him, and accordingly made some efforts in the capital to place Charles the Bad at the head of the party ; but, as this disposition was not general, that prince left the town, after passing some days there.

The provost of the merchants now perceived, by the regent's present conduct, that he had been greatly mistaken in the ideas he had formed of his talents and genius; he was sorry he had proceeded so far; but it was difficult to retract. He attempted, however, to avert the storm. For this purpose the rector of the university, attended by several of its members, was prevailed on to repair to Compiègne, in the hope of effecting some kind of accommodation. The prince received them with kindness, and told them, as he had before told the king of Navarre, that he was willing to grant a general amnesty to the Parisians, provided they would return to their duty, and deliver into his hands ten or twelve or even five or six of the most criminal, whose lives he promised should be safe; adding, that without this proof of submission they had nothing to expect from him. Marcel, who formed his opinion of others from the ferociousness of his own mind, thought it impossible that the prince could possess so much generosity, as to spare his life, if once he had him in his power. He was sensible also that his crimes were so atrocious—as he himself acknowledged to the monk who continued the Chronicle of William de Nangis*—as to be wholly undeserving of pardon. At once tormented by the consciousness of guilt and the dread of punishment, he saw nothing but the most dismal prospect before him; lost to hope, and devoid of consolation, despair supplied the place of courage in his guilty breast. Resolved, at least, to protract the hour of destruction, he doubled the fortifications, as if he intended to bury himself beneath the ruins of the capital. He introduced a body of English and Navarrese troops into Paris; ordered soldiers to be raised in all quarters, and even sent as far as Provence to purchase arms. These arms were bought and forwarded, but the count of Poitiers seized them and sent them to his brother, the regent. The bishop of Laon, reduced to the same situation with his infamous colleague, adopted the same precautions, and fortified his diocese.

The Parisians, victims of their own obstinacy, were soon reduced to the necessity of confining themselves within their new fortifications. The irregular troops of marauders that had spread themselves over the country extended their ravages to the very walls of the capital; the nobles too, whom they had irritated and defied, took up arms, and treated them with the same severity. Foulques de Laval, at the head of a body of Bretons, laid waste La Beauffe, while another troop sacked and burned the town of Etampes. The interior parts of France formed one continued scene of desolation by fire, pillage, and murder, the towns and villages were destroyed, and the wretched inhabitants perished. The regent, meanwhile, continued, with the assistance of the nobility of those cities which had preserved their loyalty, to collect a sufficient force to reduce the rebels to submission.

Though evils of this magnitude appeared scarcely susceptible of augmenta-

* Villaret,

tion, yet a new species of calamity sprang up, which involved the nation in still deeper misery, and seemed, for a while, to suspend the animosities of party and the turbulent rage of rebellion*. The country being exposed to all the horrors of war, and the inhabitants subject to continual depredations; the peasants forsook their labours, and left their fields and habitations to the mercy of those barbarous plunderers, against whom they were unable to protect themselves. Constantly insulted, indiscriminately oppressed by the opposite factions; compelled, notwithstanding their extreme poverty, to purchase an exemption from imprisonment; despoiled of their property, and their griefs daily increasing, without any prospect of relief, they at length bade adieu to hope, and became furious from despair. The first spark of this revolt, which soon caused a general conflagration, appeared in the Beauvoisis, where a few peasants assembled, and swore to exterminate the nobility and gentry, under pretence that they were a pest to the kingdom, and that they who would destroy them all would accomplish an object of great national utility. They immediately armed themselves with loaded bludgeons, and attacked the house of a gentleman in the neighbourhood; having forced open the doors, they seized the gentleman, his wife, and children, and massacred them all; they then pillaged the house, and set fire to it. All the environs of Paris, and the Isle of France; the provinces of Picardy, the Soissonnois, and the Beauvoisis; in short, all the northern parts of the kingdom, were infested by numerous bands of armed rustics, who even slew such of their brethren as refused to join them. This insurrection took place, in different parts, on the same day†; and, what is somewhat extraordinary, there never was any reason to believe it was the result of a premeditated plan: most of the peasants were unconnected with each other, they had never quitted their usual employments, no public meetings had taken place, and they had never interfered in the affairs of government. Several of these troops uniting, soon formed a considerable body; and a contemporary historian asserts, that if they had been all collected together, they would have composed an army of a hundred thousand men‡. The most formidable of these troops appointed chiefs, one of whom was William Caillet, an inhabitant of the village of Mello. The appellation of *Jacques* was given to these rustic insurgents.

The excesses they committed surpass every thing which the most unprincipled revenge, and the most atrocious barbarity, could imagine. The chronicles of the times relate an instance of their inhuman rage, which almost exceeds belief, though, unfortunately, it bears such marks of authenticity, as not to admit of a doubt. A band of these rustians having forced an entrance into a nobleman's house, tied the master of it to a post, ravished his wife and daughters before his face; then impaled him, and, after roasting him by a slow fire, compel-

* Mem. de Litt. Chron. de St. Denis. † Trésor des Chartres. reg. 86. pièce 387.

‡ Froissard.

Cont. de Nang. Chron. MS.

led his family to eat of his flesh, and concluded the horrid scene by murdering them all, and burning the house*. Upwards of two hundred country seats were pillaged and reduced to ashes. When they were asked—says Froissard—what could urge them to the commission of such abominable actions, they replied, that “they did not know, but they did what they saw others do, and they” thought it was their duty to destroy all the nobility and gentry in the world.”

This unexpected revolt, at first, produced a general consternation; every body fled before the *Jacques*. The nobility took refuge in the walled towns, or else in castles sufficiently strong to resist their attacks. The duchesses of Normandy and Orleans, with several ladies of the first distinction, were compelled to fly for safety to Meaux; for their sex and rank would rather have fomented the rage, than superinduced the forbearance, of these ferocious savages. As soon as the nobility had somewhat recovered from their first alarm, they met together; while the gentry applied for assistance to the neighbouring princes; when they were joined by many foreign knights from Brabant, Flanders, Hainault, and Bohemia. They then went in search of the *Jacques*, and attacking them in separate bodies, exterminated the greater part, and compelled the rest to return to their habitations.

It is a matter of astonishment that the king of Navarre should have been active in suppressing this dangerous insurrection, since it was apparently his interest to encourage a war, the professed object of which was the destruction of the nobility, most of whom were attached to the regent. It is true, indeed, that by so doing, he revenged a personal injury which he had sustained by the massacre of William and Testard de Pecquigny, knights of Artois, brothers or relations of John of Pecquigny, one of his most zealous partisans. This prince killed three thousand of the *Jacques* in one day, near Clermont in Beauvoisis, and hung their leader, William Caillet. When the nobles found themselves sufficiently strong to take the field, they sallied forth, laid waste the country, and massacred indiscriminately all the peasants they met, guilty or innocent.

Such of the country people as had not joined the insurgents, fortified their churches by surrounding them with a ditch, and supplying the towers with stones and other missile weapons, to throw down on the enemy, while they fixed a man at the top, who kept watch night and day. As soon as an enemy approached, the centinel gave the signal by ringing a bell, or sounding a horn, when all those who were at work in the fields or in their houses, immediately took refuge in the church. In short, a civil war so eccentric in its object, so destructive in its effects, the annals of nations cannot produce; an epidemic fury appears to have prevailed throughout the kingdom, or rather the wild state of nature, in which men are wholly independent on each other, and strength

* Villaret. t. ix. p. 41, 42.

and cunning are the sole standards of justice and of right, seems to have been renewed.

The regent, in the midst of these disorders, assembled the principal nobility, visited the provinces, won over to his party many of the towns that were yet uncorrupted by the spirit of faction, confirmed others in their fidelity, and employed every resource which a wise policy could suggest for recovering the falling fortunes of the state. The gentry, avowed enemies to the rebellious citizens of Paris, enlisted under the banners of Charles. Some of them had engaged in the service of the king of Navarre, when he marched against the peasants, but speedily convinced that his designs were not favourable to the tranquillity of the kingdom, they left him to join the regent. Marcel and his faction, in the mean time, though absolute masters in Paris, were not exempt from inquietude. They were aware that many of the most respectable citizens were hostile to their views, and only waited for a favourable opportunity to declare themselves. At this very time an attempt was made to introduce some men at arms belonging to the regent into the city, which must have convinced them that the prince had more than one partisan among the people. The plot being discovered, one of the king's carpenters, and the master of the bridge, were apprehended and executed in the Place de Greve.

During the absence of the regent from Meaux, Marcel and his adherents formed a plan for taking that city, where the duchess of Normandy and her daughter, with Isabella, sister to Charles, and many other ladies of rank, had retired for safety. With this view, three hundred armed citizens were sent from Paris, under the conduct of Peter Gilles, a grocer, who were joined on the road by some straggling companies of peasants. On their arrival at Meaux, the mayor and inhabitants opened the gates to him, in violation of the oath of allegiance they had recently taken to the regent; but the ladies were saved from the brutal treatment to which, if taken, they would have been exposed, by the courageous conduct of Gaston, count of Foix, and of the capital de Buche, who, though in the service of England, flew to their rescue with all the generosity and gallantry of a true knight, and not only defended the citadel with success, but sallied forth and beat off the Parisians and their rustic allies, with great slaughter. The garrison, enraged at the perfidious conduct of the mayor, immediately hanged him, and put a great number of the inhabitants to the sword; they then set fire to the town, which continued burning for a fortnight. Upwards of seven thousand men perished that day. The peasants, who accompanied the Parisians, were almost wholly destroyed. This defeat annihilated the faction of the *Jacquerie*, which never more appeared in the field. Young Enguerrand, lord of Coucy, placing himself at the head of a select troop of gentlemen, pursued the fugitives, and massacred them without mercy wherever he found them.

The check which the Parisians sustained at Meaux, considerably cooled their

courage. Marcel, equally intimidated by the enemies who threatened him from without, and by the divisions which prevailed within the city, resolved to call the king of Navarre to his assistance, and to revive the zeal of his partisans by the presence of a powerful chief, who, having troops at his command, was able to support the tottering faction. That monarch obeyed the summons; and, on his arrival in the capital, harangued the people; he was followed by alderman Confac, who said, the state being ill-governed, wanted some one who would govern it better, and that the king of Navarre was the only prince whose birth and personal endowments qualified him for the important office of captain-general.

If, in the course of these tumults, the king of Navarre ever conceived the design of ascending the throne of France, as many of his measures seemed to indicate, the folly of his pretensions must now have stricken him, in a forcible point of view. Most of the gentlemen who had been seduced to join him by his false professions of rectitude, no sooner discovered his ambitious projects than they immediately abandoned him. Great numbers, too, of the nobles of Burgundy, who had followed him during the present campaign, now left him, disdaining to serve under a captain of rebel-citizens. By these desertions the regent's party acquired strength; and that prudent prince took care to profit by all the false steps of his enemies.

The nobility having exterminated the Jacques, hastened to join the regent, who, by this time, had collected a body of three thousand men at arms, with which he advanced towards Paris, resolved to make the inhabitants of the capital feel the weight of his resentment. The troops, dispersed in the environs of the town, pillaged and burned the country-houses of the Parisians. The king of Navarre, their new captain-general, sallied forth with six thousand men, but he did nothing deserving of the title they had conferred on him.—He went first to Gonesse, and then approached Senlis, on which a detachment of his army made an unsuccessful attempt. The regent, in the mean time, had advanced to the abbey of Chelles, within four leagues of Paris, where some proposals for an accommodation were made and rejected; after which he marched from Chelles, and pitched his camp in the vicinity of Vincennes, Conflans, and Charenton. Marcel, apprised of his motions, hastened the completion of the new fortifications. He had introduced into the city several bodies of English and Navarrese troops, less with a view of adding to its safety, than of giving authority to his party, which began to decline. Some of the noblemen in the regent's army, approaching the walls, defied the Parisians to come forth*; but they refused to accept the challenge, saying, "Their design was not to take up arms against their lord; but if they were attacked, they were resolved to defend themselves."

* Spicil. Cont. Nang.

The regent, yielding to the solicitations of queen Jane, consented to an interview with the king of Navarre; for which purpose a pavilion was erected between the town of Vincennes and the abbey of Saint Anthony*. The regent's army, amounting to twelve thousand men, was encamped in four divisions. The troops of the king of Navarre, consisting only of eight hundred men at arms, occupied a hill between Montreuil and Charonne. Both armies kept at a distance from the place where the conference was holden. An accommodation was concluded between the two princes; the claims of Charles the Bad were estimated at four hundred thousand florins, which the regent consented to pay by instalments, and farther to grant him land of the yearly value of ten thousand livres. The king, in return, engaged to join the regent, and induce the Parisians to submit, and to contribute three hundred thousand crowns towards the king's ransom, on condition that the regent should grant a general amnesty. After the conclusion of this treaty, the bishop of Lisieux celebrated mass, in presence of the nobles and of the two princes, who swore to fulfil the treaty, *on the sacred body of God, which the bishop held in his hands*. But, when the consecrated wafer was presented to the king of Navarre, wicked as he was, he shuddered at the idea of profaning a ceremony thus sacred, and pleaded his having broken his fast as an excuse for refusing the proffered sacrament.

When the two princes parted, the king went to Saint Denis, and the prince returned to his camp, feebly convinced of the sincerity of his enemy, who very soon manifested his real sentiments. Two days after he left the regent, he went to Paris, under pretence of procuring a ratification of the treaty; but, in fact, to renew his alliance with the rebels, and to leave them the troops he had brought with him. His plea for thus violating the sacred engagement he had so recently contracted, was the conduct of the regent, in attacking and defeating a party of the Parisians, who had made a sally from the town; this, he pretended, was a breach of the treaty, and of course operated as a release to him from the oath he had taken.

The troops were so disposed as greatly to incommode the inhabitants of Paris. A bridge had been thrown over the Seine below Corbeil, by means of which a communication was established that enabled detachments of the army to extend their incursions along the river, and to prevent any supplies from entering Paris on that side†. Marcel, in order to inspire the citizens with confidence, made a sally from the town, at the head of twelve hundred men, and destroyed the bridge. Another sally, which was made a few days after, under the conduct of the king of Navarre, proved less successful. That prince contented himself with leading his men so near to the enemy as to hold a conference with some of the nobles, and then led them back again without making any attack.

* Chron. MS. du roi Jean. † Grande Chronique; Spicil. Cont. Nang.

This conduct rendered him suspected, and he thenceforth became an object of contempt to the citizens, whom he had prevented from signalising their courage; they imagined, too, that he maintained a secret correspondence with the nobility, whom they regarded as their enemies. Having withdrawn their confidence, they next deprived him of the title of captain-general; and, finding his influence insufficient to secure him the power he wished to obtain, he left the capital in disgust, and retired to St. Denis.

At the instigation of queen Jane, the regent was weak enough again to listen to proposals of peace from that treacherous monarch, and his no less treacherous adherents, the chiefs of the sedition. Conferences were holden near Vitry, and all the terms of accommodation were settled; but the faithless Parisians laughed at the credulity of their prince, and dismissed with threats and contempt the officers whom he sent, agreeable to the treaty, to take possession of the town.

Marcel and his accomplices now plainly perceived the impossibility of holding out much longer without effectual assistance from the king of Navarre, on whose protection alone they relied, not merely for the success of their schemes but for the preservation of their lives. With him, therefore, they held frequent conferences, in which they displayed the most abject submission, and earnestly besought him to extend his favour to them who had only become criminal in order to forward his interest, and promote his views. The king, ever profuse of oaths and promises, replied "Certainly, my lords and friends, no harm shall ever happen to you of which I will not partake. While you have the government of Paris, I advise you to provide yourself with plenty of gold and silver, since you may stand in need of it. You may place a confidence in me, and send me all you collect to Saint Denis, where I will take good care of it, and secretly employ it in the support of men at arms, and companies of foot, which will serve to defend you against your enemies." Marcel's fears, in this instance, overcame his avarice, and, flattering himself with having secured a powerful protection in Charles the Bad, he continued to send regularly twice a week two cart-loads of florins to St. Denis.

In vain did the provost of the merchants endeavour, by these precautions, to ward off the impending blow. His credit daily diminished, and his partisans began to lose their courage with their hopes. An incident which occurred at this time tended to accelerate his ruin, by compelling him to have recourse to the most dangerous expedients which rage and despair could suggest. Besides those troops which attended the king of Navarre, there were some other companies of English, which the inhabitants of Paris retained in their service. The people discontented with the conduct of Charles the Bad, and of those factious demagogues by whom they had hitherto submitted to be governed, sighed in secret for the return of their lawful prince. The sight of the English reminded the citizens of their sovereign's captivity; the calamities which desolated the kingdom

excited their indignation ; unable any longer to suffer their enemies to triumph, as it were, in the midst of the capital, they insulted the English troops, who endeavoured to defend themselves, but, overcome by superiority of numbers, sixty of them were killed ; and though Marcel favoured the escape of the rest, he was compelled to consent to the imprisonment of one hundred and fifty. The king of Navarre having expressed his displeasure at this outrage, the provost, obedient to his will, went next day to the Louvre, where these prisoners were confined, and effected their release, notwithstanding the resistance of the Parisians.

These troops took revenge for the ill-treatment they experienced by committing the most dreadful devastations in the environs of the capital, whose inhabitants they dared to come forth and engage them. The Parisians accepted the challenge, and the provost of the merchants was compelled to make a sally at the head of twelve hundred men ; but he was careful to divide them into two bodies, and to lead that which he commanded himself to a quarter where he was certain no enemy would be found ; the other body fell in with the English near St. Cloud, and sustained a total defeat ; six hundred of them were killed, and the rest pursued to the gates of Paris.

The king of Navarre remained a tranquil spectator of these disasters ; and was pleased to see his resentment against the Parisians so completely gratified. He moreover flattered himself with the hope, that the inconveniences they experienced would, finally, induce them to resign themselves entirely to his discretion*. It was impossible that things could remain in their present situation ; the confusion was too great to continue ; and the crisis was so violent that it must speedily terminate in a complete revolution. Marcel, having forfeited all claims to mercy from the regent, being detested by the majority of that very people whose idol he had so recently been, and abhorred by all good citizens, was no longer under the necessity of keeping up appearances. His only alternative was to bury himself beneath the ruins of his faction, or else to abandon himself without reserve to the king of Navarre, who held him in contempt, and only considered him as the vile instrument of his own wickedness. He now paid that monarch a private visit, when they concerted such a project, as might be expected from men so lost to every principle of virtue, justice and humanity. It was agreed that the provost of the merchants should surrender the capital to the king, whose troops, in conjunction with the rebels, after securing the Bastille, and the principal gates of the city, should massacre all the friends of the regent, whose houses were already marked for that purpose ; and when by this means they should have overcome every obstacle to their wishes, Charles the Bad should be crowned king of France. The new monarch

* Chron. MS. du roi Jean. ; Chron. de St. Denis. ; Froissard. ; Spicil. Cont. de Nang.
Mem. de Littérature.

would then have ceded to Edward such provinces as lay contiguous to his own territories, and have done homage to him for the rest of the kingdom.

The provost of the merchants having taken every precaution which he deemed necessary for securing the accomplishment of his scheme, sent word to the king of Navarre that all was ready, and he had only to hasten the approach of his troops to the town; and, at a signal which they had agreed on, the gates were to be opened. Marcel accordingly repaired to the gate of St. Anthony, in the night of the last of July, and having dismissed a part of the guard, and replaced them with such as were devoted to his service, he took the keys of the gate from the officer to whose care they were entrusted. Hitherto he had met with no obstacle; and the town was on the point of being surrendered to Charles the Bad, when *John Maillard*, a loyal citizen—whose name merits a distinguished place in the annals of France—arrived with a party of his friends, and seizing Marcel, saved his country. Firmly attached to his lawful sovereign, he had only waited for a proper opportunity to display his zeal; notwithstanding the secrecy with which the schemes of Marcel had been conducted, he had found the means of detecting them. When he came up to the traitor, he exclaimed, “Stephen, “ what are you doing here at this hour!” “John,” said Marcel, “ what is “ that to you? I am here to take care of the town, of which I am governor.” “ By heavens!” replied Maillard, “ that is not the case, you are not here at “ this hour for any good; and I will shew you,” addressing himself to his companions, “ that he has got the keys of the gate in his hand for the purpose “ of betraying the city.” “ John, you lie!” said the provost—“ You are the “ liar!” returned Maillard, in a transport of rage; then grasping his battle-axe he pursued Marcel, who attempted to fly, and with one blow laid him dead at his feet. His companions immediately attacked the troops who attended the provost, killed some of them and secured the rest. Maillard then hastened to the gate of Saint Honore, which was also to have been opened for the admission of the Navarrese, and, as he marched through the city, he awakened the inhabitants, and relating what he had done, called upon them to defend the common cause; when he arrived at the gate, he killed all such as attempted to resist, and led the rest to prison, whither most of the accomplices of Marcel, having been seized in their beds, were conducted before morning*.

The people roused by the cries of “ *Monjoye Saint Denis!*” “ *Long live the “ king and the regent!*” assembled in crowds. The streets were instantly filled with an armed multitude, who massacred all the partisans of the provost and his faction that came in their way. Even those who attempted to escape their fury, by keeping within doors, were forced from their habitations and thrown into prison. One only of the most criminal eluded their vigilance; the bishop of Laon, that seditious and turbulent priest, who had been the chief

* Villaret,

instigator of the present disorders, escaped from the city, while the populace were engaged in wreaking their vengeance on the body of his accomplice, Marcel, who, with four of his partners in iniquity that had joined him in the assassination of the two marshals, was dragged through the street, and, covered with blood and dirt, thrown on the tombs of those noblemen, and there exposed, as expiatory victims, to the indignation of an enraged populace.

At dawn of day, Maillard assembled the people in the market-place, where he pronounced a pathetic harangue on the calamities to which the city had been exposed since the commencement of the revolt; and explained the motives which had urged him to kill the provost of the merchants. His speech was received with general applause; and all present called for the immediate punishment of the traitors who had conspired against the safety of the town, the rights of the king, and the authority of the regent. The partisans of Marcel were accordingly tried by a select council of citizens, who sentenced numbers of them to die, and previously to be applied to the torture.

The people, who, but a few days before, did not dare to pronounce the name of the regent, now ardently wished for his return; all badges of party disappeared; and the principal leaders of rebellion were either dead or in prison. Among their misguided adherents, were some respectable citizens, whose past lives had been irreproachable; but who were seduced, either by the example of their friends, the threats of the provost, or the intrigues of the king of Navarre, to take an active part in the sedition. One of these unhappy men, an object of general esteem, exclaimed, as they led him to the place of execution, "Wretch that I am! O, king of Navarre, would that I had never seen nor heard you."

Simon Maillard, with two counsellors of the parliament, John Alphons, and John Pastourel, were deputed to wait on the regent whom they found at Charenton*. They gave him an account of what had passed, and besought him, in the name of the Parisians, to complete, by his presence, the restoration of tranquillity. Charles received them with kindness, promised to follow them as soon as possible, and desired them to assure the inhabitants of the capital of his affection and mercy. A few days after, he entered Paris, accompanied by the marshal d'Andreghen, the lord of Roye, and a numerous retinue of knights and nobles. He was received by the people with every demonstration of joy; and, the day after his arrival, he repaired to the town-hall†, when the streets were crowded with the inhabitants, who invoked benedictions on his head, and made repeated protestations of submission and fidelity. At the town-hall, he publicly explained the particulars of the conspiracy, which had been recently frustrated; he convinced the people that the design of Marcel, the bishop of Laon, and their accomplices, was to surrender the town to the

* Chron. de Saint Denis; Chron. MS.
Vol. II.

+ Christ. de Pisan, MS. part. I. chap. xxiv. p. 16.

English and Navarrese, to massacre all those who were known to be attached to their sovereign, and then to bestow the crown on Charles the Bad. All these circumstances had been collected from the confessions of the criminals, who had been applied to the torture, and from Thomas de Ladit, chancellor to the king of Navarre, who was apprehended, in attempting to make his escape in the disguise of a monk; and executed some time after. The prince finished his speech by an assurance that he would bury in oblivion all past transactions, and simply confine the effects of his justice to the authors of the revolt, who, by their violence and intrigues, had corrupted the fidelity of their fellow-citizens.

As a proof that this promise implied no exceptions that could alarm such as had been seduced to partake in the sedition, he granted, at the solicitations of Gentien Tristan, the new provost of the merchants, and of the aldermen and principal citizens, general *Letters of Grace*, excluding only those who had been guilty of high-treason, which crime he explained to be an attempt to prevent the liberation of the king; a design on the life of the king and of the regent; or to keep them in perpetual imprisonment, and to declare the king of Navarre, king of France. The Parisians, satisfied with this explanation of his intentions, vowed an inviolable attachment to him.

The night on which Marcel was to surrender the city, the king of Navarre presented himself at the gate of Saint Anthony*; but, finding it shut, he began to fear that some unexpected event had frustrated his schemes; and the tumult he heard encreasing his inquietude, he dispatched messengers to discover the fact, who soon brought him a true account of the situation of affairs. He then attempted to remedy this disappointment by an attack on the town; but, being repulsed with loss, he retired to Saint Denis, transported with rage against the Parisians; the effects of which were displayed in ravaging the environs of the capital. In a few days, he received the news that his treaty with the king of England was concluded; it was signed on the first of August†, the very day on which Marcel was to have given him possession of Paris. By this treaty it was stipulated that the king of Navarre should assist Edward with all his power in conquering France; that, in case they succeeded, Charles should have the counties of Champagne and Brie; the county of Chartres, and the bailiwick of Amiens; and that all the other provinces should belong to the king of England, with a permission, however, to Charles, to establish his pretensions to the duchy of Normandy.

The king of Navarre, now firmly connected with England, from whence he expected to obtain effectual assistance, and having nothing farther to hope from the Parisians, since the detection and punishment of his accomplices, no longer sought to keep up appearances with the regent, whom he had hitherto amused

* Chron, de St. Denis; Chron, MS.; Villani.

† Rymer,

with negociations and treaties, always violated as soon as formed. Before he left Saint Denis (which he pillaged in return for the shelter it had afforded him) he sent him an open defiance*. He then marched to the town of Melun, into which he was admitted by his sister, queen Blanche, to whom it belonged; but he could only obtain possession of one part of the town, the other having been previously fortified and secured by the regent's troops. Philip of Navarre, at the same time, entered Normandy, and placed strong garrisons in Mantes and Meulan, by which means he commanded the course of the Seine, and was enabled to make incursions into the Chartrain, and even to extend his depredations to the vicinity of the capital. The English troops, too, joined the Navarrese more openly than they had hitherto done; so that Edward, notwithstanding the truce, continued hostilities under the name of the king of Navarre. He hoped, by this policy, to weaken the kingdom, by secretly fomenting the divisions that preyed upon its vitals.

Every day was productive of some fresh calamity. The best fortified towns were not exempt from the general terror, and the utmost vigilance was requisite to avert the evil effects of their groundless apprehensions. It was at this period that a prohibition was issued to ring the bells of the churches in Paris, from the hour of vespers till day-light, through fear of interrupting the attention of the centinels, who were posted on the walls to give notice of the enemy's approach. The garrisons, stationed in the towns and fortresses, formed so many independent troops of marauders, who suffered no opportunity of pillage to escape. All communication, not only between the different provinces, but between the different towns of the same province, were stopped. The high-roads were covered with grass and brambles; the castles, churches, monasteries, in short, every building which would admit of a fortification, was either filled with troops, or devoted to destruction by either party. The English and Navarrese demolished them from enmity; and the troops of the regent, that they might not afford shelter to the enemy. The convents were forsaken; the cities were filled with monks and nuns, who repaired thither for security against the horrors of war. The inhabitants of the country were exposed to every kind of outrage; and, after paying tribute to the different troops, in order to preserve their habitations from fire and pillage, they were finally constrained to renounce the cultivation of their lands; and the fields now became the receptacles of soldiers and banditti.

The principal object of the king of Navarre, was, to cut off all communication with the capital, in the hope of reducing it by famine. With this view he had secured all the passages of the different rivers by which provisions might be conveyed thither. The possession of Creil gave him the command of the Oise, Lagny made him master of the Marne, and he secured the Seine, both

* *Treſor des Chartres*, Reg. 96, p. 219.

above and below Paris, by the garrisons of Melun, Mantes, and Meulan; while the fortresses of Argenteuil, Franconville, and Croissy, which he had reduced, enabled him to blockade the town on that side. The regent, in the mean time, assembled troops; and was obliged to enlist in his service several of those companies of banditti which infested the kingdom. The state of his finances not permitting him to pay them with regularity, they committed the most dreadful devastations in all the places where they were stationed; some of their leaders even engaged in a conspiracy with the enemy, which was fortunately discovered. The punishment of these traitors caused their troops to desert, and join the Navarrese; so that Charles the Bad, who was enabled to pay them by the sums he had received from Marcel, saw the number of his adherents daily encrease.

The towns of Picardy and Vermandois, on application from the regent, furnished a body of troops, under the command of the bishop of Noyon, and the lords of Coucy, Ravenal, Chauny and Roye, who laid siege to the castle of Mauconseil, a place from its situation important. John de Pecquigny, apprised of the danger to which this fortress was exposed, hastened to its relief, at the head of the garrison of Creil; and, entering, by favour of a fog, the camp of the besiegers, took them by surprise, and put them to flight. Most of the noblemen were either killed or taken; among the last was the bishop of Noyon. The enemy made a considerable booty, as well by the pillage of the camp, as the ransom of the prisoners; and, such as had not money to pay their ransom, were compelled to serve, for a certain time, in the Navarrese army.

The king of Navarre, who kept up a secret correspondence in most of the towns which acknowledged the regent's authority, made an attempt upon Amiens, the reduction of which some of the citizens had engaged to facilitate. When every thing was prepared for the introduction of his troops, Pecquigny went thither by night, and took possession of one part of the suburbs; but, neglecting to improve this advantage with sufficient celerity, he gave the inhabitants of the town time to prepare for resistance. The constable de Fiennes, and the count of St. Paul, arrived at this conjuncture, and entered the town on the opposite side; the troops they brought with them repelled the attacks of the Navarrese, who were forced to retreat to the suburbs, which they abandoned, after having pillaged and set fire to it. Three thousand houses* were reduced to ashes. Those citizens who had been concerned in the plot, were arrested the next day, and seventeen of them, among whom was the mayor, were executed. A similar attempt was made, at the same time, on the town

* It appears strange that one of the suburbs of Amiens should, at this period, have contained three thousand houses, when all the houses in the four suburbs do not now amount to eight hundred. Yet all the chronicles of the fourteenth century agree in the number; and, as it is not written in cyphers, there can be no mistake. Amiens, therefore, must have formerly been a city of much greater extent than it is at present. Villaret,

of Laon, which the bishop wished to surrender to the Navarrese, but the conspiracy was fortunately detected, though the prelate escaped the punishment he deserved by a timely evasion.

Even the capital itself was not exempt from conspiracies; the regent having received intelligence of a plot for introducing the troops of Charles the Bad into Paris, ordered several of the citizens to be arrested, and thrown into prison. The people assembled and insisted that John Culdoo, provost of the merchants, should solicit the prince to release them, but that officer refused to comply with their request. The next day the regent, attended by a numerous escort, went to the Place de Greve, where he harangued the people, and assured them, he had certain proofs that those he had arrested were partisans of the king of Navarre. A citizen then present, who had himself been connected with Charles the Bad, having confirmed the truth of the prince's declaration by oath, the people were appeased; but the regent, wishing to conciliate their affection by acts of clemency, pardoned the culprits, after he had established their guilt by a fair trial*.

The cardinals of Perigord and Urzel, who had been appointed by the pope to negotiate an accommodation between the regent and the king of Navarre†, were compelled to return to Avignon, without accomplishing the object of their mission. These ecclesiastics had been equally unsuccessful in their attempt to negotiate a peace between the crowns of England and France, for which purpose they had made a voyage to London. The war continuing, a troop of English and Navarrese, not exceeding one thousand men, took Auxerre, though defended by a garrison of one thousand. The town was pillaged, and the booty was estimated at five hundred thousand *moutons* of gold. The Navarrese, after passing a week in the place, threatened to burn it, unless the inhabitants would consent to pay a ransom of forty thousand *moutons* of gold, and forty pearls, estimated at a fourth of that sum. Plundered of all they possessed, they were unable to furnish the money; and were therefore obliged to give the plate and jewels belonging to the church of St. Germain, the only place that had escaped pillage, as a pledge to the enemy; engaging to pay an annual rent of three thousand florins to the church in case they should fail to redeem it. The English, notwithstanding, remained in the town, the gates and fortifications whereof they demolished, while some of the citizens were gone to Paris to solicit the regent's confirmation of the treaty, to which they had been constrained to submit, and to obtain some pecuniary assistance. On their return, the money they had procured was forcibly taken from them.

* Villani, in his account of the conspiracy, in which he involves the counts of Etampes and Rouffy, (two noblemen who had given repeated proofs of their loyalty) says, that the regent caused the citizens to be executed, and pardoned the counts; but his testimony is positively contradicted by all the French historians. Villaret.

† Chron. de Saint Denis. Mem. de Littérature.

The courage displayed by the constable de Fiennes, and the count of St. Paul, in the defence of Amiens, had secured them the confidence of the troops who flocked to their standard*. In a short time they found themselves at the head of two thousand men at arms, and twelve thousand militia, with which they formed the siege of St. Valery, which capitulated after a most vigorous defence. The French had scarcely taken possession of the town, when Philip of Navarre, with the counts of Harcourt and Pecquigny appeared before it; but, finding the place already reduced, and the enemy stronger than they expected, they retreated with precipitation. The constable pursued them, and, but for the delay occasioned by the refusal of the inhabitants of St. Quentin to suffer his troops to pass, they must certainly have been overtaken. That delay, putting a stop to the pursuit, the Navarrese returned to Normandy, where they continued their usual depredations.

A. D. 1359.] The regent displayed equal patience and perseverance in surmounting the numerous obstacles he had to encounter; while his mildness and moderation conciliated the affection of the people, and secured universal esteem. Having no farther occasion to conceal his real sentiments, he resolved to evince the generosity of his mind, and the rectitude of his intentions†. He went to the parliament, and there published an ordonnance, by which he declared that he had ever considered, as faithful and affectionate subjects, the two and twenty officers whom the states of 1357 had compelled him to dismiss; that the apprehension of still greater misfortunes could not have induced him to yield to the importunities of the enemies of the government, if he had not entertained a hope that, in happier times, he should be free to follow the dictates of justice; that the time was now arrived for restoring to their places, and clearing the reputation of those officers who had only been persecuted on account of their attachment to the real good of the public, and the honour of their sovereign; that he, accordingly, restored them to their dignities and possessions, and ordained that their salaries should be paid them in the same manner as if they had continued to discharge the duties of their respective offices. The prince concluded by expressing a desire that this declaration might be communicated to the pope, the emperor, and the different towns of the kingdom, that, by such an authentic testimony, every suspicion which the dismissal of those officers might have excited to their prejudice, might be effectually removed.

This measure served to strengthen and confirm those sentiments of love and respect which the French were accustomed to entertain for their sovereigns. It was not long before the prince received an unequivocal proof of the zeal and attachment of the nobility, and of the inhabitants of the principal towns‡. At an assembly of the states general, holden at this time, the nobles, besides the

* Froissard. Chron. MS. du roi Jean. † Mem. de la Chambre des Comptes. reg. D. fol. 19.

‡ Chambre des Comptes, Mém. D. Recueil des Ordonnances. Chron. de Saint Denis.

usual subsidy, agreed to serve a whole month at their own expence; the city of Paris offered to maintain six hundred men at arms, four hundred archers, and one thousand *companions*; the other cities, making proportionable efforts, furnished twelve thousand men at arms. This was a very large supply, when we consider the wretched state of the country, the destruction and pillage of so many towns, and the necessity under which they all laboured to provide for their own private defence against the multitude of enemies which surrounded them on all sides.

In order to profit by the present disposition of the troops, it was resolved to lay siege to Melun, which, from its situation on the Seine, enabled the Navarrese greatly to incommode the capital*. It moreover contained within its walls, three sovereign princesses; Jane, widow to Charles; Blanche, widow to Philip of Valois, and the queen of Navarre. It was at this siege that Bertrand du Guesclin, who had lately entered the regent's service†, first displayed his courage in the French army. The regent, who was present, witnessed his intrepidity, in first mounting the walls of a tower, which he would have taken, had not the ladder on which he stood been crushed by a barrel of stones. The solidity of his *armour* saved his life, but he was thrown into the ditch, from whence he was taken senseless and motionless. The prince, who had kept his eyes on him the whole time, hastened to his assistance, and conceived the highest esteem for him. As soon as du Guesclin had recovered his senses, he returned to the attack, slew several of the enemy with his own hand, and constrained the rest to retreat behind the drawbridge. Night coming on, the assailants retired to their tents.

A fresh assault was to have been given the next day; but, during the night, the garrison proposed terms of accommodation. Queen Jane and her council engaged to surrender the city, and the preliminary conditions of the new treaty of peace with the king of Navarre were agreed upon. The prince, in the mean time, withdrew his troops, and returned to Paris, fully relying on the queen's promise that the Navarrese should evacuate Melun.

While the agents of the two princes were employed at Vernon, in discussing the articles of peace, the regent was desirous of given his subjects a proof of the confidence he placed in their affections. The members of his council repaired to the parliament, where the provost of the merchants was appointed to attend, with the principal citizens, in order to give their opinion of the treaty now in agitation. They were unanimous in advising the prince to accept the terms proposed. The deputies of the king of Navarre were accordingly invited to come to Paris; and, when every thing was settled, the regent went to Pontoise, where Charles the Bad was to meet him, in order to ratify the treaty.

The king of Navarre, before he left Mantes, required that the duke of Bour-

* Chron. MS. du Roi Jean, Froissard, Spicil. Cont. de Nang. † Vie du Connetable du Guesclin, MS.

bon, Lewis of Harcourt, the lords of Montmorency and Saint Venant, William Martel, le Baudrain de la Heuze, the provost of the merchants, and two of the principal citizens of Paris, should be delivered to him as hostages. He arrived with a guard of one hundred men at arms ; but, on perceiving the regent, who went out to meet him, he dismissed a part of his attendants. The two princes, after reciprocal professions of friendship, entered the town of Pontoise by the light of flambeaux. When they came to settle the terms of the treaty, such objections were started by the king of Navarre as appeared to be insurmountable ; and the regent actually sent to inform him by the count of d'Etampes, that, if he persisted in refusing the conditions he had proposed, an accommodation was impossible, and he was ready to have him conducted in safety to the place at which he had received him.

All hopes of a peace thus seemed to be frustrated, when Charles the Bad suddenly changed his sentiments, or rather his language, for his object was still the same, though he found it necessary to alter the mode of attaining it. His professions were now the very the reverse of what they had hitherto been ; instead of advancing exorbitant claims, he displayed the most perfect disinterestedness. He sent for the council of the regent, to whom he declared his resolution of terminating the calamities of the state, of becoming the friend of the king and his son, and of serving them to the utmost of his power*. He protested that he resigned all pretensions to a pecuniary satisfaction, or territorial grant, and only wished to obtain the restitution of what lawfully belonged to him ; he added, that it was his intention to declare these sentiments before the people.

The regent, agreeably surprised at this unexpected change, exclaimed, in a transport of joy, that " if the king of Navarre really thought as he spoke, he " must certainly have been inspired by heaven." But Charles the Bad, more dangerous as a friend than formidable as an enemy, did not suffer him to remain long in an error. That same day, however, before the people of Pontoise, assembled for the purpose in the hall of the castle, he renewed the declaration he had made to the regent's council ; and farther promised to evacuate all the fortresses which either he or his allies had taken during the war. He kept his word with regard to some ; such as Poissy, Chaumont en Vexin, Joui-la-Ville, and Chanville. But this apparent candour had its source in a principle which it is necessary to develope.

A great part of the troops which the king of Navarre had hitherto employed were composed of independent companies of English and other mauraunders, who ravaged the kingdom. Most of the leaders of these companies, after they had stripped the provinces, were anxious to secure the fruits of their depredations

* Chron. de St. Denis. Chron. MS. du roi Jean. Mém. de Littérature. Hist. du Charles le Mauvais. Trésor des Chartres, reg. 87, and 107. Chambre des Comptes, Mém. D.

in some place of safety. Several of them even sold the towns they had seized without consulting the king. The English, in particular, wished to return with their wealth to their native isle; and many of them were recalled by Edward, who was collecting forces for the execution of a project he then had in contemplation. What then did Charles the Bad risk by concluding a peace? He got rid of a war which began to be onerous, at the same time that he reserved to himself the advantages to be derived from it through the means of his brother Philip of Navarre, who refused to accede to the treaty, declaring that "the king of Navarre must be bewitched to accept an accommodation so disadvantageous to himself." The truce, too, with England, was expired; and, as Edward had been extremely circumspect in granting him succours, he hoped, by renewing the war at a future period, to be able to obtain better terms from that monarch; while his affectation of candour afforded him an opportunity of establishing an intercourse with the regent, that might facilitate the accomplishment of his perfidious schemes. Such were the motives which influenced the conduct of Charles the Bad, who continued to insinuate himself into the confidence and good graces of the regent, till the detection of a conspiracy he had formed compelled him once more to throw off the mask.

Although it had been expressly stipulated by the treaty that that part of the town of Melun, which was in the possession of the Navarrese, should be surrendered, the place was not evacuated. The king of Navarre had converted the war into another species of depredation, attended with less danger, and productive of greater emolument. All the goods and merchandise which passed under the bridge of Melun to go to Paris, were made subject to enormous duties. A ton of wine paid six crowns of gold; a hogshead of corn two crowns, and every thing else in proportion. The produce of these duties, it was pretended, was to pay the arrears due to the troops which the king of Navarre had stationed at Melun. At Mantes and Meulan the same imposition was practised; so that, by commanding the navigation of the river, the king of Navarre found means to levy contributions on the capital without the expence of waging war.

The regent, at the solicitation of Charles the Bad, who had private reasons for wishing to return to Paris, assembled the principal citizens in the chamber of the parliament*. After he had read the treaty, he told them that the king of Navarre was anxious to obtain permission to return to the capital, but that he would not grant it contrary to the inclinations of the inhabitants. John Desmares, an advocate, answered, in the name of the assembly, that the Parisians were highly obliged to the regent for the peace he had concluded; and that they would not oppose the return of the king of Navarre, provided he would not bring with him certain traitors, whom he named, and the chief of whom

* Chron. MS. du roi Jean. Chron. de Saint Denis. Mem. de Littérature,

was the bishop of Laon. The prince replied, that the wishes of the assembly were perfectly conformable with his own; and that he had repeatedly refused to grant the pardon of those traitors to the prayers and remonstrances of the Navarrese monarch.

But, notwithstanding the late treaty, hostilities still continued in different parts of the kingdom; the only difference was this, that a part of the same troops carried on the war under another name; Philip of Navarre was the ostensible enemy in Normandy, and Edward in the other provinces; while the chiefs of the companies, sometimes serving one party, sometimes the other, but, in fact, always fighting for themselves, completed the gratification of their avidity, on the few remaining spoils of the kingdom.

Eustace d'Auberticourt, one of the leaders of banditti, laid waste the fine province of Champagne, at the head of seven hundred lances. Animated by love, his courage was enthusiastic; and, had it been exerted to a laudable end, might have entitled him to a distinguished place in the list of heroes. He had conceived a violent passion for Isabella de Juilliers, daughter to the count of that name, and widow to the earl of Kent. The lady, flattered by the adoration of a warrior, whose achievements formed the theme of general commendation, returned his passion with equal ardour; and, after bestowing on him repeated marks of her favour, and exhorting him to continue in the path of glory, or rather, in the path of *plunder*, she gave him her hand. The devastations he committed called for the serious attention of the regent, who could find no other means of repressing them, than by opposing to him an adversary of the same stamp.

Brocard de Fenestrange, chief of the banditti of Lorraine, was the person he employed on this occasion, and he promised him a considerable reward in case he executed his commission with zeal and success. Fenestrange having assembled his troops, which amounted to five hundred men at arms, was joined by several noblemen and gentlemen from Burgundy and Champagne. He carried by assault the castle of Hans, which belonged to Auberticourt, whom he overtook near Nogent-upon-Seine. Fenestrange, who was a man of experience, drew up his little army in three divisions; he placed himself at the head of the first, assisted by the bishop of Troies; John of Chalons, and the count of Joui commanded the second; and the third was entrusted to the count of Joinville. The combat was long and bloody; but, Eustace d'Auberticourt, having received a dangerous wound from a lance which broke three of his teeth, sustained a total defeat, and was compelled to surrender himself a prisoner to Fenestrange.

But the calm which this victory restored to the provinces, proved of short duration. Fenestrange had been promised thirty thousand crowns, which it was not possible to pay him. Disappointed in his expectations of reward, he had the audacity to send a defiance to the regent, and to declare war against him, and the whole kingdom of France. He did not confine himself to threats, but

soon proved himself an enemy more formidable than Auberticourt. He commenced hostilities by the reduction of Bar-upon-Seine, which he pillaged and reduced to ashes; he then over-ran Champagne with fire and sword; and, in his destructive progress, displayed greater inhumanity than any of his predecessors of the same description. The weakness of the government prevented the regent from restraining these excesses, or punishing their authors; and he was finally compelled to purchase the forbearance of FeneStrange, by paying him to the full extent of his demand.

Edward now thought the kingdom reduced to that situation which would justify any attempts to profit by circumstances so favourable to his ambition. Hitherto he had never openly explained himself on the conditions he meant to impose. Since the king's captivity, many attempts had been made to conclude a treaty*; but Edward artfully prolonged the negotiation, and rendered them all unsuccessful. The truce being expired, hostilities and conferences for a peace were renewed at the same time. The archbishop of Sens, with his brother, the count of Tancarville, the count of Damartin, and the mareschal d'Andreghen, who were prisoners in England, had made several journies to Paris, with the view to promote an accomodation, but all to no purpose.

John, in the mean time, notwithstanding the efforts of his conquerors to soften his captivity, became impatient to recover his liberty. He flattered himself that he could obtain from Edward more advantageous terms if he treated with him in person, than if he employed an agent; but he was mistaken in this idea; the matter was of too great importance to suffer any impulse of generosity to silence the dictates of policy. The king of England profited by his good fortune to prescribe the most rigorous terms; and John, anxious to return to his dominions, consented to all he proposed. The treaty, signed by the two monarchs, by the prince of Wales, and the duke of Bourbon, was sent to France for the regent's ratification. That prince regarded the conditions as too disadvantageous to France to be complied with; but, apprehensive that he might be accused of not shewing sufficient anxiety for the release of his father, he would not venture to give a refusal, that might be subject to misinterpretation, without the previous advice of the states general, who were accordingly summoned to meet on the occasion.

The assembly were unanimous in their advice to the duke to reject the treaty, and to continue the war, rather than make peace upon such terms. When the regent heard this, he repaired to the palace, and, standing on the steps in the court, shewed himself to the Parisians, while William de Dormans, the advocate-general, read the treaty aloud. John agreed to cede to Edward the duchies of Normandy and Guienne, Xaintonge, Aunis, Tarbes, the Perigord, Quercy, the Limousin, Bigorre, Poitou, Anjou, Touraine, the counties of

* Froissard. Chron. de St. Denis. Chron. MS,

Boulogne, Guines, and Ponthieu, Montreul-sur-Mer, and Calais, without any obligation of homage or fealty, on the part of the English monarch; to whom he likewise ceded the sovereignty of the duchy of Brittany, and engaged to pay four million crowns of gold, for his ransom. The people burst forth into a general murmur of indignation; and unanimously exclaimed, that they would never submit to such terms, but would continue the war against England. When the regent's answer was delivered to the two kings, John, who did not expect a refusal, evinced the greatest displeasure; while Edward protested, that, before the winter was over, he would enter France with such a formidable army, that the regent would be compelled to accede to any terms he should chuse to impose; and that he would not disarm till France was totally subdued. He immediately made the necessary preparations for putting his threats in execution; and, on the twenty-seventh of October, sailed for Calais with a fleet of eleven hundred sail, on board of which were his four eldest sons, all the principal nobility of England, and an army of one hundred thousand men.

On the fourth day of November, the English began their march from Calais; five hundred men preceded the army in order to clear the roads; and the troops were attended with six thousand waggons, which carried their baggage, provisions, and artillery*. Edward had taken the precaution to provide them with portable ovens and mills, as well as with corn for their nourishment; for France was now desolated by famine, and the continual depredations to which it had been exposed, had destroyed all its resources. The regent deemed it imprudent, with the small force he was master of, to trust the safety of the kingdom to the doubtful event of a battle; he therefore contented himself with strengthening the fortifications of such towns as would admit of defence, and with supplying them with strong garrisons; abandoning the open country to the discretion of the enemy. Thus the king of England was enabled to pursue his march without opposition, through the provinces of Picardy and Artois, till he came to the city of Rheims, where he proposed to be invested with the royal diadem of France; the archbishops of Lincoln and Durham attended him in order to perform the ceremony. The place, however, was vigorously defended by the archbishop of the diocese, John de Craon, assisted by the count of Porcien and his brother Hugh, with the lords of Bone, Cannency, Dannore and Lore.

While Edward was engaged in the siege of Rheims, a conspiracy was formed in the capital, which, had it succeeded, must have rendered him master of the whole kingdom. The king of Navarre, in concluding the late treaty, had only sought to secure a free access to the regent, with the view of observing on which side he might be attacked with the greatest prospect of success. He lived on the most intimate terms with the prince; who consulted him on all occasions,

* Spicil. Cont. de Nang. Froissard, Chron. MS.

though, at the same time, he kept a watchful eye on his conduct, and suffered none of his motions to escape his notice*. The regent had recently returned from an excursion to Rouen, in order to be present at the nuptials of Catherine of Bourbon, sister to his consort, with John of Harcourt, son to that count of Harcourt who had suffered decapitation, which were celebrated at Paris. The king of Navarre, who attended the ceremony, had procured a safe conduct for the captal de Buche, his relation, who made use of it to reduce the castle of Clermont, in Beauvoisis. Although it was certain that this enterprise had been formed in concert with Charles the Bad, yet the regent pretended ignorance of the matter; and, by continuing to treat him with the same marks of friendship and confidence which he had ever shewn him, since his residence at Paris, he encouraged him to hope that a diabolical plot he had projected would be crowned with success. A citizen of Paris, named *Martin Pisdoe*, an old friend and accomplice of Marcel, was at the head of this conspiracy. Though he had been included in the general amnesty, yet he had ever retained a desire of revenging the death of the provost, which he could only hope to do by exciting a revolution. With this view he attempted to corrupt two other citizens, John le Chavenatier, and Denis le Paumier, who immediately apprised the regent of his designs; when they received orders from that prince to dissemble their resentment, the better to discover the nature and extent of Pisdoe's intrigues. The plan, which he told Chavenatier had been concerted with the officers of the king of Navarre, was this; men at arms, in disguise, were to be privately introduced at the different gates, and stationed in different parts of the city; when a sufficient number had been collected they were to seize the regent, at the Louvre, massacre all that opposed them, and take possession of the principal squares, in order to prevent the people from assembling; by this means, the conspirators would have made themselves masters of the capital. The execution of the project was fortunately prevented by the vigilance of the regent; Martin Pisdoe was apprehended, and, being put to the torture, disclosed all the particulars of the conspiracy; after which he suffered the punishment due to his crime; and his body, divided into quarters, was exposed on the four principal gates of the city. The king of Navarre at first appeared wholly unconcerned, but, when he found that Pisdoe was to be tortured, he thought that Paris was no longer a place of safety for him; and the precipitation with which he fled served to confirm his guilt.

A. D. 1360.] As soon as Charles the Bad reached Mantes, he threw off the mask, declared war against the regent, and renewed hostilities by the capture of Rouboise, a strong fortress on the Seine. Edward, in the mean time, was compelled to raise the siege of Rheims, after laying three months before the

* Chron. de St. Denis, Trésor des Chartres reg. 90. p. 352. Mem. de Litt. Hist. du Charles le Mauvais. Hist. Generale de la Maison de France.

town. He then directed his march into Burgundy; the states of which province agreed to pay him two hundred thousand *moutons* of gold, at four instalments: in consideration of which he granted them a truce for three years.

Edward, after the conclusion of this treaty, left Burgundy, and proceeded towards the Nivernois, which, saving itself by a similar composition, he transferred his ravages to Brie and the Gatinois. After a long and destructive march, he arrived at the gates of Paris, on the last day of March; and, taking up his quarters at Bourg-la-Reine, extended his army to Long-jumeau, Mont-rouge, and Vaugirard. He tried to provoke the regent to hazard a battle, by sending him a defiance, but could not induce that prudent prince to change his plan of operations. Paris was safe from the danger of an assault by its numerous garrison, and the strength of its fortifications, for which it was principally indebted to the rebel Marcel; and from that of a blockade by its well-supplied magazines.

A body of twelve hundred villagers from the vicinity of Chatres (now Arpajon) having taken refuge in a monastery, belonging to Saint Maur-des-Fosses, and converted the church into a kind of fort, surrounded by a ditch, and supplied with warlike machines, were attacked by the English. The captain of this band finding himself exposed to danger, retired, with a few regulars that he had with him, to a tower that lay contiguous to the church, leaving the peasants to sustain the assaults of the enemy. These last, unable to defend themselves, reproached him with his perfidy, and determined to surrender; to prevent which, the savage set fire to the church, and the wretched inhabitants all perished in the flames. He was soon, however, punished for his cruelty; for, the fire reaching the tower, he experienced a similar fate.

The inhabitants of Thoury, a place of some importance, between Etampes and Orleans, destroyed their habitations and carried all they possessed into wooden barracks which they had constructed round a strong castle, that was situated in the middle of the town. When the enemy approached, they perceived that one house had, by chance, been left standing; to this they set fire, and the wind blowing strong towards the barracks, the flames were carried to the roofs, and spread with such inconceivable rapidity, that not a soul had time to escape. The cries of men, women, and children were heard by the English, who were unable to afford them the smallest assistance; they all perished, and the whole town was reduced to ashes. Montlhery and Long-jumeau were likewise burned; and the conflagration was seen from the ramparts of Paris.

The impossibility of procuring subsistence for such a numerous army, in a country already wasted by foreign and domestic enemies, and left empty also by the precautions of the regent, compelled Edward to remove his quarters; and he led his troops into the provinces of Maine, Beaufse, and the Chartraine, which were abandoned to the fury of their devastations. After refreshing his army, it was his intention to proceed to Brittany, and to renew the siege of Paris early in the spring. But, while the war was carried on in this ruinous

manner, the negotiations for a peace still continued; though the severity of the terms Edward wished to impose seemed to destroy all hopes of accommodation. Still the rage of neither party began to abate; France was reduced to the last extremity, and the English themselves, fatigued with a toilsome march through provinces rendered sterile by the calamities of war, and their strength farther impaired by the hardships of a winter campaign, were anxious to obtain an interval of repose. Edward, too, could not but perceive that his immense army had procured him no other advantage, than that of spreading desolation around him; while not a single place of importance had acknowledged his power. These reflections must have contributed not a little to incline him to lend a favourable ear to the exhortations of the pope's legates, and the remonstrances of the duke of Lancaster.

The duke insisted, that, notwithstanding his past successes, which must have greatly exceeded his hopes and expectation, he was now no nearer the accomplishment of his object—if the acquisition of the French crown was his object—than at the commencement of the war; or rather he was placed at a greater distance from it by those very victories and advantages, which seemed to lead to it. That the claim of succession had not, from the first, procured him one partisan in the kingdom; and the continuance of these destructive hostilities had united every Frenchman in the most implacable animosity against him. That though intestine faction had debilitated the government of France, it was abating every moment; and no party, even during the greatest heat of the contest, when subjection under a foreign enemy usually appears preferable to the dominion of fellow-citizens, had ever adopted the pretensions of the king of England. That the king of Navarre himself, the only ally of the English, instead of being a cordial friend, was Edward's most dangerous rival, and, in the opinion of his partisans, possessed a much preferable title to the crown of France. That the prolongation of the war, however it might enrich the English foldiers, was ruinous to the king himself, who bore all the charges of the armament, without receiving any solid or durable advantage from it. That if the present disorders of France continued, that kingdom would soon be reduced to such a state of desolation that it would afford no spoils to its ravagers; if it could establish a more steady government, it might, from the chance of war in its favour, and, by its superior force and advantages, be able to repel the present victors. That the regent, even during his greatest distresses, had yet conducted himself with so much prudence, as to prevent the English from acquiring a single foot of land in the kingdom; and it were better for the king to accept by a peace what he had in vain attempted to acquire by hostility, the success of which had by no means been adequate to the expences; and that Edward, having obtained so much glory by his arms, the praise of moderation was the only honour to which he could now aspire, an honour so much the

greater, as it was durable, was united with prudence, and might be attended with the most solid advantages*.

These remonstrances, the wisdom of which is manifest, could not fail to make a deep impression on the mind of Edward; who is said to have been farther disposed to peace, by an accident which happened during his march. At the distance of about two leagues from Chartres, his army was overtaken by a dreadful storm of hail, the stones of which was of such a prodigious size as to kill six thousand horses and one thousand men. The king, frightened at the horrors of the surrounding scene, threw himself prostrate on the ground; and, extending his arms towards the church of Chartres, made a solemn vow no longer to reject the offer of peace, if he could obtain it on reasonable terms. Voltaire, alluding to this circumstance, archly observes, that "scarcely have the will of sovereigns, and the fate of kingdoms, been decided by a shower of rain.†" Be that as it may, a peace was concluded at Bretigny—a small town situated about a league from Chartres—on the eighth of May, 1360. By the articles of this treaty (forty in number) it was stipulated that, exclusive of the absolute sovereignty of Guienne and Ponthieu, the following territories should be ceded to Edward—the county of Poitiers; the fief of Thouars; the provinces of Poitou, Xaintonge, Agenois, and Perigord; the Limousin, Quercy, Bigorre, Gavre, Angoumois, and Rouergue; Calais, Guines, and Montreuil; with the lordships of Merch, Sangate, Coulogne, Homes, Wall, and Oye. The full sovereignty of all these provinces and territories was to be vested in the crown of England; and France agreed to renounce all title to feudal jurisdiction, homage, or appeal from them. It was farther settled, by the fourteenth article, that the king of France should pay Edward three millions of crowns of gold for his ransom (equal to fifteen hundred thousand pounds of our present money;) the first six hundred thousand to be paid within four months from the arrival of John on the continent; and four hundred thousand per annum, till the whole sum was discharged. By the fifteenth article, John was to have his

* Froissard, l. i. c. 211.

† Id. ib.

‡ *Essai sur L'Histoire Générale*, t. ii. p. 132. This is one of those frivolous remarks with which even the serious works of this writer abound. The influence of fortuitous calamities on the human mind, in the production of important events, may form a subject of ridicule to the philosopher in his study, who, exulting in the strength of man's faculties, is anxious to trace each effect to an adequate cause. But, if we reflect that the impressions of terror are strong and durable, and that the mind of Edward, at this juncture, prepared as it was by previous scenes of desolation and carnage, of which he was the author, was peculiarly open to their reception, we shall not incline to accuse of credulity those ancient historians who assign the tempest as the cause of this sudden accommodation. The inconsistency of Voltaire, too, is here forcibly striking, since any one conversant in his works may recur to various passages, in which he ascribes the most important effects to causes the most trifling; in his history of the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth (chap. 22, p. 243) he ascribes the peace with England (in 1712) to the caprice of the duchess of Marlborough. On which occasion, he says, "un petit cause produit des tres grands changemens." And again, speaking of the circumstance which induced marshal Villars to attack prince Eugene at Denain, (ibid. p. 253) he remarks, that it serves to prove, "par quelles secrets et faibles ressorts les grandes affaires de ce monde sont souvent dirigées."

liberty after the first payment, and the restitution of Rochelle and the county of Guines, on delivering, as hostages to Edward, his son Philip; the counts of Eu, Longueville, Ponthieu, Tankerville, Joigny, Sancerre, Dammartin, Ventadour, Sallebruch, Ancæurs, and Vendome, with the lords of Craon, Derval, Odenham, and Aubigny; who had all been made prisoners at the battle of Poitiers;—likewise his two sons, Lewis, count of Anjou, and John, count of Poitiers; his brother, Philip duke of Orleans; the duke of Bourbon; the counts of Blois, or of Alençon, or their brothers; the counts of Saint Paul, Harcourt, Portien, Valentinois, Brenne, Vaudemont, and Forez; the viscount of Beaumont; the lords of Coucy, Fiennes, Preaux, Saint Venant and Garençieres; the dauphin of Auvergne; with the lords of Hanguest, Montmorency, Craon, Harcourt, and Ligny. Besides these noblemen, it was agreed, by the eighteenth article, that John, three months after he had recovered his liberty, should deliver, as hostages, forty-two citizens, that is, four citizens of Paris, and two from each of the following towns—Rouen, Saint Omer, Arras, Amiens, Beauvais, Lille, Douay, Tournay, Rheims, Chalons, Troyes, Chartres, Toulouse, Lyons, Orleans, Compiègne, Caen, Tours, and the Bourges. In return for these important concessions, Edward agreed to resign his claim to the French crown, and to the provinces of Normandy, Maine, Touraine and Anjou, which had been possessed by his ancestors, as well as to the sovereignty of Brittany. By the thirty-second article, John renounced his alliance with the Scots, and Edward dissolved his confederacy with the Flemings. By the twenty-first it was stipulated, that the disputes relative to the succession of Brittany, between the houses of Blois and Mountfort, should be left to the decision of arbiters, to be appointed by the two kings; but, should every attempt to promote an amicable termination of them fail, either party was left at liberty to establish his claims as he could, and his friends were allowed to assist him*. By the twelfth article of the treaty, it was settled, that the two kings should agree between themselves on the time and place for making their reciprocal renunciations.

Six English knights, deputed by Edward and the prince of Wales, repaired to Paris the day after the conclusion of the treaty†, to procure the regent's ratification of it. That prince sent for the provost of the merchants, and the principal citizens of Paris, in whose presence he ordered all the articles of peace to be read by John Desmares; after which William de Melun, archbishop of Sens, celebrated mass, in the hotel de Sens, where the regent resided. During the celebration, the prince left his oratory; and, walking up to the altar, placed one hand on the missal, and the other on the holy sacrament, and swore, in presence of the English knights, to observe, inviolably, all the conditions of the treaty. As soon as he had taken the oath, an officer opened one of the windows of the duke's apartment, and announced the news of the peace to the peo-

* Rymer, vol. vi. p. 178. Froissard, l. i. c. 212.

† Chron. MS. du roi Jean.

ple, who were assembled in the court-yard. The regent then went to the cathedral to return thanks to God for the restoration of tranquillity.

The prince of Wales took a similar oath, in the cathedral at Louvres, in presence of six deputies from the regent. After the treaty had received this confirmation, Edward and his son returned to England. On the eighth of July the king of France was brought over to Calais, whither Edward, also, soon after repaired; and there both princes solemnly ratified the treaty, on the twenty-fourth of October. Next day, John set out for Boulogne, and Edward accompanied him to the distance of a mile from Calais, where they parted with the most cordial professions of mutual amity and esteem. The regent had, in the mean time, begun to levy the subsidies which had been granted for paying the king's ransom. The city of Paris supplied eight thousand florins of gold for its part of the first payment, and opened a loan for one hundred thousand nobles, which was filled by the nobility, clergy, and opulent citizens.

The same day on which the treaty of Bretigny was confirmed at Calais, an accommodation was concluded, through the mediation of Edward, with the king of Navarre, in consequence of which John granted a general amnesty, as well to Charles the Bad, as to all his adherents. The king of Navarre was allowed the privilege of naming three hundred of his partisans, to whom particular letters of grace were to be accorded by the French chancery, including a pardon for every species of crime*. The first on his list was Robert le Coq, bishop of Laon, a prelate who merited the severest punishment which the offended laws of his country could inflict; though John had consented to pardon him, he very properly insisted that his kingdom should no longer be subject to the intrigues of such a turbulent priest; Le Coq, therefore, retired into Spain, where he was promoted to the bishopric of Calahorra. Charles the Bad engaged to swear fealty to the king, on condition of receiving twelve persons of different distinction, as hostages for his safety. The places occupied by the English, in the dominions of the king of Navarre, were to be restored, and, if any one should wage war against that monarch, John promised to observe a strict neutrality. All the articles, agreed upon by the duke of Normandy and queen Blanche, were confirmed by the present treaty, which was ratified by the oaths of Edward and John, in the presence of the duke of Orleans, the bishop of Terouane, the count of Tancarville, and the other plenipotentiaries of the French monarch, and of Philip of Navarre, the bishop of Avranches, the captal de Buche, and the lord of Pecquigny, who attended on the part of Charles the Bad.

After a captivity of four years, John once more entered his capital, on the thirteenth of December. On this occasion, the Parisians seemed to have for-

* Acts MS. concernant le Traité de Bretigny, à la Bibliothèque du roi. Rymer. Mém de Litt. pour servir à l'Hist. de Charles le Mauvais, par M. Secousse, Trésor des Chartres. lay. iv. de Navarra. Chambre des Comptes Mém. D.

gotten their past misfortunes ; the presence of their sovereign erased them from their memory. The streets and squares, through which he passed, were hung with tapestry, while the people were regaled with wine that flowed from numerous fountains. Before he re-assumed the reins of government, he confirmed all the acts of sovereignty performed by the regent during his absence from the kingdom*. This confirmation, which was then deemed indispensably necessary, shews the material difference there was between a regency administered during the absence or illness of the sovereign and that which takes place during a minority. In the last case, the ratification of the prince, when he comes of age, is not deemed necessary ; because, being called to the government of the state by the laws of the realm, those same laws are supposed to confirm every act of power which he performs in consequence of the authority delegated to him.

The misery to which the people were reduced by the war, and by intestine commotions, rendered the execution of the articles of peace extremely burdensome ; it was scarcely possible to procure money for the payment of the king's ransom. The pope had granted two tenths of the revenues of the clergy ; most of the large towns had taxed themselves ; many of the administrators of the finances had been seized and imprisoned with a view to extort money from them ; and, in short, necessity had impelled the adoption of almost every expedient that could be thought of. The adulteration of the coin was the only resource left unemployed at this juncture, when it would have been more excusable than at any other period. It will, doubtless, appear strange, that, so far from having recourse to this expedient, a new coinage was issued, in weight and purity superior to the last† ; but the tenths and other imposts were to be paid with this money ; and the king of England would probably have refused it for the ransom, had it been reduced below the proper standard.

The Jews thought this was a favourable opportunity to procure their recall. Exiled and proscribed in the preceding reigns, and even labouring under a similar disgrace since the accession of the present monarch‡, their residence in the kingdom had rather been connived at than tolerated. During the king's captivity they had made several proposals to the regent, who evinced a disposition to grant them a favour which they offered to purchase at a very high price. Soon after his release, John published a declaration, by which he permitted them to return, and to remain in the kingdom for twenty years§. Letters were annexed to the declaration, committing the care and conservation of their privileges to the count d'Etampes, a prince of the blood, of the branch of Evreux. Besides the sum which this persecuted people—who, though generally considered as outcasts of society, exert their industry with success in the acquisition of

* Du Tillet, Recueil des rois de France, Annot. Regist. du Parlem. Coté. A. fol. 51. C. des Cham, Mém. de fol. 14. Ordonnances des rois de France.

† Chron. MS. du roi Jean.

‡ Recueil des Ordonnances.

§ Trésor des Char. reg. 89.

wealth—advanced for the permission to return, every master of a family paid twelve Florentine florins of gold on his entrance into the kingdom, and six florins yearly for the liberty of residing there; and a general poll-tax was also levied on them of one florin per head. The king, thinking it necessary to put some check on their avarice, and to moderate the exorbitant interest which they exacted from his subjects, they were forbidden, in future, to take more than four deniers per livre, per week; such flagrant usury (by which the interest would, in fourteen months, amount to as much as the principal) authorised by an edict from the throne, affords a strong proof of the wretched state to which the kingdom was, at this period, reduced.

Six times had the Jews been banished the kingdom; and, under Charles the Sixth, a seventh sentence of banishment was issued against them; they still, however, continued to be privately tolerated, though subject to incessant persecutions, till the year 1615, when they were finally and absolutely proscribed by Lewis the Thirteenth. The Jews of Metz were alone excepted from the general proscription. It appears to have been a matter of doubt whether this people were most useful or most dangerous to the nation. Their usurious exactions were, in some measure, counterbalanced by their skill in the management of commercial affairs. The French, at this time, wholly neglected trade, and every occupation which called for exertions of industry; while they encouraged a taste for awkward luxury, and unrefined dissipation. The Jews enabled them to gratify this taste by supplying them with money; and, by thus administering to their passions, accelerated their ruin. Every thing relating to the finances was imperfectly understood in France, which afforded an opportunity to the Jews, who were skilful calculators, and could, in an instant, perceive the advantages to be derived from any proposal to purchase the revenues of the crown, to acquire great and rapid fortunes. They were the only bankers and money-lenders in the kingdom, till the Lombards came to partake with them those lucrative professions. But as trade increased this description of persons increased in proportion, and every country in Europe now abounds with native usurers, equally rapacious and more dangerous than the unfortunate Jews.

The king, immediately after his return, began to take proper measures for fulfilling the obligations he had recently contracted. His ministers, whose sentiments of honour were less refined than his own, strenuously urged him to elude the execution of a treaty so disadvantageous to France. But John replied—“that though honour and good faith were banished from every other place, they ought always to find an asylum in the bosom of princes;” a sentiment which showed him worthy his elevated station, and which ought to be engraven in indelible characters, on every throne! Many of the French governors, however, still refused, in opposition to the orders of their sovereign, to evacuate the places entrusted to their command. The affection of the people for their king, which had long lain dormant, now burst forth with renovated vigour;

the inhabitants of the provinces, ceded by the late treaty, and particularly the heads of many illustrious families, long refused to acknowledge the authority of the English monarch; and the most urgent solicitations and remonstrances of John were necessary to persuade them to sacrifice their private inclinations to the public tranquillity.

It was at this time that John bestowed the hand of his daughter on Isabella on John Galeas Visconti, son to the duke of Milan; the princess received as a dower the county of Sommieres in Languedoc, with an annuity of three thousand livres*; the former was afterwards exchanged by Galeas for the county of Vertus, this is all we know, from authentic records, of the circumstances of this marriage, which several historians have nevertheless presumed to ascribe to motives of avarice in the king, who bartered, they say, the hand of his daughter for a sum of money, which he wanted to discharge a part of his ransom. But assertions of this nature, unsupported by proof, must be rejected as calumnies, and the whole tenor of John's conduct serves to exculpate him from an imputation of so heinous a nature.

A. D. 1361.] But, while the king was careful to fulfil to the utmost the terms of the treaty of Bretigny, Edward is accused, by the French historians, of neglecting to *enforce* the positive orders he had given to his governors, to restore the places of which they were in possession†; the cession of which, they aver, John was compelled to purchase, at the expense of two millions of livers. Be that as it may, he at length obtained them. The kingdom, however, far from having recovered that tranquillity which it was expected the treaty would produce, was now exposed to more serious calamities than during the war with England. The many military adventurers who had followed the standard of Edward, being dispersed in the several provinces, and possessed of strong holds, refused to lay down their arms, or relinquish a course of life, to which they were now accustomed, and by which alone they could gain a subsistence‡. They associated themselves with the banditti, who were already enured to the habits of rapine and violence; and who, as we before have had occasion to observe, assumed the name of the *companies* and *companions*, and became a terror to all the peaceable inhabitants.

These new enemies first entered Champagne and Burgundy, where they were guilty of the most cruel excesses. They seized the castle of Genville, which they gave up, on receiving a hundred thousand livers, after they had ravaged the environs of Verdun, Toul, and Langres, and levied contributions on the inhabitants. Besancon, Dijon, and Beaune, experienced a similar treatment; and their numbers having increased to sixteen thousand, they resolved to

* Trésor des Chartres. † Du Tillet. ‡ We purposely forbear to notice the other accusations preferred against Edward, by Villaret and his predecessors, with regard to the non-accomplishment of the obligations he had contracted by the treaty of Bretigny: as we shall have occasion, in the reign of Charles the Wise to enter into a full discussion thereof.

attempt some enterprize of importance. The riches of the holy see induced them to bend their course towards the city of Avignon; directing their march through the Maconnois and the Comtat. These provinces, being exposed to the most dreadful depredations, addressed their complaints to the king's council; and France was threatened with a general desolation, unless the progress of this banditti was speedily checked.

But the difficulty of finding money and troops threw the government into the utmost consternation. On this emergency the king had recourse to James of Bourbon, who was employed in surrendering to lord Chandos, whom Edward had appointed his lieutenant, the different places that were to be restored to England. This nobleman was highly esteemed by his countrymen for the many amiable qualities he possessed; so that he had no sooner signified the orders he had received from the king, than all the gentlemen of the neighbouring provinces flocked to his standard. Followed by this chosen band he marched through the Lyonnois to the province of Forest, the count of which, who was recently dead, had married his sister. Being joined by his nephews, and his army daily increasing, he hastened forward in pursuit of the enemy, who were then employed in ravaging the environs of Chalons-upon-Saone. The *companies* being apprised of the approach of the French, called a council to decide on the propriety of waiting for them; and, having counted their troops, which were found to amount to sixteen thousand men, they determined to risk an action. "If fortune favours us," said they, "we shall all be enriched for a long time, not only from the prisoners we shall take in the action, but from the terror we shall inspire, which will prevent any farther opposition;—if we are beaten, we know the worst."

As soon as they had taken this resolution, they advanced to meet the French army. Quitting the Maconnois, and traversing a part of the provinces of Forest and the Beaujolois*, which they laid waste; they reduced the castle of Brignais, in the Lyonnois, situated on the small river of that name, about three leagues from the Rhone. When James of Bourbon heard they were so near him, he collected his troops, and offered them battle. These *companies*, composed chiefly of veteran soldiers, and experienced leaders, had taken post on a hill, at the foot of which, though strongly fortified by nature, they had thrown up some entrenchments that considerably encreased the difficulty of approaching it. They had also recourse to a stratagem, by concealing their best-appointed troops behind the hill, so that it was impossible to form any just estimation of their strength. This manœuvre had the desired effect; the officers who were sent to reconnoitre, brought word to James of Bourbon, that they did not amount to more than six thousand men, all badly armed. In consequence of this false report it was resolved to force their intrenchments; the

* Froissard, Chron. MS.

attack was conducted with spirit, but the French had no sooner surmounted the difficulties that presented themselves at the foot of the hill, than the troops that were concealed behind it rushed forward, and, in a short time, threw them into confusion; the victory was complete; most of the noblemen, in the French army were either killed, taken or wounded; among the last was James of Bourbon, who died of his wounds, three days after the action; his son, Peter of Bourbon, did not long survive him; and his nephew, the young count of Forest, also lost his life. Regnaut de Forez, paternal uncle to the count; the count of Uzez, Robert de Beaujeu, and Lewis de Chalons, were made prisoners. Such was the event of the battle of Brignais, the loss of which was more sensibly felt at this calamitous period, than it would have been at any other time.

After the victory, the *companies* continued to pillage, and ranfome the provinces of Lyons, Forest, and Beaujolois. One part of them, under the conduct of Seguin de Badefol, a gentleman of Navarre, took possession of the fortress of Ence, about a league from Lyons; while the rest, having appointed a leader, who stiled himself *the friend of God, and the enemy of the whole world*, renewed their first design of paying a visit to the pope and cardinals. They took by surprise the town of Pont-Saint-Esprit, which they pillaged, after massacring the greater part of the inhabitants, and committing the most dreadful disorders. From this place they carried their incursions to the gates of Avignon, laying waste all the intermediate country.

When the news of the defeat at Brignais was received in France, a numerous band of adventurers, of different nations, the refuse of Edward's army, evacuated the towns they had hitherto refused to surrender, and hastened to join the *companies*. The reduction of Avignon, and the pillage of the whole country of Provence, were the objects they had in view. These banditti, stimulated by the hopes of plunder, and familiarised with every species of crime, committed the most horrid disorders. They ravished the women, whether young or old, without distinction of age or condition, while they massacred the men and children;—their fury knew no bounds. Houses and churches were levelled with the ground, and such of their contents as could not be carried away, were consigned to the flames. An emulation in vice prevailed among them; and the most cruel and most impious were holden in the highest estimation.

The pope and his court were thrown in the greatest consternation; in vain had his holiness recourse to his spiritual arms; the thunders of the church were of little avail with men who had set all kind of religion at defiance. A crusade was preached, and absolution promised by the pope to all who would take up arms in his defence. The cardinal of Osbia was appointed chief of the crusaders, and Carpentras was fixed upon as the place of rendezvous; where such as wished to save their souls, by obtaining a general remission of their sins, repaired to enlist under the banners of the holy see. But the zeal of new cru-

faders speedily abated when they found that the cardinal could only pay them with indulgences : most of them returned home, some went into Lombardy, and not a few joined the *companies*.

Innocent and the prelates of his court were at a loss how to avert the storm that threatened them, when the marquis of Montferrat offered, for the payment of a considerable sum, to draw off the objects of their fears into Italy, where he was engaged in a war with the duke of Milan. He accordingly negotiated an accommodation with the *companies*, who agreed to follow him, on condition of receiving sixty thousand florins, and *absolution for their sins*, which the pope most cheerfully granted. The marquis found them of great service to him, in the reduction of several towns and fortresses which he took from the enemy.

But, though the departure of these adventurers afforded some consolation to the French, there still remained sufficient to harass the kingdom with their depredations*. Seguin de Badfol, after he had laid waste the Lyonnois, entered Auvergne, where he took Brionde, which he retained upwards of a year, during which, he ravaged the circumjacent country, nor could he be induced to evacuate it, till he had been paid the sum of one hundred thousand florins. Loaded with the spoils of the kingdom, this leader of banditti, retired into Guienne with immense riches. On his evacuation of Brionde, he had engaged never more to bear arms against France; but the king of Navarre, who was now forming new projects of hostility, endeavoured, soon after, to allure him into his service, by offering to give him a considerable property in land. Tempted by his offers, Seguin consented to the proposals of Charles the Bad; the only difficulty that occurred between them was this—the king insisted that the lands he meant to confer on him should be in Normandy, and the other would have them in Navarre. But, as both of them were obstinate, this difficulty could not be surmounted; and, as Seguin was acquainted with the secret intention of Charles, that prince determined to get rid of him. When he had adopted this resolution, he invited him to dinner, having previously taken the precaution to order one of his servants to place before him a dish of preserved oranges and pears: Charles himself presented the fruit to Seguin, and boasted of its excellence; but he had not long tasted them when he fell from his seat, and was seized with the most excruciating pains. The king of Navarre, without any appearance of confusion, coolly ordered him to be carried home, where he died in a few days.

The attempts to reconcile the rival houses of Montfort and Blois, by proposing a division of the duchy of Brittany, had proved unsuccessful: and war was on the point of breaking out, with renovated vigour, when the humane and friendly interference of the duke of Lancaster produced a truce, which was afterwards prolonged till Michaelmas, 1363. Had that nobleman lived, a final

* Hist. de France du P. Daniel. Procès M. du roi de Navarre.

accommodation might, perhaps, have been effected; but he was unfortunately taken off, soon after the peace of Bretigny, by a dreadful pestilence which prevailed in London: his death was universally lamented by the people, who justly paid him that tribute of respect and esteem which his numerous virtues so richly deserved.

Some time after his return from England, the king invited the celebrated Bertrand du Guesclin, a knight of Brittany, to enter his service, and Bertrand accepted his invitation, and spoke to him with that frankness and candour which he displayed on all occasions. "Sire," said he, "war is my profession; I have obtained the friendship of many brave and worthy knights, my countrymen; if you will enable me to maintain them, they will do you loyal service." "I desire no other testimony of their valour than your own," replied the king; "I give you the command of an hundred lances, by which means you will have it in your power to provide for them*." Du Guesclin composed his company of gentlemen of Brittany, most of them his relations or friends, and all men of valour: they accompanied him in every expedition.

Several adventurers from Brittany, expecting the same honours as those conferred on du Guesclin, entered France, and committed depredations on Poitou, Anjou, and other provinces. The government refused to remedy these disorders, and seemed to encourage them. When the citizens of Paris complained to the council, that these depredations extended even to the gates of the capital, they were forbidden to interfere, and told to conduct their own affairs as well as they could. In these disastrous times, every thing seemed to conspire against the happiness of the people.

A variety of taxes had been imposed, more burdensome to the people than profitable to the state. The want of simplification in the mode of collecting them gave rise to heavy expences; to avoid which the king abolished them all, and substituted in their place a tax of twelve deniers per livre on all merchandise; a duty upon salt, of one-fifth of its price; and one on wines and other liquors of a thirteenth. These taxes were farmed out to the Jews and Lombards. The king revoked all the grants of crown-lands, made since the reign of Philip the Fair, except the appanages of the princes of the blood, and the donations to the church.

While the French were lamenting the dismemberment of their empire, by the loss of those provinces that were ceded by the treaty of Bretigny, their hopes were suddenly revived by the unexpected acquisition of Burgundy. The young duke of Burgundy, Philip de Rouvre, died in the spring of 1361, in his sixteenth year. He was one of the hostages delivered to Edward, who had permitted him to return to France. He had espoused Margaret, daughter and

* Each lance, or man at arms, was attended by three archers, a *coutillier*, and a page: a company of a hundred lances composed six hundred men. *Villaret.*

heirefs to Lewis, count of Flanders; but the tender age of both parties had hitherto prevented the consummation of the marriage.

This prince was son to Philip of Burgundy, who was killed at the siege of Aiguillon, in 1316; and whose widow, Jane of Burgundy, married king John. Eudes, duke of Burgundy, grandfather to Philip de Rouvre, survived his son three years. Eudes had acquired, by his marriage with Jane of France, the counties of Artois and Burgundy, and the lordship of Salins. His son Philip married Jane of Boulogne, heirefs to William the Third, count of Boulogne and Auvergne. By these marriages, Philip de Rouvre inherited the first succession in Europe, in point of opulence and extent, after the sovereign princes. In him ended the first royal branch of Burgundy.

Philip, on his return from England, had made a will, by which he divided the succession of his domains into three parts. Boulogne and Auvergne were bequeathed to John of Boulogne, uncle to queen Jane, the young duke's mother; Burgundy and Artois devolved to Margaret of Flanders; and the duchy of Burgundy, reverted to king John. But for the will left by Philip, the king of France's right might have been contested by the king of Navarre, whose grandmother, Margaret of Burgundy, was sister to Eudes, and the elder sister too; but to this pretension John opposed the advantage he had over the king of Navarre, of a degree of proximity, as husband to Jane of Burgundy. The king took possession of Burgundy, in virtue of his right of proximity, as he declared in the letters by which he re-annexed that province to the crown*. In those letters, he enjoined his son and successors never more to detach from the royal domains the provinces of Toulouse, Champagne, Brie, and Normandy.

The king of Navarre did not fail to advance his claims, as being related to Philip de Rouvre; and he sent deputies to demand justice from the king, who offered to refer the decision of the matter to the pope. Charles the Bad wished to open a negociation, in the hope of embarrassing the court, and of procuring some compensation; but all his measures proved fruitless. Finding that there was no prospect of success, he was obliged to desist; and this pretended refusal to do him justice afterwards served as a pretext to justify a war which, even now, he was secretly preparing.

A. D. 1362.] Immediately after the re-annexation of Burgundy, the king repaired thither in person, in order to take possession of the province. He next repaired to Avignon, to persuade the pope to oppose the projected marriage of Edmund, earl of Cambridge, son to the king of England, with Margaret of Flanders, widow to Philip de Rouvre, by which Edward would have acquired a farther extension of territory in the vicinity of France. In accomplishing this object, John displayed a degree of political prudence which he seldom

* *Chambres des Com, Mem. D, fol. 40. Recueil des Ordon, tom. iv. p. 212.*

exerted; but, seduced by the example of the king of Cyprus, he received the cross from the sovereign pontiff, and engaged in two years, to march to the relief of the christians in Palestine; a project which would have effectually completed the ruin of his kingdom.

A. D. 1363.] Edward, in the mean time, finding his new subjects on the continent still averse to the English government, placed them under the immediate command of the prince of Wales. The prince had lately married, by virtue of papal dispensation, his cousin Jane, daughter and sole heiress of Edmund Plantagenet, earl of Kent: when his father had conveyed to him the county of Poitou, with all the provinces in his possession, from thence to the Pyrenees; Edward, now further invested him with the dignity of prince of Aquitaine, accompanied by a grant of part of Gascony, and of all other territories which he enjoyed in France, subject to feudal homage, and an annual tribute of an ounce of gold.

The prince of Wales fixed his residence at Bourdeaux, where he arrived in February, 1363. The nobles of that country immediately took the oath of fealty; and, by an equitable administration, he conciliated the affections of the people.

The dukes of Orleans, Anjou, Berry, and Bourbon, who had been delivered as hostages to Edward, gave him to understand, that, if removed to Calais, they might be able to defeat those obstructions which delayed the surrender of certain places, that had been ceded by the treaty of Bretigny. The king of England exacted from them such terms as he thought would promote the object which they had engaged to accomplish. He promised to release them entirely, on condition, that, before the first of November, he should receive two hundred thousand florins, together with the territory of Belleville, and the county of Gaurre; that, in the mean time, the princes should deliver to him, as a pledge, certain castles, with all the estates possessed by the duke of Orleans, in Poitou and Xaintonge, and the district of Beaurayn, in Ponthieu; and that, in case they should fail to procure the surrender of Belleville and Gaure, they should return to London, but the lands given as a pledge should remain to Edward. The princes complying with these terms, were conveyed to Calais.

This convention had been signed during John's residence at Avignon. He confirmed it, but sent it to the dauphin, whom he had appointed his lieutenant during his absence. That prince, having taken the advice of the prelates, nobles, and members of his council, represented to his father, that it was impossible to accept a treaty so prejudicial to France, with the only view of procuring the liberation of the princes, *who ought already to have been released*. This refusal prevented the princes from complying with the terms of the convention. The duke of Anjou broke his parole, and escaped to Paris.

When the king was informed of his son's conduct, he reproved him, and resolved to repair to England in person, to concert measures with Edward for

the accomplishing of the treaty. In vain did his ministers represent to him the danger and imprudence of such a step*; he remained steady to his purpose. At this juncture, John invested his son Philip with the duchy and county of Burgundy.

The king, after he had put Philip in possession of his new appanage, repaired to Amiens, where he had convened an assemble of the states general of the Langue d'Oyl, as well for the purpose of regulating the mode of collecting the impost, that had been granted for the payment of his ransom, as for the abolition of various abuses that had crept into the kingdom, during the late calamities†. All princes, noblemen, towns, and communities were forbidden to levy, in future, any arbitrary tolls or duties, on goods and merchandise passing through their respective territories. This prohibition had become highly necessary, since all internal commerce was nearly destroyed, from the goods being liable to be stopped at every town, and at every bridge. As the king of Navarre was evidently preparing for hostilities, all private wars were forbidden throughout the kingdom. Soon after the prorogation of the states, John repaired to London, where he arrived about Christmas, 1363, and was received by Edward, and the nobility of England, with all the respect that was due to his rank and character.

But, though the motive which induced the king to quit his dominions was highly laudable, yet his presence was never more necessary than at this period. He had been long apprised of the hostile design of Charles the Bad. The capital de Buche, on whom the king of Navarre had conferred the title of his lieutenant, had engaged several of the companies in his service, entered Touraine, and directed his course towards Normandy. His officers publicly boasted that they were going to wage war with the king of France. The *companies*, which were left in Languedoc, hoisted the standard of Navarre, and commenced hostilities in the name of Charles the Bad. The irruption was suspended by the illness of the capital, during which, a part of his troops disbanded; but the king of Navarre pursued his plans with unremitting vigour.

A. D. 1364.] The duke of Normandy, who acted as lieutenant-general of the kingdom in the absence of his father, did not behold with tranquillity the motions of Charles. He sent John de Chalons, count of Auxerre, and Bertrand du Guesclin, to attack the places belonging to the king of Navarre in Normandy‡. Du Guesclin took the town of Mantes by stratagem, laid siege to the

* Charles, at the time of making this observation, must have known it to be founded on falsehood, since it was expressly stipulated that the hostages should remain in England, till all the articles of the treaty had been fulfilled; it being even provided, that, in case any of them should die, or escape, others should be sent to replace them. And, it is certain, that but a small portion of the ransom had yet been paid; and also, as it appears from this very convention, that all the places agreed to be ceded had not yet been surrendered.

† Trésor des Chartres, reg. 95, pièce 130. Reg. et du Parlem. fol. 53. Recueil des Ordonnances, t. iii. p. 646.

‡ Froissard, Spicil. Cont. de Nang. Chron. MS.

castle, and carried it by assault. Meulan being taken soon after, the navigation of the Seine, below Paris, was secured.

On the eighth of April, 1364, the day on which du Guesclin took Mantes, John died, at London, in the Savoy; in the forty-sixth year of his age*, and fifteenth of his reign.

John, at the commencement of his reign, was violent, impetuous and vindictive; the splendour of his power seems for a while to have dazzled his judgment; and his father had set him examples of cruelty and injustice which he was but too ready to follow. His disposition experienced a most salutary change; and, during the latter years of his reign, he was meek, humble, and humane. His virtues shone forth in all their native lustre; generous, frank, liberal, and pious; heroically brave; inviolably faithful to his word; constant in his attachment; the friend, in short, of honour, truth, and justice. His conduct met its due reward, in the affection of his subjects, and the esteem and respect of his enemies.

The funeral of John was celebrated with great splendour and solemnity by the English. The body was afterwards conveyed to France, and interred, with those of his predecessors, in the abbey of St. Denis. John had, by his first wife, Bonne of Bohemia, four sons and four daughters; Charles, who succeeded him in the throne; Lewis, duke of Anjou; John, duke of Berry; Philip, duke of Burgundy; Jane, queen of Navarre; Mary, duchess of Bar; Isabella, wife of Galeas Visconti; and Margaret, a nun at Poissy.

John was fond of literature, and extended his protection and bounty to its professors†. He had caused a great part of the Bible and several other pious works, to be translated into French. The first translation of the decades of Livy into French was undertaken at his command. Salust, Lucan, and the commentaries of Cæsar were also translated during this reign.

C H A R L E S,

SURNAMED THE WISE.



A. D. 1364.] BEFORE we enter on the events of the present reign, it may not be amiss to take a slight view of the political and civil government of the kingdom. The principal strength of the French armies consisted in their cavalry. Every soldier, by profession, fought on horseback. The knights were

* Father Anselm, Villaret;

† Mem. de Litt, vol. 17.

held in the highest esteem: besides all posts in the army, and in administration, they held the principal places in the courts of law. Every possible honour was paid them; all games, plays, and festivals, had some relation to their institution. Their privileges were innumerable, nor could they be degraded from their dignity, unless for some act of infamy. Even a knight who had taken holy orders was permitted to marry.

The spirit of chivalry arose from the state of society at this period. The feudal state consisted of perpetual war, rapine, and anarchy. The weak and unarmed were continually exposed to insults or injuries. The power of the sovereign was too limited to prevent these wrongs; and the administration of justice was too feeble to redress them. There was almost no protection against violence and oppression, but what the valour and generosity of individuals afforded. The spirit of enterprise which prompted so many gentlemen to take arms in defence of the oppressed pilgrims in Palestine, incited others to declare themselves the patrons and avengers of injured innocence at home. When the final reduction of the Holy Land, under the dominion of infidels, put an end to these foreign expeditions, the latter was the only employment left for the activity and courage of adventurers. To check the insolence of overgrown oppressors; to succour the distressed; to rescue the helpless from captivity; to protect, or to avenge women, orphans, and ecclesiastics, who could not bear arms in their own defence; to redress wrongs, and to remove grievances; were deemed acts of the highest prowess and merit. Valour, humanity, courtesy, justice, and honour, were the characteristic qualities of chivalry. To these were added religion, which mingled itself with every passion and institution during the middle ages; and, by infusing a large proportion of enthusiastic zeal, carried them to romantic excess. Men were trained to knighthood by a long previous discipline; they were admitted into the order by solemnities devout and pompous; every person of noble birth courted that honour; it was deemed a distinction superior to royalty; and monarchs were proud to receive it from the hands of private gentlemen*.

The faults of knights were punished with greater severity than those of other men. If they chanced to become the objects of judicial reprehension, more heavy fines were imposed on them than on simple esquires. Their military services were doubled. Ever in action, their lives seemed to be one continual combat; they engaged in any enterprise either useful or honourable; and the opportunities that occurred for signalising their courage, though frequent, were yet insufficient to satisfy their thirst for glory.

This institution, in which valour, gallantry, and religion, were blended, was

* Robertson's Hist. of the reign of Charles the Fifth, vol. i. p. 83, 84. Dissert. sur l'ancienne chevalerie, par M. de la Curne de Sainte-Palaye.

† The knights, in 1411, at the siege of Dun-le-Roy, were ordered to carry eight fascines, while the esquires were only obliged to carry four. *Mem. de Litt.* tom. xx, p. 267. M. de Sainte-Palaye, ubi supra,

adapted to the taste and genius of martial nobles ; and its effects were soon visible in their manners. War was carried on with less severity, when humanity came to be deemed the ornament of knighthood. Some exceptions, indeed, will occur to this observation, in the military transactions of the times which we are delineating ; but still, in its general application, it will be found to be just. More gentle and polished manners were introduced, when courtesy was recommended as the most amiable of knightly virtues. Violence and oppression decreased, when it was esteemed meritorious to check and to punish them. A scrupulous adherence to truth, with the most religious attention to fulfil every engagement, became the distinguishing characteristic of a gentleman ; because chivalry was regarded as the school of honour, and inculcated the most delicate sensibility with respect to that point. Perhaps, the humanity which often accompanies operations of war, the refinements of gallantry, and the point of honour, the three chief circumstances which distinguish modern from ancient manners, may be ascribed, in a great measure, to this institution. The sentiments which chivalry inspired had a powerful influence on manners and conduct during the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. They were so deeply rooted, that they continued to operate after the vigour and reputation of the institution itself began to decline*.

But though such were the political and permanent effects of the spirit of chivalry, yet, long before the completion of that period during which its beneficial consequences were most sensibly felt, many abuses had crept into the institution and many local and temporary inconveniences were experienced from it. One principal cause of its degradation and decline, was the ignorance to which its professors habituated themselves. The knights, in the primitive purity of their order, were compelled to study letters as well as arms ; unfortunately, the former part of their education became insensibly neglected, and military exercises were suffered to form their only occupation. The most learned of them could scarcely read ; any degree of literary knowledge was deemed incompatible with the character of a gentleman ; and almost considered as a certain indication of plebianism. This neglect was productive of imprudence and indocility ; and knights were soon led to reject all restraint, but what was imposed on them by the conventional laws of their fraternity. Their religion degenerated into superstitious practices, degrading in their nature, and often prejudicial in their effects.

Dissipation, alike produced by the extremes of ignorance and refinement, though not in an equal degree, ruined the fortunes of the knights, to repair which they had recourse to every expedient not absolutely repugnant to the rules of chivalry. A spirit of plunder thence became prevalent ; and courage, which should only proceed from principles of honour, was excited by avidity of gain,

* Robertson,

Another cause of the decline of chivalry, was a deviation from its original institution, in the facility with which knights came to be created, and in the numbers that by this means gained admission into the order. It became customary to confer the honour of knighthood, in the field of battle, before the action began.

These frequent abuses had already rendered too common that title, which, in order to preserve its original lustre, should have been bestowed with circumspection. The institution of the order of the Star, conferred on whole cities, such as Paris and Rochelle, and prostituted to farce-players, buffoons, and minstrels, greatly diminished the splendour of knighthood in France.

One of the greatest vices of chivalry was, the custom introduced of making private excursions into foreign countries, for the purpose of signalising their valour. It was chiefly such as were newly admitted that sallied forth in quest of adventures. The avowed object of these knights-errant, whose wild exploits have been treated with proper ridicule, was, to protect innocence, to redress wrongs, and particularly to devote themselves to the service of the ladies. The superior beauty of their mistresses they offered to maintain against all such as dared to dispute it. Among these pilgrims, many made no scruple to profit by the respect in which their profession was held. The hope of booty proved a powerful incitement to their courage. The horses, arms, and whole spoils of the vanquished became the prey of the victors. Thus stimulated, many gentlemen turned highwaymen, levied contributions on the inhabitants of the country, and plundered travellers. A few soldiers of fortune, and people of the lower class, in imitation of their superiors, assumed the mask, and encased themselves with iron, in violation of the laws of chivalry, which forbade such armour to all but knights. These new plunderers formed associations among themselves, and soon became so formidable, that monarchs were forced to purchase their services or forbearance. The honour of knighthood could not be refused to men who had *such* means of enforcing respect.

The habits of independence in which the knights were educated, rendered them more fit for single combats than for general actions, where success depends as much on the unanimous co-operation of the whole, as on the courage of individuals. In battle, their valour was exerted less with the view to decide the victory in favour of their own party, than with that of achieving some signal exploit, or of taking some illustrious prisoner. To display their courage, or to increase their fortune, was then their only object. They were often seen to quit the ranks in order to attack some warrior more conspicuous than the rest; and, if they made him surrender, they immediately disappeared, through fear of losing their prey. To the perpetual disorders occasioned by these irregular motions must be added the confusion caused by the esquires who accompanied their masters in the field, as quiet spectators of the battle, in order to carry their arms, to hold their horses, and to assist them in remounting whenever

they were unhorsed. When an army thus encumbered was once broken, the confusion must have been dreadful, and an attempt to rally them fruitless.

The English had, in these respects, no advantage over the French, but the skill of their archers gave them a decided superiority. To these troops, which the spirit of chivalry held in contempt, were they principally indebted for their victories of Crecy and Poitiers. The French archers were so unskilful, that the nation chose to hire foreigners. The English, on the contrary, encouraged archery as much as possible, and the archers had attained to a degree of excellence which it was difficult to surpass. The French were aware of their superiority, and to evade it, they dismounted their men at arms, who could not move without difficulty, sinking as they were beneath the weight of their armour.

Such was the state of the French troops in the fourteenth century; it is needless to mention the militia, who were all raw troops, undisciplined, and almost unarmed. They marched into the field under the banners of their respective parishes, and were almost certain of being cut to pieces by the enemy.

The offensive arms were nearly the same as had been used for a long time; such as the lance, the sword, the poignard, the battle-axe, the club, the bow, the cross-bow, &c. Shields of different dimensions formed the chief defensive arms. Halberts had fallen into disuse. No material change had taken place in the attack or defence of towns. Though gunpowder and cannon were known, they were seldom employed, from a want of skill to use them with effect, or from attachment to more familiar weapons.

France was better peopled in those times, than in the present age. At the commencement of the reign of Philip of Valois, there were no less than two millions five hundred thousand hearths, in the king's demesnes only, which were subject to the tax. These demesnes did not constitute near a third of that space which formed the late kingdom. It may be affirmed, without exaggeration, that France, at that period, contained eight millions of hearths; so that, reckoning three persons to each hearth, there must have been twenty-four millions of inhabitants, without counting the secular and ecclesiastical lordships, which were not included in the enumeration. When to these exceptions are added the serfs, the clergy, consisting of an immense multitude of ecclesiastics, nuns, and friars; the universities; and the whole body of nobility, all of whom were exempted from the tax, the human species will appear to have diminished in the space of four centuries.

Much pains had been taken, during the late reigns, to correct abuses and to reform errors, by many salutary edicts, and prudent regulations, yet the kingdom was not in a more flourishing state than before. Justice appears to have been tolerably administered by the parliaments, but the inferior jurisdictions were not famous for their attention to the rules of law and principles of equity.

In the preceding reigns, the value of money had undergone innumerable variations*. The monarchs, tempted by the facility of this resource, had too frequent recourse to it, ever promising that each change should be the last. The king always fixed the price of gold and silver, by a royal edict. Thus, if a new coinage were ordered when the mark of silver was worth eight livres five sols, and the old money received at the mint, at the rate only of seven livres the mark, the king had a profit of twenty-five sols. In one year there were no less than eleven new coinages; so that the king must have gained thirteen livres fifteen sols per mark, on all the money that was coined throughout the kingdom. Numerous inconveniences attended this destructive mode of raising money; such as the sudden augmentation or diminution of the value of the current coin; the malversation of officers, and the frequent adulteration, the secret of which was confined to the masters and workmen of the mint, who were bound to observe it under the severest penalties. Such continual breaches of faith destroyed all credit, public and private; annihilated commerce; and encouraged coiners. Foreigners introduced false coin into the kingdom, and enriched themselves with the spoils of France. Money disappeared, the people became poor, and, by a necessary consequence, the sovereign partook of their indigence.

While the new monarch repaired to Rheims to celebrate his coronation, his troops, under du Guesclin, reduced the castle of Rouboise, which opened the communication by water between Rouen and the capital. The king of Navarre, in the mean time, sent for the captal de Buche, who arrived in Normandy, and put himself at the head of his troops: while Charles dispatched a body of men at arms, to reinforce du Guesclin, who had now the command of twelve hundred; a force which determined him to go in quest of the enemy. The captal, being equally eager to engage, kept along the left side of the river Eure, and drew up his troops on a rising ground, not far from Cocherel.

Du Guesclin extended the front of his little army, to make it appear more numerous than it really was; for which reason, the captal resolved to wait for a reinforcement of four hundred lances, which were on their march to join him. The French were exposed to the heat of the sun, and in great want of provisions, while the Navarrese, shaded by a wood, had abundance of every thing. Du Guesclin, ordered a retreat to be sounded; and, sending the baggage over the river, put his troops in motion. The enemy, concluded that victory was their own; and, rejecting the advice of their leader, who saw through the stratagem, hastened into the plain, where the French suddenly turned about; and, as it was impossible to recover their station, a general action ensued. Du Guesclin, animated his men by his exhortations and example; and the captal displayed equal courage and prudence, in attempting to remedy what he had been

* Recueil des Ordonn. Mém. de la Chambre des Comptes.

unable to prevent. Attacked, however, by thirty knights of Gascony, who had associated for the purpose of taking him prisoner, he was surrounded; and, after an obstinate resistance, compelled to surrender. The capture of their leader diffused a general consternation throughout the Navarrese army, who were severely punished for their want of subordination. This battle was fought on the nineteenth of May, 1364, three days before the coronation of Charles.

Charles, on his accession to the throne, confirmed the appanage bestowed by his father on his youngest brother Philip, of the duchy of Burgundy; that prince accordingly did homage to him for that territory, and, at the same time, resigned the duchy of Touraine, with which he had been invested three years before.

The authority of the courts of justice ceased the moment that the king died; and the magistrates could not re-assume their functions without the consent of the new monarch; Charles, therefore, as soon as he was informed of his father's death, hastened to confirm all the judges and other officers of justice in their respective stations. By an edict, issued soon after his accession, all advocates and attorneys were expressly enjoined to assist the poor with their advice, and to plead for them, without requiring any fee; and the officers of the court of requests were ordered to carry on, gratis, the causes of such as were unable to pay the expences of a law-suit. It was impossible to carry such an edict, into practice.

Charles settled the county of Longueville on du Guesclin and his heirs, on condition of maintaining fifty men at arms, during the war. The new count went soon after to take possession of his lordship, by force of arms; the Navarrese were still masters of the castle of Longueville, which he reduced. When du Guesclin set out on this expedition, he assured the king that he was determined to clear the kingdom of all its enemies; and particularly of those bands of adventurers which still continued to infest it. But he encouraged his own troops to commit depredations in Normandy, and to levy contributions, indiscriminately, on friends and enemies*.

As the late king had submitted the pretensions of the king of Navarre to the duchy of Burgundy, to the arbitration of the pope, Charles gave instructions to his ambassadors, at the court of Avignon, to conform to the intentions of his father, and to assure his holiness, that his brother Philip would abide by his decision. He sent that prince, in the mean time, into Normandy, with five thousand men at arms, which the duke of Burgundy divided into three bodies; the first, and the most considerable, he reserved for himself, and the two others he entrusted to du Guesclin, and John Bureau de la Riviere, the king's favourite, and administrator of the finances.

* Villaret, t. x. p. 43.

While the duke of Burgundy was employed in the reduction of several other places occupied by the Navarrese; la Riviere laid waste the district of Evreux, and du Guesclin spread terror throughout the Cotentin*. The castle of Valognes was the only place that made the smallest resistance. Du Guesclin battered the walls with all the machines that were then in use, but could make little impression; the garrison, at length, consented to capitulate. But, as they were marching out, with their baggage and effects, agreeably to the terms of capitulation, they were reviled and insulted by the French. Eight English knights, who were with the garrison, enraged at this illiberal treatment, re-entered the fort, to defend it to the last extremity: they displayed the most desperate courage in resisting the attacks of the besiegers; but, at last, they were constrained to yield, when du Guesclin caused them all to be beheaded.

The rapidity with which the French pursued their conquests appeared to promise a speedy termination to the war; but the king was prevented from improving the advantages he had gained, by two unexpected events. The count de Montbelliard, having entered Burgundy, Philip was compelled to leave Normandy, in order to defend that duchy from insult; and, about the same time, the presence of du Guesclin was required in Brittany, where the contest between the rival houses of Blois and Montfort was renewed, with additional fury. At length, a peace was made between the parties. It was agreed, that both the competitors should enjoy the title and prerogatives of the duke of Brittany; and that Rennes and Nantes should be the capitals of their respective territories. Hostages were interchanged; peace was proclaimed; and joy was thus diffused throughout the province.

The countess of Penthièvre, spouse to Charles of Blois, was exasperated at this treaty. By her instigation, Charles, instead of his ratification of the treaty, sent his retractation to Montfort, who loudly complained of this breach of faith. He restored, however, all the hostages, except du Guesclin, who soon found means to escape to France; whence he was sent into Normandy, and achieved those conquests we have related above.

Both parties prepared once more to decide their quarrel by arms. At the expiration of a short truce, which had been concluded between them, they both took the field. Montfort, after he had reduced some fortresses, invested Auray; and Charles, being apprised of the danger to which that place was reduced, assembled his troops, with a view of forcing his rival to raise the siege.

Montfort, by the advice of the nobles of his party, sent a herald to Charles, to demand the execution of the late treaty, and to protest, that he should think himself justified, before God and men, with regard to any evils which a

* When du Guesclin approached, every body fled before him; the inhabitants of the country took refuge in the walled towns, and called aloud to the centinels to shut the gates, *for the devil was coming*. Vie MS. de du Guesclin.

† Chron. MS. Froissard, D'Argentré Hist. de Bret. Spicil. Cont. Nang.

refusal, to comply with a demand so reasonable, might produce. Charles of Blois dismissed the herald without an answer, and pitched his camp within sight of the enemy.

The two armies were separated by a meadow, intersected by a rivulet. The lord of Beaumanoir made a last effort to promote an accommodation, but it proved fruitless, and each side prepared for action. Charles's army was left to the conduct of du Guesclin; the right wing of which was commanded by that nobleman, the left by the counts of Auxerre and Joigny, and the centre by Charles himself. The disposition of Montfort's army being left to lord Chandos—who had been sent to his relief by Edward, with a small body of English archers and men at arms—he placed Sir Robert Knolles opposite to du Guesclin; opposed Oliver de Clifton to the count of Auxerre; put Montfort at the head of the main body; and entrusted the corps-de-reserve to the conduct of sir Hugh Calverly. Chandos stationed himself near Montfort, but took no particular command, that he might be the better enabled to superintend the motions of the whole body. The army of Montfort consisted of sixteen hundred men at arms, and from eight to nine hundred archers; that of his opponent, of two thousand five hundred men at arms, and from a thousand to twelve hundred archers*.

When the two armies were on the point of engaging, Montfort ordered the treaty of the Landes to be read aloud, requesting all the noblemen of his party freely to decide on the equity of his claims, and declaring that he would immediately renounce all his pretensions, if it were there opinion that he ought so to do. He was interrupted by a general acclamation; and the whole army protested they would fight for him to the last. After thanking them for this proof of their affection, he threw himself on the ground, and addressed a fervent prayer to heaven.

On the twenty-ninth of September, 1364, was the fate of Brittany decided, by the battle of Auray. But, though greater fury was never displayed in any battle, no troops were ever less eager to engage. The nobles were fatigued with a war, as tedious in its progress, as fatal in its effects. Montfort offered to purchase a peace by ceding one half of his claims, and Charles of Blois would willingly have accepted the proposal, had not his affection for an ambitious wife overcome every other consideration.

The two armies awaited, in silence, the signal. Lord Chandos prevented his troops from advancing the first; and Montfort, restraining his native impetuosity, followed the advice of the English general. Du Guesclin could not obtain the same influence over Charles of Blois; that prince, led away by his courage, was deaf to the suggestions of prudence; he put the body which he commanded in motion, and, passing the rivulet, compelled the rest of his army to follow

* Cont. de Nang. p. 901. & suiv. Froissard, p. 226, 227.

him. Montfort seeing him approach, advanced to meet him, but slowly and in good order. As the troops were ranged very close together, and covered with their shields, the archers could do little or no execution with their arrows; and, after the first discharge, they retired into the ranks, and mingled with the men at arms. The action then became general; the whole line of either army being engaged at the same instant. Where Montfort and Charles commanded in person, the battle raged with uncommon fury; those princes, indeed, had the most powerful motives for exertion, as not only their fortunes but their lives depended on the event of that day; for the Bretons had come to a resolution to acknowledge for their duke whichever should prove victorious, and to terminate the war by putting the vanquished to death. Montfort made one of his attendants wear armour exactly similar to his own; Charles, deceived by his appearance, attacked him with impetuosity, laid him dead at his feet, and exclaimed aloud—*That his rival was dead!* Montfort soon convinced him of his error. Charles, however, renewed his attack with such vigour, that the standard of his rival was beaten down, and his main body compelled to retire. At that moment Calverly, pursuant to the directions of Chandos, advanced; and, by giving a seasonable check to the enemy, afforded Montfort an opportunity of rallying his division, which being effected, the former retired to his first station. Chandos and Clifton, in the mean time, ran from rank to rank, animating their troops by exhortation and example; while du Guesclin fought to counteract their measures, by the most signal exertions of valour and skill. Victory long remained doubtful; but the count of Auxerre being wounded and taken prisoner, the body he commanded was thrown into confusion; and Oliver de Clifton, attacking them with great fury, put most of them to the sword, and drove the rest off the field. Calverly then made a circuit, and fell upon the flank of the main body, which was speedily routed and dispersed; Charles, in vain, endeavoured to rally them. At length an English knight plunged his sword into his throat; his last words were—"I have long waged war against my conscience."—His natural son, John of Blois, was slain at his side.

The news of Charles's death was speedily circulated throughout either army; the partisans of Montfort redoubled their efforts; while those of his unfortunate competitor felt their ardour relax, from despair of supporting a party that had now lost its chief. Du Guesclin, though covered with wounds, and weakened with loss of blood, continued to fight, till lord Chandos approached and exhorted him to surrender. The battle then ceased.

The loss on Montfort's side is said not to have exceeded twenty men; but, when the fury of the combatants be considered, such an assertion appears incredible.

The noblemen, who were attached to Charles of Blois, being liberated, by his death, from their obligation of fealty, resigned themselves to the triumph of his rival. The governor of Vannes, opened its gates to him; and the whole pro-

vince inclined to submit to the conqueror. By the mediation of the king of France, and the advice of the king of England, a treaty was soon signed.

By this treaty the widow of Charles of Blois renounced her pretensions to the duchy of Brittany; in return she was permitted to retain the county of Penthievre, and viscounty of Limoges; and a pension of ten thousand livres tournois to her and her heirs, together with a life-annuity of three thousand livres, were settled on her*. In consequence of this renunciation the duchy of Brittany was adjudged to the count of Montfort and his heirs male. In default of posterity, it was to descend to the house of Penthievre; with an express exclusion, however, to females, as long as there were males capable of succeeding. Montfort farther engaged to procure the release of John, son to Charles of Blois, who was then in England; to give him his sister in marriage; and to furnish a hundred thousand livres for his ransom, to be raised by taxes on the people of Brittany; but this last article was never fulfilled. The treaty was guaranteed by the kings of France and England, the prince of Wales, and the duke of Anjou.

Montfort sent Oliver de Clifton to Paris, to desire that the king would permit the ceremony of performing homage to be deferred till the ensuing Midsummer; when it took place with all the usual forms. Soon after, the new duke of Brittany, who had buried his first wife, Mary, daughter to Edward, by whom he had no children, married, with the consent of that monarch, Jane, daughter to the princess of Wales, by her first husband, Sir Thomas Holland.

A. D. 1365.] The grand dispute, with regard to the succession of Brittany, being thus brought to a conclusion; the only enemy whom Charles had now to encounter was the king of Navarre. The widows of Charles the Fair, and Philip of Valois, still interposed their good offices in his favour†; and the capital de Buche successfully exerted, in his service, the credit and influence that he derived from the friendship and esteem with which he was honoured by the king. After several conferences, the conditions of peace were at length settled. All the places which had been taken by the French in Normandy were restored; the renunciations of the ancient claims of the house of Evreux, on Champagne and Brie, were renewed and confirmed; and the discussion of the rights of the king of Navarre to the duchy of Burgundy was referred to the pope. By one of the articles it was stipulated, that the capital de Buche should be released without a ransom: the king, anxious to retain that gallant leader in his service, bestowed on him the lordship of Nemours; but the capital, by the advice of his friend and patron, the prince of Wales, restored the gift, and, at the same time, retracted the homage he had done for it.

* Froissard. Argentré. Spicil. Cont. de Nang. Chron. MS. de Charles le Sage. Trésor des Char, Layette. *Britan*, 284.

† Trésor des Char, Lay. 4 de *Navarra*. Mem. de Litt, Froissard, Chron. MS, &c,

The general peace had been attended, as usual in those times, with an evil not less alarming than the calamities of war. The kingdom was again exposed to the depredations of a desperate banditti, whose numbers were prodigiously increased; to France they gave the name of *their chamber*, because it was the usual place of their residence; and it was no easy matter to dislodge them, as the battle of Brignais had sufficiently demonstrated the folly of opposing raw recruits—and France could now furnish no other—to veteran troops, regularly trained to the profession of arms, which formed the sole occupation of their lives, and the only means of their subsistence.

Different expedients had been tried, without success, for removing this alarming evil. Lewis, king of Hungary, would have allured these *companies* into his service, as he was then at war with the Wallachians, Transylvanians, Croats, and Tartars. With this view he wrote to the pope, the king of France, and the prince of Wales, who proposed the expedition to their principal leaders, with a promise to supply them with money, and every thing requisite for their journey. But, after deliberating among themselves, they rejected the proposal. The attempt to engage them in a crusade to Palestine, projected by the king of Cyprus, proved equally unsuccessful.

The evil, in the mean time, far from diminishing, daily acquired fresh force. The *companies* were no longer composed merely of thieves and adventurers; they were now joined by a vast number of knights and gentlemen, and even by noblemen of the first distinction, who were not ashamed to degrade their rank and character by deeds of violence and outrage. The mistaken policy of sovereigns had contributed, in no small degree, to perpetuate this evil. They had been long accustomed to grant pensions to military men, for supplying them with a certain number of men at arms, when they might, at less expence, have maintained regular bodies of troops, more useful in war, and less dangerous in peace. As soon as a man at arms had acquired a reputation for valour, he set up his services to sale, became the chief of a company, which he disposed of at his pleasure, and acquired the privilege of fighting for whichever party would pay him best. No commission was requisite to enable him to raise or augment his troop; such levies not being made in the king's name, it was not in the power of the sovereign to dismiss them at his will.

After pillaging Champagne, the Barrois, and Lorraine, the *companies* penetrated into Alsace, and extended their depredations even to the frontiers of Germany. They then returned the same way, and prepared to carry their incursions into the heart of the kingdom. Charles found himself reduced to the necessity of making application to the king of England, who, by one of the articles of the treaty of Bretigny, was bound to assist him. Edward made immediate preparations for an expedition into France; but Charles, alarmed at the number of his forces, and fearing that, instead of affording him protection, they might be employed for purposes of hostility, sent him word that his assis-

1568



Requiere, &c.

*Bertrand de Guesclin,
Graciously received by the Princess of Wales
(Consort to Edward the Black Prince.)*

Philad.^a Published by James Stewart & Co Feb 20. 1797.

tance was no longer necessary. Edward, though justly offended at a message which betrayed suspicions of his honour, disbanded his army*. The embarrassment, in which the king and his council were involved, was fortunately removed by the arrival of Henry, count of Transjamare.

Pedro, king of Castile, had incurred the universal hatred of his subjects, by a continued repetition of violent and barbarous actions. Three natural sons of Alphonso the Eleventh had perished by his hand; he had lavished the blood of his nobles; and there was scarcely a duty, either moral or religious, that he had not frequently violated. Instigated by Mary de Padilla, he confined his wife, Blanche de Bourbon, sister to the queen of France, in the castle of Xeres, and soon after poisoned her, that, by her death, he might be at liberty to marry his mistress.

Henry, count of Transjamare, his natural brother, took up arms against him; but, being foiled in the attempt, he took refuge in France, and proposed to the king to conclude the treaty which had been projected in the last reign, by which he offered to enlist all the *companies* in his service. This proposal was gladly accepted by Charles; and Bertrand du Guesclin, who was still a prisoner at war was appointed to command these desperate adventurers. Lord Chandos required a hundred thousand livres for his ransom, forty thousand of which were paid by the king and the pope, and the Castilian prince furnished the rest.

The care of engaging the *companies*, who then lay encamped in the environs of Chalons-upon-Saone, to the amount of thirty thousand men, to pass into Spain, was entrusted to du Guesclin, who undertook, for a certain sum, to make them all leave France. He sent a herald to ask a safe-conduct from their leaders, and the moment he received it he hastened to their camp. To have employed the arts of negotiation with men who were solely actuated by present interest, would have been useless. Guesclin, therefore, contented himself with expatiating, with the blunt frankness of a soldier, on the disorders of their life. "*Both you and I,*" said he, "*have done sufficient to damn our souls, and you may even boast of having done more than me; it is now time, therefore, to honour God, and leave the devil!*" This laconic exhortation was accompanied by arguments more persuasive; he allured them by the prospect of plunder; held out to their view the treasures of the Castilian monarch, delivered to their discretion; and made them an offer of two hundred thousand livres, to be immediately paid by the king of France: he concluded his harangue by announcing his intention of conducting them to Avignon, to pay a visit to his holiness, before they entered on the Spanish territories. These temptations were too powerful to be resisted. The treaty was immediately concluded; and the chiefs of the *companies* repaired to Paris to pay their respects to the king, who paid

* Walsingham, p. 178.
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† Hist. of Spain, by Mariana and Ferreras.
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them the stipulated sum, treated them with magnificence; and loaded them with presents at their departure.

As soon as the projected expedition to Spain was made public, the *companies* were joined by several knights and noblemen. The young count de la Marche, John de Bourbon, was appointed by the king to command the expedition, but he was only the nominal general, as he had orders, to follow, in every thing, the advice of du Guesclin.

Du Guesclin took the road to Provence. Pope Urban had no reason to expect this visit; and, when the army drew near to Avignon, he sent a cardinal to menace them with excommunication, unless they immediately left the territories of the church. The cardinal was told, by du Guesclin, that his foldiers must first have absolution, and two hundred thousand livres; the prelate answered that they might have as many pardons as they chose; but, as for money, that was a different affair. Bertrand replied, that his men preferred gold to absolution, and that he would do well to bring the sum required without delay. The pope then extorted the money from the inhabitants of the city, and neighbourhood, and offered it to du Guesclin; but, being informed in what manner it was raised, exclaimed "It is not my purpose to oppress innocent people. The pope, and his cardinals, can themselves well spare me that sum from their own coffers. This money, I insist, must be restored to the owners; and, should they be defrauded of it, I shall myself return from the other side of the Pyrenees, and oblige you to make them restitution." The pope paid him the two hundred thousand livres from his treasury*; after which the army proceeded on their expedition.

A. D. 1366.] Du Guesclin led his troops through Languedoc, and the southern provinces of France, into Arragon, where they speedily reduced the places which had been taken by the king of Castile from the Arragonian monarch†. Being joined by Henry of Transtamare he entered Castile, where the subjects of Pedro crowded to the standard of his enemies. Pedro found himself totally forsaken; he had scarcely time to secure himself, his family and treasure at Corunna; from whence he fled with precipitation to Bourdeaux, leaving Henry in possession of his dominions: and that prince was crowned king of Castile, and acknowledged as such by all the cities and nobility in the kingdom.

A. D. 1367 to 1369.] Pedro, on his arrival at Bourdeaux, applied for assistance to the prince of Wales. The prince, having obtained his father's consent, gave a general invitation to the military adventurers of every country, who flocked to his standard. Even the companies who had enlisted in the service of Henry of Transtamare, in obedience to his summons, deserted that prince, and repaired by thousands to Bourdeaux. From these troops, Edward selected an army of thirty thousand men, with which he set out on his enterprise. He was

* Hist. de du Guesclin, en vers.

† Mariana; Ferreras; Ayala; Froissard; Chron. MS.

accompanied by his younger brother, John of Gaunt, created duke of Lancaster, on the death of the good prince of that name, who died without any male issue, and whose daughter, an heiress, he had married. He was likewise attended by the kings of Castile and Majorca, and by a splendid train of English and Gascon nobles, at the head of whom was the gallant lord Chandos. But, as the kings of Arragon and Navarre, who still adhered to the interests of Henry of Transjamaire, barred his passage into Castile, it was deemed expedient to send ambassadors to the latter monarch, Charles the Bad, who persuaded him to a conference with Pedro and the prince of Wales at Bayonne; where, in consideration of a large subsidy, and the cession of Guipuscoa, Vittoria, Alava, Logroño, Guduzen, Calahorra, and Alfaro, he not only renounced his engagements with Henry, but undertook to assist Pedro with three hundred men, and to grant him a free passage through his dominions.

While Pedro was occupied in his attempts to recover his crown, Henry de Transjamaire adopted every precaution that could possibly tend to maintain his acquisition. His extreme munificence to the Castilians had already obtained him the epithet of *Liberal*; and his continued exertions of benevolence effectually secured the love and esteem of his new subjects. From these advantages he was enabled to bring one hundred thousand men into the field. Encouraged by a superiority of numbers, apparently so decisive, Henry resolved to come to action with all possible speed, in opposition to the advice of du Guesclin, and all his principal officers, and particularly to that of the marshal d'Andreghen, who strenuously urged him to secure the passage of the Ebro, and by that means, cut off the enemy's provisions.

The two armies met on the third of April, 1367, between Najara and Navarrete, when a desperate engagement took place, in which the conduct and courage of the prince of Wales were attended with their usual success. Henry sustained a total defeat; twenty thousand of his troops were left dead on the field, besides five thousand gentlemen. The prisoners were not less numerous; and among them were, du Guesclin, the marshal d'Andreghen, the grand prior of the order of Saint Jago, the grand-master of Calatrava, and two thousand French and Spanish knights. The loss of the English was inconsiderable.

Pedro, in compliance with a savage impulse of revenge, would have put all the prisoners to the sword, had he not been restrained by the remonstrances of the prince of Wales; who farther prevailed on him to publish a general offer of pardon, to such of his subjects as would immediately return to their obedience. This offer was universally accepted; and Pedro replaced on his throne without farther trouble.

Though Edward had added to his military fame by this expedition, he soon found reason to repent his connection with a tyrant like Pedro; who, not less ungrateful than cruel, refused the stipulated pay to the army that had restored him to his dignity; and the prince, having passed the whole summer in Castile,

finding his troops daily perishing by the excessive heat of the climate, and his own health considerably impaired, was compelled to return to Bourdeaux, without receiving satisfaction.

The barbarities exercised by Pedro over his unfortunate subjects, whom he now regarded as vanquished rebels, revived the animosity of the Castilians, and determined them to effect his destruction. Henry de Transmare, accordingly, prepared to second their endeavours; and, raising a new army, again entered Castile, reduced Calahorra and Burgos, and threatened the whole kingdom with a speedy subjection. Du Guesclin, in the mean time, was kept prisoner at Bourdeaux; and, as the prince of Wales had refused to release him, it was insinuated to him, that his refusal was suspected to proceed from his fear of a man whose superior courage and prudence had rendered him formidable. Edward, piqued at this reproach, ordered the warrior to be brought into his presence. "Mr. Bertrand," said he, "it is pretended that I dare not release you, because I am afraid of you!" "There are people who say as much," replied du Guesclin; "and I think myself highly honoured by the opinion they entertain of me*." The prince immediately told him to fix his own ransom, when he named the sum of one hundred thousand florins, which he said he could easily obtain from the kings of France and Castile, the duke of Anjou and the pope. The princess of Wales, who was then at Bourdeaux, being anxious to see du Guesclin, invited him to dinner; and, as an unequivocal proof of the esteem she entertained for him, on account of his valour she offered to pay twenty thousand livres towards his ransom. Du Guesclin, bending his knee before her, said, "*Madam, I have ever thought myself the ugliest knight that the world could produce, but I now find that I no longer ought to hold myself in such low estimation.*" Edward was pleased with the liberality of his conduct; lord Chandos, too, offered his purse to du Guesclin, and most of the general officers evinced the same friendly disposition towards him. Edward permitted him to go upon his parole, in search of money; but, though he received twenty thousand livres from the duke of Anjou, and as much from the pope†, he returned without a sou. The king of France, however, relieved him from his embarrassment, by sending him a sufficient sum to make up, with what he had received from the princess of Wales, the stipulated sum.

The first use which du Guesclin made of his liberty, was, to raise a body of two thousand men at arms, with whom he hastened to the assistance of Henry of Transmare, whom he found engaged in the siege of Toledo. Before that city a league offensive and defensive was formed between Henry and the king of France, who had dispatched ambassadors to him for that purpose. By this treaty, the Castilian engaged to assist his ally with the whole naval force of his

* Vie MS. de du Guesclin, Argentré, Froissard,

† Villaret,

kingdom, and always to supply double the number of ships which Charles himself should equip.

Pedro attempted to stop the progress of Henry; and, being defeated in battle, he fled to the castle of Montiel. In his attempt to escape from thence he was seized by a French officer, who conducted him to his tent, where he was murdered by his brother. Henry, again mounted the throne of Castile, which he transmitted to his posterity. During these transactions, the king of France had been employed in recruiting his finances, and in regulating the internal police of his kingdom; the continuation of the taxes, after the cause for which they had been imposed was removed, had excited an insurrection of the citizens of Tournay. Charles sent Edward de Renty, a knight of Picardy, to reduce them to subjection; and, having quelled the revolt, he punished the insurgents by depriving the city of its municipal rights. At the expiration of three years, its privileges were restored.

The pope having been induced, at the instigation of king John, to oppose the marriage of the earl of Cambridge, son to Edward of England, with the heiress of Flanders, Charles now procured the hand of that princess for his brother, the duke of Burgundy. Although Lewis, count of Flanders, had never openly evinced a repugnance to the alliance of his daughter with the son of Edward, from the apprehension of displeasing the Flemings, whose commercial intercourse with the English very naturally led them to prefer that connection, yet he was always secretly inclined to favour France. When the pope had publicly declared his determination never to grant a dispensation to the English prince, Lewis listened to the king's proposals in behalf of his brother. Urban granted the necessary dispensations for this marriage, the conditions of which were settled at Ghent, by deputies from the king and the count of Flanders. Charles, on this occasion, ceded to the count the districts of Lille, Douay, and Orchies, on condition that they should revert to the crown, in default of heirs male of the bodies of Margaret and Philip*. By granting such an augmentation of territory to his brother, who, by his alliance with Margaret, was about to become one of the most powerful princes in Europe, Charles seems to have deviated from his usual system of policy; but we are told†, that this cession, made with the view of satisfying the count of Flanders and his subjects, was only *collusive*; since he stipulated, by a private treaty, with the duke of Burgundy, that, on the count's death, these districts should be immediately restored. But Charles dying first, the duke eluded the treaty during the minority of his nephew. About this time the queen was brought to bed of a son, who was named Charles; and, as he was the first male heir, his birth was celebrated with great rejoicings.

The prince of Wales, in the mean time, began to feel the effects of those

* Chron de Flanders, Trésor des Chartres, Annales des Flanders, † Villaret, tom. x. p. 148,

troubles, in which he had involved himself, by his splendid, though imprudent, expedition into Castile. He had not only exhausted his treasury in levying and paying the army which he had led into Spain, but had contracted an immense debt, which he knew not how to discharge. In this emergency, the bishop of Rodez, whom he had appointed chancellor of Guienne, advised him to levy, with the consent of the states, an impost of one livre upon every hearth in his dominions, for five years only. The deputies from Poitou, the Limousin, Xaintonge and Rouergue submitted to the tax; but it was opposed with great violence by many of the Gascon nobles, who embraced this opportunity to revive the ancient prejudice of the people against the English government. The counts of Armagnac, Cominges, Albret, and Perigord, with many others, repaired to Paris, and publicly appealed to Charles, as lord paramount of Guienne, though they well knew that the feudal superiority of France over that principality had been formally given up by the treaty of Bretigny. In this appeal, Charles, who was unwilling to forfeit his pretensions to political wisdom by imitating the virtuous conduct of his father, artfully replied: "*Certainly, my lords, it is our wish always to maintain the jurisdiction of the French crown, but we have sworn to observe certain articles into which we will examine.*" The matter was accordingly discussed by the council, who, as might be expected, decided agreeably to the wishes of the sovereign; or, to speak more properly, who implicitly obeyed the will of a master whose ambition they dared not to thwart. The appeal of Edward's subjects was received by the court of peers: and that prince was cited to appear at Paris, on the first of May, 1369. Edward returned an answer, that, since Charles requested his company at Paris, he would repair thither at the head of sixty thousand men. But, before we proceed to relate the consequences of this conduct on the part of the king of France, it will be necessary to examine some provisions of the treaty of Bretigny and to consider the justice of the accusations preferred against Edward for his non-observance of that treaty.

By the twelfth article of the treaty of Bretigny, it is stipulated, "That the king of France, and his eldest son, shall expressly renounce all kind of sovereignty and right which they have or may have in all those territories which by this treaty ought to belong to the king of England. And, in like manner, he (Edward) and his eldest son, shall expressly renounce all their pretensions to the kingdom of France, and to the title of king of France, and to the homage and sovereignty of the duchies of Normandy and Touraine, the counties of Anjou and Maine, the duchy of Brittany, and the county of Flanders; and the two kings shall agree, at Calais, on the time and place for making their respective renunciations." But, when the treaty was confirmed at Calais, this article was omitted. Du Tillet, and some other writers, are of opinion that the omission was a stroke of policy in Charles (then duke of Normandy) who wished for an excuse to annul a treaty so disadvantageous to the king-

dom ; but father Daniel judiciously remarks, that such an omission could not have escaped the attention of Edward and his ministers. Thus these historians are evidently of opinion, that, if any collusion took place it must have been to the *disadvantage* of the English monarch.

But though the twelfth article of the treaty was omitted, yet Villaret still acknowledges the necessity of a mutual renunciation ; and he tells us, that a day was actually appointed for receiving it at Bruges, but that Edward never appeared, nor even sent his renunciation, though frequently cited by John so to do ; and hence he infers, that the treaty became void. The true state of the case, however, is this—that it was found necessary to defer the mutual renunciations for some time, as Edward was not yet in possession of all the territories ceded to him by the treaty of Bretigny ; and it was agreed that the parties, meanwhile, should make no use of their respective claims against each other*. It is certain, that the failure in exchanging these renunciations had proceeded from France†, and that apologies had been made to Edward, who was justly supposed to be the only person who could be injured by such delay. The English monarch, notwithstanding, quitted the title of king of France immediately after the treaty was signed, and ceased to quarter the arms of France with those of England.

Again, Edward is accused, of having violated the treaty, by neglecting to employ force in expelling the garrisons from those places which he had agreed to surrender‡. It is acknowledged that he gave the most positive orders for that purpose ; and he would willingly have enforced them by arms, had John wished him so to do ; since, at a subsequent period, we have seen him instantly obey the summons of Charles, on a similar emergency. It is evident, therefore, that John, probably at the instigation of his son, preferred bribing the troops to evacuate the towns and fortresses, to the introduction of an English army into his dominions.

A third accusation is preferred against Edward by Villaret. By creating the duchy of Aquitaine into a principality, says that author||, the king of England performed a *premature* act of sovereignty, which amounted to a formal breach of the treaty of Bretigny, since he had not yet put himself in a situation to receive John's renunciation of the sovereignty of that territory—consequently he could have no right to dispose of it. The delay in exchanging the renunciations was occasioned by John himself ; this charge, consequently, falls to the ground ; besides, did not the king of France, by the very act of surrendering the ceded provinces to Edward, renounce their sovereignty ? The French writers themselves acknowledge that John strictly fulfilled *all* the conditions of the treaty ; he, therefore, must have renounced the sovereignty of Guienne, Aqu-

* Rymer, vol. vi. p. 219, 230, 234, 237, 243. † Rot. Franc. 35. Ed. 3. M. 3. from Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 643. ‡ Villaret, tom. xi. p. 444. || Tom. ix. p. 496.

taine, &c. If the erection of Aquitaine into a principality had been deemed an infraction of the treaty, John, who was then alive, would certainly have repented it ; but he well knew that Edward was authorised to dispose of that territory as he pleased, and he had too much honour to descend to the meanness of equivocation. The exaction of a ransom from some of the hostages is advanced as another violation of the treaty. The fact is, that the hostages were bound to remain in England till the terms of the treaty were wholly fulfilled ; but some of them, anxious to regain their liberty, made proposals to Edward to release them on certain conditions ; the duke of Orleans procured his freedom by granting some lands to Thomas of Woodstock, one of Edward's sons ; the duke of Bourbon offered twelve thousand crowns for his liberty ; and Guy de Blois purchased his by the surrender of Soissons. But these were voluntary offers on the part of the hostages, which Edward had certainly a right to accept, as by releasing them he weakened the only security he possessed for the payment of John's ransom.

It has been asserted*, that sufficient reasons for setting aside the treaty of Bretigny might be deduced from the constitution of the monarchy, which forbids the dismemberment of any part of the sovereignty, and incessantly recalls such parts as are forcibly detached for a time, to the main body. If this assertion has any signification it must mean, that the king, when three parts of his dominions have been wrested from him by an enemy superior in strength, or favoured by fortune, must sooner risk the loss of the remaining fourth, however unable to maintain the contest, than consent to purchase the restitution of what had been conquered by ceding a portion of it, however small. The whole history of France tends to prove that an idea so preposterous had never been adopted ; since it exhibits, both before and after the time of Charlemagne, a perpetual variation in the extent of the empire, successively enlarged by conquests, and contracted by defeats. Most of the provinces, ceded by the treaty of Bretigny, had formerly belonged to the ancestors of Edward, who possessed them, not despotically, by the right of conquest, but, lawfully, by that of inheritance.

Such are the pleas, which have been urged in justification of Charles's conduct. Never was any treaty more explicit than that of Bretigny ; nothing was left open to future discussion ; and the greatest pains were taken to avoid equivocation. Charles could not be deceived ; he must have been fully aware of the consequences ; yet did he consent to ratify the treaty, in the most solemn, in the most sacred manner, and to bind the obligation he had contracted by all that was awful in religion. On the altar, and (according to *his* ideas) in the *actual presence* of his God, were his vows made to maintain it inviolate ;—yet could he coolly and deliberately resolve to break oaths thus strongly confirmed†.

* Villaret, tom. ix. p. 447.

† Though a strict regard for truth compels us to justify Edward from charges so unfounded as those which have been preferred against him by the French historians, with regard to the treaty of Bretigny ;

The prince of Wales prepared to put his menaces in execution, and retained the companies which he had brought with him from Spain, and which were now dispersed along the banks of the Loire, in his service ; but a general insurrection of the Gascons prevented him from advancing against his enemy, with that alacrity which he wished.

Charles obtained exact information of the state of the prince's health, which had been gradually declining since his return from Spain ; and he was, by this time, so weak as to be unable to sit on his horse. The physicians were of opinion that it was incurable, and that it would infallibly terminate in a dropy. Charles rejoiced at the illness of a foe whom he did not dare to face in the field. He summoned the peers to assemble ; and that prostituted court, sanctioned, with their approbation, the *perjury* of their sovereign. War was accordingly declared against England, and a messenger dispatched to convey the news to Edward.

A. D. 1370.] Charles, conscious that his address was superior to his courage, relied chiefly on intrigue for the success of his schemes. All the arts of corruption were exerted with success ; the governors of several towns and fortresses both in Ponthieu and Guienne, were bribed to violate their oaths, and to betray the interests of their lawful sovereign. The citizens of Abbeville opened their gates to the French ; those of St. Valory, Rue and Crotot, followed their example ; the gallant lord Chandos was slain in a skirmish, on the bridge of Leusac near Poitiers, on the first of January 1370 ; and, the prince of Wales being unable to head his troops, the French pursued their advantage with astonishing rapidity.

This success made the people cheerfully contribute to the support of the war. The states-general being assembled at Paris, the cardinal de Beauvais, chancellor of France, asked, in the king's name, their advice with regard to the present contest ; they resolved to maintain it, and granted the necessary supplies for that purpose. It was decreed, that the impost of twelve deniers per livre, and the salt-tax, should be set apart for the support of the king's household ; and that a tax of four livres upon every hearth in the towns, and thirty sols in the country, should be levied for defraying the expences of the war. A new duty upon wines was imposed at the same time, the common wines, commonly called French, only paid one half of the duty that was levied on Burgundy ; while the wines of Beaune and Saint Pourcain paid triple.

The king soon after held a bed of *Justice*, at which Edward and his son the prince of Wales were declared rebels ; and, in consequence of their *felony*, the duchy of Guienne, and the other territories which they possessed in France,

yet his ambitious conduct, in preferring a frivolous and absurd claim to the French crown, calls for the severest reprobation ; and he may justly be charged with all the calamities consequent thereon, and with the vast effusion of blood which his unprincipled attempts to enforce his pretensions occasioned.

were confiscated to *their sovereign*; this sentence was pronounced by Charles himself, who could display greater resolution in the cabinet, than in the field*.

The duke of Anjou, and his brother the duke of Berry, prepared to enforce the sentence by entering Languedoc and the Limousin at the same time. Du Guesclin, who had lately been recalled from Castile, inspired the troops with a degree of confidence, and their success was proportioned to it. The towns of Moissac, Agen, Porte-Sainte-Marie, Thonnins-upon-Garonne, and Montpezat, opened their gates at their approach. Sir Walter Manny, governor of Aguilhon, was unable to sustain a siege of five days, in a place, which, in the reign of Philip of Valois, had withstood, for six months, the attacks of an army of sixty thousand men, commanded by the duke of Normandy. These rapid conquests alarmed the English; the prince of Wales no longer thought himself in safety in Angoulême; and, hearing it was to be invested, he repaired to Cognac, which he fixed upon as the general rendezvous of his troops. The capital de Buche, shut up in Bergerac, was left to cover Guienne on that side. By his resolution and presence of mind he saved the town of Linde, which Thomas de Badesol, had agreed to surrender to the enemy. Just as the gates were about to be opened to the French, the capital arrived; and, seizing upon Badesol, exclaimed, "*Ah traitor! this is the last attempt at perfidy thou shalt ever commit!*" He plunged his sword into his body; and the French, finding their plot detected, retired.

While the English were thus pressed in Guienne, the duke of Berry was equally successful in the Limousin, where he was attended by the principal nobility of the kingdom. Having overrun the province, he laid siege to Limoges, the capital, whose inhabitants revolted, and, at the instigation of their bishop, surrendered the town to the French. The prince of Wales, having expended a considerable sum in fortifying this city, was greatly enraged at the loss of it; and he sent word to the inhabitants that, if they did not return to their duty without delay, and expel the enemy, he would level the place with the ground, and put all the citizens to the sword. The prince collected a body of forces; and, placing himself in a litter, being unable to ride, conducted them to Limoges, and laid siege to the city; but, sensible that the place was sufficiently strong to resist any attempts to take it by assault, he prudently began by undermining the walls; and having by that means effected a practicable breach, he entered it at the head of his troops, and massacred the whole garrison, together with three thousand of the inhabitants. As Edward was gentle and humane, this instance of cruelty was the more astonishing. He was prevailed on to spare the life of the bishop, who, having been the primary cause of the revolt, ought to have been the first victim of his own perfidy.

A. D. 1371.] The reduction of Limoges was the last military achievement

* Trésor des Chart. Registre Verd. fol. 109. Reg. des Anc. Ordonn. du Parl. fol. 110. Reg. des Plai doyers de la Cour commencé en 1369. Du Tillet, Recueil des Traités.

of this gallant prince, who, finding his strength inadequate to sustain the fatigues of war, first retired to Bourdeaux; but, being led by his physicians to believe that his native air would greatly facilitate his recovery, he determined to quit the continent. Accordingly, having exacted a promise from all the nobels who still preserved their loyalty, that they would pay obedience to his brother, John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, he embarked for England in the month of January, with his only surviving son, Richard, and arrived safe at Southampton.

A. D. 1372.] Du Guesclin, who had lately received the constable's sword, from the hand of Charles, now pursued his conquests without interruption; the departure of the prince of Wales proved fatal to the English, and all their attempts to recover the places that had been taken from them proved unsuccessful. The duke of Lancaster having resigned his command in Guienne, the earl of Pembroke was appointed to succeed him; but, on his voyage to Rochelle with a fleet of forty sail, he was intercepted by a Spanish squadron of superior force, fitted out by Henry, king of Castile, who had warmly espoused the interest of Charles. The two fleets met on the morning of the twenty-third of June, when the action immediately commenced, and continued, with unremitted ardour, till night put an end to the combat, which was, however, renewed on the ensuing morn with equal fury. The victory was at length decided in favour of the Spaniards, who, besides being stronger, had the advantage of cannon, with which the English were wholly unprovided. The earl of Pembroke, and several other officers of note, were made prisoners, and most of his ships were taken or sunk.

The constable, in the mean time, took Montmorillon by assault, and put the garrison to the sword; he then reduced Chauvigny on the river Creuse, Lensac, and Montcontour. St. Severe was obliged to capitulate, and Poitiers was surrendered by its inhabitants. But the English sustained a still greater loss in the capture of the captal de Buche, who was taken prisoner in a skirmish. He was conveyed to Paris, and thrown into prison. Charles, who, destitute of valour himself, could only respect it in another when exerted in his own service, having in vain attempted to corrupt his fidelity, consigned him to perpetual confinement. All the offers of Edward to ransom him were rejected, and, after a captivity of five years, he fell a prey to lassitude and grief.

The castle of Soubise, and Taillebourg, were reduced by the French. Xaintes was surrendered by the inhabitants; Rochelle was betrayed by the mayor; most of the towns in Aunis, Xaintonge, and Poitou, experienced a similar fate. Benon, and several other fortresses were taken by assault, or surrendered. Part of the garrison of Benon were put to the sword, and such as fell into the hands of the French were hanged; because David Olegane, governor of the place, had cut off the noses and ears of several of the citizens of Rochelle, who happened to be at Benon when Rochelle was betrayed by the inhabitants. The rest of the garrison retired to the castle, but were

reduced to surrender at discretion. Clifton, who was present at the siege, desired that the prisoners might be left to his disposal; and his request being granted, he placed himself at the gate of the tower, and massacred the English as they came out; swearing, that he would serve all their countrymen in the same manner, wherever he should meet with them. The first fifteen he clove down the skull with his battle-axe; whence he acquired the appellation of *Butcher*.

To complete the entire reduction of Poitou, Thouars alone remained to be subdued. It was a place of great strength; and all the Poitevin nobility, who still preserved their allegiance to Edward, had taken refuge there; but, it being invested by a powerful army under the command of du Guesclin, who battered the walls with cannon, the garrison were reduced to the necessity of capitulating; and their offer to surrender, if not relieved by the king of England, or one of his sons, before Michaelmas was accepted. Edward, apprised of this circumstance, determined to hasten in person to the relief of Thouars, with an army which he had assembled for an invasion of France on the side of Picardy; but the elements warred in favour of Charles: the English monarch, having been detained nine weeks, by contrary winds, was obliged to forego his enterprise, and return to England. After the reduction of Thouars, the army separated, and the princes and general officers repaired to Paris, to settle the plan of operations for the ensuing campaign.

Charles employed this interval of tranquillity, in taking proper measures for restraining the licentiousness of the troops. All soldiers were strictly enjoined to return quietly to their habitations, without committing any disorders on the road; and every officer was prohibited from raising companies in future, without obtaining an express commission from the king, the princes of the blood, or the commander in chief; the commanders of companies were made responsible for the conduct of their subaltern officers, and private men; each company was to consist of a hundred men at arms; and the commanders of such companies were to receive a hundred livres a month.

Charles made, about this period, the acquisition of the county of Auxerre; which he purchased from John de Chalons, count of Tonnere, for thirty thousand livres of gold. The king united that county to the royal demesnes.

A. D. 1373.] The ensuing campaign was opened by sir Robert Knolles, who, with thirty thousand men, marched from Calais, and extended his ravages to the gates of Paris. But Charles baffled every attempt to bring his troops to a decisive action; and restrained the native impetuosity of the French, to which were principally owing the defeats at Crecy and Poitiers. The English continued their march to the provinces of Anjou and Maine, which they laid waste; but a part of his troops having revolted and forsaken him, Knolles was defeated by du Guesclin. The small remains of the English forces, instead of reaching Guienne, were compelled to take shelter in Brittany.

A similar attempt was afterwards made by the duke of Lancaster, who mar-

ched from Calais, with an army of equal force, on the 20th of July, 1373; and, having ravaged Artois and Picardy, pursued his route through Champagne, Burgundy, Beaujolois, Forez, and Auvergne, into Guienne; and arrived at Bourdeaux about Christmas, with barely one half of his army, without having besieged a single town, or fought a single battle.

The duke of Brittany, in the mean time, having evinced a disposition to favour the interests of Edward, the nobles, seduced from their duty by the intrigues of Charles, threatened to renounce their allegiance, and disown him. This tendency to revolt confirmed Montfort in his designs; and he admitted English garrisons into his principal towns, to preserve them from the attempts of his subjects. The nobility made application to the king of France, and entreated him to send troops into Brittany in order to prevent the *felony* of their duke*. While their messengers were at Paris, they openly hoisted the standard of rebellion. The duke attempted to stem the torrent of revolt, and, with a small body of troops invested Saint-Mahe; but while he was engaged in the siege of that place, he daily received intelligence of some new defection.

The king lent a favourable ear to the application of the insurgents; but before he commenced hostilities he summoned the duke of Brittany to fulfil the duties of a vassal of the crown, by refusing a passage to the troops of his enemies, by abstaining from receiving them into the towns and fortresses of Brittany, and by assisting his sovereign in the war against England. To this the duke replied, that he would, in future, refuse a passage to the English troops, but that it was impossible for him to assist the king of France, against his ally the king of England. He sanctioned this refusal by a private article in the treaty of Bretigny, which exempted him from bearing arms against Edward; and he offered to produce letters, signed by the king, and the dukes of Berry and Burgundy. But Charles, without deigning to listen to the excuse, gave orders to the constable to enter Brittany with the troops under his command.

Du Guesclin prepared to ravage his native country with fire and sword. He was received at Rennes by the lord of Laval, and received a considerable accession of force by the junction of all the leaders of the revolt. The duke displayed a degree of courage and generosity that did honour to his heart. Having collected a body of about seven hundred men at arms, he kept the field for some time, though opposed by an army greatly superior in numbers. The most *prudent* members of his council advised him to avert the threatening storm, observing that, by pretending to renounce his alliance with England, he would take away all pretext from the king of France to attack him, and from the nobles of Brittany to persist in their revolt. Had Montfort's honour been like that of Charles, he might have profited by this advice; but, he rejected the perfidious council†.

* Argentré.

† Hist. de Bretagne.

The expences which the duke had been obliged to incur for resisting the attacks of the French, rendered it necessary to impose new taxes on his subjects; which gave the nobles an opportunity of exciting the people to revolt. Thus destitute of money and troops, and surrounded by enemies on all sides, he resolved to embark for England; with this view he conducted his consort to Auray the governor of which place was almost the only officer in his service on whose fidelity he could rely; he then repaired to Concq, where he took shipping, and landed safe at Portsmouth, having left Sir Robert Knolles in the capacity of lieutenant-general of Brittany.

The duke's departure was followed by the reduction of most places which still acknowledged his authority. The constable laid siege to Hennebonne. The walls were battered with cannon, and the constable resolved to carry the place by assault. The English garrison, assisted by the inhabitants, defended themselves with courage and vigour. Du Guesclin, having approached sufficiently near to the walls to be heard from the ramparts, thus addressed the citizens: "Hark ye, friends, it is certain we shall conquer you all, and sup in the town this very night; but, if any one of you shall dare to throw a stone or any thing else, by which the meanest of our men or boys shall be slain, I vow to God that I'll put you all to death." The inhabitants forbore all farther resistance; and the defence of the town was left entirely to the English, who were unable to guard the fortifications, which were very extensive; they were repulsed in every part, and put to the sword.

From Hennebonne the constable repaired to Brest, which was defended by a strong garrison, under sir Robert Knolles. Clifton, at the same time, formed the siege of Roche-upon-Yon, in Poitou. Brest made such a vigorous resistance that the French despaired of taking it by assault; and, to make a diversion, they laid siege to Derval, which was the property of Knolles, who, as they hoped, would fly to its defence, while the rebel nobles of Brittany invested Becherel. After the reduction of Roche-upon-Yon, Clifton joined the French troops before Derval, and the garrison fearing it would be impossible to hold out much longer, consented to surrender the place, if not relieved before the expiration of two months; the governor delivered hostages for the performance of his promise.

During the siege of Brest, the constable went to Nantes, expecting to meet with no more opposition than he had experienced in most of the other towns; but the inhabitants shut the gates against him, and refused to receive the French on any other terms than as guardians of the city, which was to be surrendered to the duke as soon as he should effect an accommodation with the king of France. They farther required that the public revenue should be sequestered in the hands of the citizens, till their sovereign should come to claim it. The terms were accepted.

The siege of Derval had the desired effect upon Knolles, who, anxious to

preserve a fortress which belonged to himself, agreed to surrender Brest, if not relieved by a superior army in forty days. These terms were the more readily accepted by the French, as they knew that there were not troops sufficient in Brittany to annul the treaty. Knolles, freed from the care of attending to the safety of Brest, hastened to Derval, with a determination not to comply with the terms to which the governor had, in his absence, consented. Most of the French troops were then ordered by Charles to leave Brittany.

Du Guefclin waited with patience till the expiration of the limited time for the surrender of Brest; but lord Salisbury frustrated his hopes by landing a body of troops superior in number to the French. That nobleman left a supply of men and provisions in the town, and then set sail. As soon as Knolles arrived at Derval, he signified to the duke of Anjou, and the constable, who were at Nantes, that he did not think himself bound to observe the engagement contracted by his officers, who, by promising to surrender the place, had exceeded the bounds of their authority. The duke immediately repaired to Derval; and, having waited till the term had expired, he summoned Knolles to give up the castle; and, on his refusal, threatened to put the hostages to death. Knolles treated his threats with contempt, and replied, that he was resolved to keep the fortress; and that, if the duke sacrificed the hostages to his resentment, he would retaliate on the French knights who were in his power, and for whose ransom he had refused one hundred thousand livres*. Oliver de Clifton told the duke of Anjou, that he would lay down his arms if he did not order them to be executed, adding, that the siege of Derval had cost upwards of sixty thousand livres, and that it was just their enemies should be punished for their *disloyalty*. The duke told Clifton to do what he pleased with the hostages; he accordingly ordered the unfortunate victims to be led to the castle walls, where they were beheaded, in the sight of the garrison. The executioner had no sooner performed his task, than a scaffold, which had been previously prepared, appeared, projecting from one of the windows of the fortress, and three knights and one esquire were beheaded, and their heads thrown among the besiegers. This bloody scene was followed by a vigorous sally, in which the French were repulsed with great slaughter, and Clifton received a dangerous wound. The siege was soon after raised, and the French troops were recalled to defend the kingdom from the attacks of the duke of Lancaster.

A. D. 1374.] The English, having now lost all their continental possessions, except Bayonne, Bourdeaux, and Calais, listened to the mediation of the pope: conferences were accordingly opened at Bruges for the purpose of effecting an accommodation; and, on the eleventh of February, 1374, a truce was concluded, which was to continue till Easter; but, before its expiration, it was prolonged to the first of May, 1375. Previous to the conclusion of this truce, the duke

* Froissard,

of Brittany, having received a supply of money from Edward, collected a body of two thousand men at arms, and three thousand archers ; and, accompanied by the earl of Cambridge, and several of the English nobility, embarked at Southampton, and landed at Saint-Mahe. As he carried the citadel by assault, and put the garrison to the sword, the town immediately surrendered. He then took and sacked Saint-Paul de Leon. The duke, pursuing his conquests, formed the siege of Saint Brieuç, which had been newly fortified by Oliver de Clifson, and was defended by a numerous garrison. Clifson, and the lord of Laval, commanded in Brittany after the departure of the constable, and were then at Lamballe. Kimperlay, a town of considerable importance, being greatly incommoded by a neighbouring fortress, which John of Evreux, one of the duke's officers, had recently repaired, the garrison sent to Lamballe for assistance. Clifson and Beaumanoir accordingly joined them, and they were on the point of reducing the fortress, when the duke of Brittany, being apprised of their motions, raised the siege of Saint-Brieux, and hastened to its relief. Clifson was employed in giving orders for an assault, when news was brought him that the English had advanced within two leagues of his camp. He fled with precipitation to Kimperlay ; he was pursued by the duke, who invested the place, and took every precaution to prevent his escape. The siege was pressed with vigour ; Clifson and his associates, knowing their situation to be desperate, defended themselves with intrepidity ; but, deprived of all hopes of relief, they at length asked to capitulate. The duke, insisted on their surrendering at discretion, and granted them a cessation of arms for a week. This short armistice was on the point of expiring, when two noblemen arrived in the duke's camp with news of the truce, concluded at Bruges, in which Brittany was expressly included ; he therefore raised the siege, and Clifson escaped.

During this interval of peace, Charles passed an edict, fixing the majority of the kings of France at their entrance into their fourteenth year, contrary to the regulation of Philip the Hardy, which continued their minority till they had attained fourteen complete*. His constitution was impaired by incessant attention to business, but still more by the effects of the poison which had been administered to him by the king of Navarre, while he was dauphin. The tender years of his eldest son Charles gave him serious inquietude, as he was alarmed at the idea of leaving him exposed to the mercy of the dukes of Anjou, Berry, and Burgundy, with the dangerous extent of whose ambition he appears to have been perfectly acquainted.

The majority of the kings of France had, since the first establishment of the monarchy, experienced several variations. The period of their majority was determined by their ability to support the fatigues of military service. The arms of the early Franks were extremely light, and they always fought on foot ;

* Conf. des Ordonnances.

their children, of course, were able to bear them when very young; hence their majority was fixed at the completion of their fifteenth year. Childebert the Second was not older, when Goutran declared him of age by putting a javelin in his hand, according to the custom of the times, in presence of the national assembly. The mode of waging war changed during the second race; the armies were almost wholly composed of cavalry, and the complete armour worn by the men required the strength of maturity to support it; the majority, therefore, was protracted till the age of twenty-one. This custom subsisted when the king passed his edict; but he knew that a monarch might govern his kingdom without fighting.

In this year, the appanage of Lewis, the king's second son, was fixed at twelve thousand livres a year*, in land, in addition to which he was to receive, when at age, the sum of forty thousand livres, for the establishment of his household. The king, at the same time, settled the marriage-portions of his daughters. The eldest, the princess Mary, was to have one hundred thousand livres, besides furniture, clothes, and jewels, suitable to her rank. The other princesses were to have, each of them, sixty thousand livres, with furniture, &c.

When he had thus settled his family affairs, Charles took necessary measures for the safe government of the kingdom at his death. He conferred the office of regent on his elder brother the duke of Anjou; and, in case of his death or absence, on the duke of Burgundy; no notice whatever was taken of his second brother, the duke of Berry, with whose conduct the king was displeased. The powers of the regent received certain modifications; he was prohibited from alienating the domains of the crown, under any pretext whatever. The duke swore to observe all the conditions imposed on him.

As the regent was exempted from giving any account of his administration, when his power expired, the king entrusted the guardianship of his children, and the care of the public revenue to the queen, assisted by the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon; and, in case of her death, the two princes were to take that important trust upon themselves; he ordered, at the same time, that the surplus of the revenue, after defraying all the necessary expences, should be deposited in the hands of Bureau de la Riviere, the first chamberlain, to be paid to the king, as soon as he should come of age. A council was appointed to assist the queen and the two princes. This council, composed of the principal men of the three orders of the state, was well calculated to balance the power of the regent, in case he should incline to abuse it. The queen, princes, nobility, prelates, and chief officers of the state, swore to observe these regulations.

A. D. 1375 to 1377.] Some farther attempts were now made to effect a peace between France and England; but the pretensions of the rival monarchs

* When the difference in the prices of every article of consumption be considered, which, by the best computation, appears to be as five to one, the prince's settlement was equal to six hundred thousand livres, or about twenty-five thousand pounds sterling.

were so widely opposite, that it was impossible to reconcile them. Charles demanded the restitution of fourteen hundred thousand livres, which had been paid towards his father's ransom, and the demolition of the citadel and fortifications of Calais. Edward insisted that the treaty of Bretigny should be fully enforced. The king declared these conditions inadmissible, *being directly contrary to the oath which he had taken on his accession to the throne.* All, therefore, that the pope's legates could obtain, was a farther prolongation of the truce to the first of April, 1377.

All the taxes which had been imposed during the war still continued to be levied; and Charles having, by this means, filled his coffers, began to provide for the future security of the kingdom, by encreasing his navy, which had been almost wholly neglected, since the reign of Saint Lewis. The advantage of a powerful fleet had been demonstrated in the late contest, when that of Spain frustrated the plans of the English for recovering their continental possessions. A number of vessels were constructed on the coast of Normandy; and edicts were published for preserving the forests, which supplied timber for building them.

The demesnes of the crown were encreased by the death of Philip, duke of Orleans, who expired in September, 1375*. This prince, the king's paternal uncle, had married Blanche of France, posthumous daughter of Charles the Fair. Charles immediately re-annexed the duchy of Orleans to the crown, and took every means in his power to prevent its future alienation; but his commands, on this occasion, were no more regarded than his other arrangements, with respect to the regency.

At this period the English sustained an irreparable loss in the death of their favourite the prince of Wales; who, after a lingering illness, died at Westminster, on the eighth of June 1376, in the forty-sixth year of his age, to the inexpressible sorrow of his father, and the sincere regret of the whole nation. The death of Edward was lamented even by his enemies; Charles honoured his memory with every mark of respect; he ordered a funeral service to be performed in the chapel belonging to his palace, at which he assisted, accompanied by all the great men of the kingdom. The king of England survived his son about a year, when he expired at Shene, in Surry, on the twenty-first of June, 1377; leaving his throne to Richard son to the Black Prince, who was crowned in less than a month after the death of his grandfather. As the truce was now expired, Charles thought the conjuncture highly favourable for renewing the war with England. He set five armies on foot at the same time; and his troops pursued their conquests, almost without opposition, while a French fleet, under the command of John de Vienne, admiral of France, ravaged the English coasts, burnt the towns of Rye, Hastings, Portsmouth, Dartmouth, and Plymouth, and defeated a body of men whom the prior of Lewes had hastily assembled to stop their depredations.

* Trésor des Chart, reg. 109. p. 20. Recueil des Ordonnances, t. 6.

The French had hitherto made little progress in naval affairs ; the navy flourished during the reign of Charlemagne, but was neglected by his successors. The first monarchs of the third race, possessing but few maritime provinces, had no occasion for naval forces ; little attention, therefore, was paid to ship-building till the time of the crusades. The almost incessant wars which afterwards broke out between France and England compelled the French to make efforts for disputing the empire of the sea. Numerous fleets issued from their ports ; but they were chiefly trading vessels, the owners of which lent them to the king in time of war, for a stipulated sum. Besides this resource, the Castilians and Genoese, then deemed the most skilful mariners in Europe, were called to their assistance. The French and English courted the alliance of these powers ; and the squadrons of Genoa fought alternately for both nations. Charles was the first French monarch of the third race who formed a plan for a fleet of his own. With this view, he ordered a great number of vessels to be built in the ports of Normandy, solely for the purpose of war. They were larger than those which were generally used ; though not to be compared, either for size or convenience, with the ships of the present times. Indeed, a modern vessel, of a middle size, could not have entered the best harbour the French then possessed*. The largest vessels were called *gallies* ; they were worked with oars and sail†, and supplied with low towers, whence stones and other missile weapons were thrown on the enemy ; they had also machines necessary for grappling and boarding. To the prow was fixed a long thick post, cased with iron, for the purpose of crushing the sides of the enemy's ships. Other vessels, though smaller in bulk, stood higher in the water ; these were never worked with oars unless when it was attempted to gain the wind in time of action ; large ships were used for transporting the men at arms, called *huissiers*, from the *huys*, or door, through which the horses were admitted.

An army assembled by the duke of Burgundy, on the frontiers of Picardy, formed the siege of Ardres, which capitulated after an obstinate defence ; as did the fortrefs of Ardiwich, and the castle of Vauclungun. The reduction of these three places restrained the depredations of the garrisons of Calais and Guines, which had been accustomed to extend their incursions to the gates of Boulogne.

The duke of Anjou was equally successful in the southern parts of the kingdom, where he reduced all the towns and fortresses which still remained in possession of the English, except Bayonne and Bourdeaux ; while Clifton completed the subjection of Brittany, leaving only to its lawful sovereign the single town of Brest, which was likewise invested by the French. During these operations the king of France received in his capital the emperor Charles the Fourth, and his son Wenceslaus, king of the Romans. The emperor created the dauphin vicar-general of Dauphiny, and ceded to him the castle of Pompet, in that province.

* Villaret.

† Hist. de la Milice Francoise, t. 2.

Soon after the departure of his uncle, Charles lost his queen, Jane of Bourbon, who, after giving birth to a princess, had the imprudence, contrary to the advice of her physicians, to bathe; she had no sooner entered the bath, than she was seized with a disorder that terminated her existence in a few days. While the king was indulging his sorrows for the death of this princess, he was alarmed by secret intelligence of a design against his own life. Suspensions immediately fell upon Charles the Bad. On the apprehension of his chamberlain, who was then at the French court, the suspicions were confirmed, and it appeared on the trial, that that monarch had endeavoured to bribe a Jewish physician, named *Angel* to poison the king; but the Jew, refusing to be concerned in such a plot, he caused him to be thrown into the sea. He then ordered a subtle poison to be prepared, under his own inspection, by a female Jew; and entrusted it to a valet-de-chambre, who was to gain access to the palace, by means of a relation who held a post in the king's kitchen, and there to wait for a favourable opportunity to administer it. On the discovery of this plot, Charles gave orders to seize all the places belonging to the king of Navarre, in Normandy; and, at the castle of Bernay, one of that monarch's secretaries was taken and brought to Paris. His name was Peter du Tertre; he underwent a close examination, but though privy to all the political manœuvres of his master, he persevered in declaring his total ignorance of the plot. As a prisoner of war, Charles could possibly have no other pretext for bringing him to trial; he was, however, condemned, together with the chamberlain, and they were beheaded in the market-place at Paris.

[A. D. 1378.] While the duke of Anjou was depriving Charles the Bad of all the places he possessed in Languedoc, the duke of Burgundy and the constable du Guesclin went to seize his Norman possessions; and, as the Navarrese governors made an obstinate resistance, the king himself went to Rouen to superintend and direct the military operations. All his towns and fortresses were reduced and dismantled, except Cherbourg, which he delivered to the English, for a small supply of troops which they agreed to furnish him.

The English had not been long in possession of Cherbourg before it was invested by du Guesclin. But the strength of its fortifications, and its numerous garrison, resisted every attack. Though the siege was pressed with all possible vigour, the constable was unable to make the smallest impression. In a successful sally, the besiegers took his brother, Oliver du Guesclin, prisoner. He was compelled to conduct his troops into winter quarters.

During these transactions in Normandy, the duke of Lancaster had fitted out a fleet, and sailed with a body of troops to the assistance of the duke of Brittany. He laid siege to Saint Malo, a place of great strength, and, after remaining some time before the town, perpetually harassed by the garrison on one side, and by the French on the other, he was forced to return to England. He was followed by the duke, who concluded a treaty with the court of London, and

obtained a promise of more effectual assistance, on condition of delivering Brest to the English. They now possessed the four principal ports in the kingdom, Calais, Cherbourg, Brest, and Bourdeaux.

For the reduction of this last place, the king had permitted the duke of Anjou to levy a general tax upon the inhabitants of Guienne. The duke received the produce of the tax, which he appropriated to his own use. The inhabitants of Montpellier, incensed at this oppression, revolted, seized the duke's officers, and put them to death. Eighty persons are said to have fallen victims to the rage of the populace. The duke, collecting a body of troops, hastened to quell the insurrection; but the tumult had subsided before he reached the town, and the citizens implored his mercy. He condemned them to lose their privileges, their university, their archives, and municipal jurisdiction; to forfeit one half of all their property; to pay a fine of one hundred and twenty thousand livres; to found a church; and to demolish the gates, walls, and fortifications of the town. Two hundred citizens were condemned to be beheaded; two hundred to be hanged; two hundred to be burnt; and their posterity was doomed to servitude and perpetual infamy. From the execution of this inhuman sentence the duke was dissuaded, though with great difficulty, by the cardinal d'Albani, and a Dominican friar. All the punishments were remitted except the pecuniary fine, and a farther exaction of six thousand livres, for expences.

Towards the end of this year, the king sent a reinforcement of troops to all the fortresses in the vicinity of Cherbourg, and ordered William de Bordes to enter the Cotentin, and keep the garrison in awe. Des Bordes, fixed his quarters at Montbourg, and scoured the neighbouring country. About the same time, sir John Harleston sailed from Southampton, with three hundred men at arms, and the same number of archers, and landed at Cherbourg, where, being joined by a part of the garrison, he took the field, and meeting with des Bordes a desperate action ensued. The two commanders, each armed with his battle-axe, displayed equal bravery; victory long remained doubtful; Harleston was once thrown to the ground, but, having recovered his arms, he obtained, after an obstinate conquest, a complete victory: every one of the French was either killed or taken. Des Bordes was among the prisoners.

The king, when informed of this disaster, sent a fresh body of troops to take possession of Montbourg. But the English maintained the superiority they had acquired; and, as Charles had another project in view, he soon ordered his troops to evacuate the Cotentin; the inhabitants exposed, by this means, to the mercy of the English, left their houses, and, taking their families with them, fixed their residence in some other part of the kingdom. The Cotentin, one of the most fertile districts in the province, became wholly depopulated. Charles, had long been anxious to obtain Brittany, and the enmity of the duke, whom he had constantly persecuted, was deemed a sufficient plea for that measure. The treaty of Guerrande was as little respected as that of Bretigny; having

secured, as he imagined, the attachment of the Breton nobility, he thought that the mere signification of his intent was sufficient to annex that duchy to his crown. On the twentieth of June, 1378, Montfort was cited to appear before the court of peers, to answer against the charge of rebellion. The forms of justice were neglected; the citation was not served upon the duke, nor even sent to Brest, the only town that still acknowledged his authority.

The fourth of December was the day appointed for the trial; and, on the ninth of the same month, the king held a bed of justice, at which all the peers of France were summoned to attend. Charles pleaded his own cause; and, after stating the accusations against Montfort, he proposed that that prince should be declared guilty of lese-majesty and incur the punishment due to such a crime; and that, in consequence thereof, the duchy of Brittany, and all other territories which he possessed in France, should be confiscated and annexed to the crown. The peers, who assisted at this bed of justice, pretended that they ought to be the sole judges in a cause in which one of their body was the defendant, and not the king, who was a party in the cause; and they required, in case they proceeded to condemn the duke of Brittany, that Charles should grant them letters-patent, declaring that this trial should never be considered as a precedent prejudicial to their ancient rights. The king promised the letters, but never kept his word.

As Charles had some reason to mistrust the zeal of his subjects in the prosecution of a war which was generally considered as unjust, he strengthened himself by forming connections with foreign princes and noblemen. To most of these he granted annual pensions, for which they were to perform military service, and to furnish a stipulated number of men. In the treasury of the chartres at Paris, there are an infinite number of written obligations of this nature, signed by warriors of all ranks from crowned heads down to simple knights, who were allured, by the gold of France, from the frontiers of Flanders, from Brabant, from the banks of the Rhine, and from the interior parts of Germany. This custom, which had long obtained, offered but a feeble and precarious resource to the state, while the pensions occasioned a heavy and certain expence. Those whose pensions were made chargeable on the treasury did homage for them; but little reliance could be placed on these vassals. The introduction of pecuniary fiefs could only be useful when confined within the limits of the kingdom. William, duke of Julliers and Gueldres, acknowledged himself vassal of the king, to whom he did homage, swearing to serve him against all men, in consideration of a perpetual pension of seven thousand livres; and his two sons followed the example of their father, for an annual gratification of two thousand livres*.

The news of the proceedings against the duke was not received by the Bretons so favourably as the court had imagined†. The people had begun to mur-

* Trésor des Chartres; Comtés de Gueldres and de Julliers, No. 87. † Argentré. Lobineau,

mur, when Charles, who had never lost sight of his project, sent orders to the constable, de Clifson, Rohan and Laval, to repair to Paris. When they arrived, the king explained his conduct as to Montfort, ordered the sentence by which he was condemned and the duchy confiscated, to be read in their presence, and declared his intention of sending an army into Brittany. All this the Breton noblemen had expected, but the king told them, that he hoped they would surrender the fortified places in Brittany which they had in their possession, that he might defend them from the English. They replied, "*that they would do all which was possible to serve him.*" Clifson was the only one of the four, who could be prevailed on to second the intentions of the king. His implacable hatred to Montfort overcame every other consideration, and induced him to make the promise required of him.

A few days after this conference, Laval convened an assembly of the Breton nobility at his own house, when, after expressing his surprise at the king's proposals, he protested that it was his intention to oppose the design to the utmost of his power, and that neither he nor any that belonged to him should incur the reproach of having betrayed his country, his kinsman, or his lord. This speech was applauded by the company. Du Guesclin had not been invited to attend, not because they doubted his fidelity, but the office of constable which he held was deemed sufficient to exclude him from such an association. Having taken a vow to remain true to their country, they separated, with a determination to retire from court, lest an attempt might be made to secure their persons. They left Paris the next day, and repaired to Brittany.

After the failure of this first attempt, it was easy to perceive that if the court of France could not engage such of the nobles of Brittany as had been most favoured by the king, to second their views, those who had no such motives for attachment would be still less favourably disposed. In fact, the king's resolution was no sooner made public, than confederacies were formed in all quarters, as well of the people, as of the nobility; the members of which bound themselves by an oath to preserve inviolate *the ducal right*, against all who should attempt to take possession of the duchy, without any other exception of persons, than of him who was, by birth, the lawful sovereign thereof. Measures were taken for a vigorous resistance, in case of attack; a tribute of twenty sols upon every hearth was levied to pay the troops; and general officers were appointed to command them. The public revenue was sequestered in the hands of administrators; and the Bretons, not contented with providing for the safety of the province, resolved to recal their duke. It was with concern they observed, that those of the nobility who had engaged to support the interests of the king against Montfort, had, at the same time, deprived the province of the presence of its sovereign. Thus Charles, by an ambitious desire of extending his domains, lost, in a moment, the friendship of most of the partisans which his policy or munificence had acquired; and this defection effectually deprived him of

those services, which, on other occasions, he had a right to expect from them. Even the countess of Penthievre herself, though she was attached to France by the firmest ties ; though she had the most powerful reasons for hating Montfort, who had supplanted her family ; though she was mother-in-law to the duke of Anjou, and was still more connected with that prince by friendship than affinity ; exerted her utmost efforts to disconcert the projects of Charles.

Three envoys were appointed to wait on the duke, and engage him to return to his dominions. Montfort did not place an implicit reliance on these first assurances of repentance and fidelity. He received the deputies with those marks of kindness and distinction which the news of a change so happy and unexpected deserved ; but, taught by experience, he declared, that notwithstanding the confidence he reposed in the affection of his subjects, which he considered as an infallible security for his speedy re-establishment, and his conviction of the sincerity of their promises, he was nevertheless determined to await till he saw a greater degree of certainty in the execution of so laudable a project. He charged them at their departure to exhort his subjects to persevere in their good intentions ; adding, that by their future conduct alone he should judge of the sincerity of their attachment ; and that he flattered himself, if their return to their duty was as sincere as they wished to persuade him it was, they would be anxious to make their actions correspond to their professions.

The deputies returned to Brittany with this answer ; and found the people already in motion in different parts of the duchy. The king had deferred the execution of his project till the spring ; and the court, in the mean time, were ignorant of what was passing in Brittany ; they had only received information that various meetings were held, the result of which was kept a profound secret.

A. D. 1379.] The lord of Bourbon, in the mean time, with the marshal de Sancerre, John de Vienne, and la Riviere, had, in obedience to the king's orders, joined the duke of Anjou, to whom the chief management of the enterprise was committed. The king's favourites exerted their influence to prevent the constable from being appointed commander in chief, a post which, in this instance, he evinced no anxiety to obtain. He was sent therefore into Brittany, with a very small body of troops, to guard those towns which had embraced the party of France ; he accordingly fortified Saint-Malo, where he remained during the commencement of the campaign. Whether Charles imagined that he should meet with but little resistance, or whether he wished to sound the disposition of the people before he seriously embarked in an enterprise which he, probably, began to consider as hazardous ; his efforts were greatly disproportioned to the importance of the undertaking. He must certainly at this period, have been under the influence of infatuation ; for, instead of attempting to conciliate the affections of the Bretons, by a mild and moderate conduct, he already treated them as a conquered people, by subjecting their country to the salt-gabelle, and other onerous exactions, from which Brittany was wholly ex-

empted. These exactions, the attempt to impose which, had been one of the principal causes of Montfort's disgrace, were justly considered as still more intolerable, on the part of a prince, whom the people regarded as a foreigner.

The Bretons being determined to resist these efforts, new associations were daily formed; troops were levied on all sides; and deputies were again sent to Montfort, from the nobility and principal towns, to press his immediate return to Brittany. Montfort, therefore, took leave of the English court, and embarked at Southampton, accompanied by sir Robert Knolles, sir Hugh Caverly, sir Thomas Percy, and some other knights, with one hundred men at arms and two hundred archers. With this trifling force, but with the promise of more effectual assistance, he sailed from England, and entered the mouth of the river Rance, near St. Malo, on the third of August, 1379.

As soon as the news of his intended return was made public, an immense crowd of people, from all parts of Brittany, flocked to the banks of the Rance, and even plunged into the water, as if anxious to hasten the moment that was to restore to them a prince whom they cherished and esteemed. He assured the people of his affection, exhorted them to persist in the same sentiments, and told them they would soon find the difference between the mild government of a lawful prince, and the oppressive sway of an usurper.

Every thing now seemed to combine in favour of Montfort; he had scarcely entered the Rance, when a part of the Spanish fleet appeared off St. Malo. The Castilians endeavoured to intercept the transports, on board of which was a considerable supply of provisions and ammunition, besides the duke's treasure; and they were on the point of accomplishing their object, when sir Hugh Calverly, having first seen the prince in safety, compelled the pilot of his own ship to turn her head towards the enemy. The Spaniards, surprised at an attack they had so little reason to expect, were thrown into confusion, and soon abandoned the pursuit of the transports, which took that opportunity of hastening into port, while the English archers engaged the attention of the enemy, by pouring in upon them a shower of arrows. As soon as Calverly saw his little fleet in safety he retreated in good order, and went to receive the thanks and congratulations of Montfort, who never forgot this important service.

The duke repaired to Dinan, where he received offers of service, from the principal nobility of the duchy. The constable of Rennes joined him with a body of troops. The viscount of Rohan, formerly one of the most zealous partisans of Charles of Blois, hastened to his assistance, at the head of four hundred lances. The countess of Penthievre had an interview with Montfort, whom, till then, she had regarded as an usurper; they conferred frequently together; and she partook in the joy which his return had occasioned. These favourable symptoms engaged the duke to declare, at the first assembly that was held at Dinan, his intention of anticipating the French, by attacking them first; a declaration received with unanimous applause. The nobles then sepa-

rated, to make the necessary preparations. Vannes was fixed upon for the rendezvous of the troops.

Charles now perceived that he had alienated the affections of the Bretons, whom nothing but force could reduce to acknowledge his authority; but pride continued the contest which ambition had begun; and the duke of Anjou received orders to approach the frontiers of Brittany, while the constable returned from St. Malo to Pontorson, where he endeavoured to collect a body of troops. But the duke of Anjou was more intent on a reconciliation than on hostilities. Du Guesclin felt a secret repugnance in discharging the duties of his office, as constable of France. He obeyed, however, the orders he had received, though the king soon put it out of his power to serve him with effect. The good fortune of du Guesclin in attaining to the first dignity of the realm, had allured to his service a prodigious number of noblemen, most of whom were his relations or friends, and all of them his countrymen. Many of these, as soon as war was declared against their sovereign, resigned their commissions in the French army, and hastened to join their native standard. The king, piqued at their desertion, published an ordonnance enjoining all the Bretons, who would not espouse his cause, and take up arms against Montfort, immediately to quit his dominions. The constable, by this means, found himself abandoned by a great number of brave warriors, and officers of merit. Clifton, indeed, remained; but he himself was forsaken by those partisans whom he imagined most firmly attached to him. The first proof of this defection he experienced, on a second attempt which he made to get possession of Nantes. Clifton, having been refused admittance into Guerrande, and finding the whole province in arms, went to join the constable at Pontorson, where the French troops, that were destined for the invasion of Brittany, had assembled, with the dukes of Anjou and Bourbon at their head.

The rendezvous of the Breton army had been appointed at Vannes. When the troops had assembled, they advanced to meet the enemy at Pontorson. But, on the news of their approach, the French army disbanded, and the duke of Anjou proposed a truce for a month, which was accepted by Montfort. It was agreed that this interval of peace should be employed in bringing about an accommodation, the terms of which were left to the arbitration of the duke of Anjou, the count of Flanders, the lords of Laval, Rohan, Montafilant, and Beaumanoir. This compromise was signed by the countess of Penthievre, her son Henry, and the Breton lords*. The duke of Anjou engaged to procure the king's consent to submit to the decision of the arbitrators. His promise was guaranteed by Charles of Navarre, the duke of Bourbon, and the constable, but the king thought proper to disavow it.

La Riviere accused the constable of having secretly favoured the duke of

* *Chambre des Comptes de Nantes, Armoir, L. Layette D, No. 52.*

Brittany; Charles gave credit to the accusation, and wrote an insulting letter to du Guesclin, reproaching him with infidelity; on the receipt of which that nobleman resigned his sword of office. His disgrace was no sooner known, than a murmur of indignation was heard throughout the kingdom; the nation appeared sensible that to his services France had been indebted for her preservation and glory. The princes of the blood, and all the principal nobility, who had witnessed his military exploits, remonstrated with the king on the loss which the state was about to sustain. Charles, convinced of his error, hastened to repair it; he dispatched the dukes of Anjou and Bourbon to Pontorson: and those princes, with great difficulty, prevailed upon du Guesclin to resume his dignity.

The constable was now recalled from Brittany, and sent with a body of troops into the southern parts of France, which were much harassed by the incursions of the English.

Du Guesclin entered Guienne, and reduced several places. At the commencement of the ensuing campaign he crossed the Bourbonnois, and, entering Auvergne, laid siege to a small fortress situated a few leagues from Mende. The constable pressed the siege with extraordinary vigour, when he was attacked with a disorder that was judged to be mortal. He beheld the approach of death with that firmness and intrepidity, which never forsook him. On the news of his death, a general affliction prevailed throughout the camp; both officers and men deplored the loss of their leader, their father, and companion; even the enemy, who admired his courage, did justice to his memory. The garrison had promised to surrender the place to the constable, if not relieved within a specific time. The English governor, followed by the whole garrison, repaired to the tent of du Guesclin, and bending before the coffin, laid the keys of the fortress at the feet of the dead warrior.

During this time the war had been renewed in Brittany, and though Charles had, at length, consented to submit to the decision of the count of Flanders, he took advantage of a treaty which Montfort had concluded with the English, to excite, once more, a spirit of revolt among his subjects. He also instigated pope Urban to threaten with excommunication such of the Bretons as should admit the English forces into their towns or fortresses; and the people, thus awed by a priest, consented to violate the oath of allegiance they had so recently confirmed.

A. D. 1380.] At length the succours from England arrived at Calais, under the command of the duke of Buckingham, who began his march about the end of July, and proceeded through the Boulonnois to the river Somme, which he passed at Clery: then traversing the Vermandois, the Laonnois, and the Soissonnois, the English entered the fertile province of Champagne, and committed the most dreadful devastations in the environs of Rheims; where, in one week, they are said to have reduced to ashes *sixty* villages. But these ravages did not

induce Charles to deviate from that cautious policy which ever led him to avoid a decisive action. The town of Vertus was next burned, and the enemy pursuing their march, forded the Seine, and presented themselves in order of battle before the city of Troyes, where the duke of Burgundy awaited their arrival with two thousand knights. This prince, however, refused to accept a challenge sent him by the duke of Buckingham, who continued his route through the Gatinois and la Beauce, with the intention of crossing the province of Maine to Brittany. The English were pursued by a superior army, under the command of the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon, who daily dispatched couriers to Charles to entreat his permission to bring them to action. Irritated, at length, by the repeated refusals of that monarch to grant their request, they determined to disobey his orders, and to engage the English before they had passed the river Sartre, which separates Anjou from Maine; but the news of the king's illness diverted them from their plan, by calling their attention to objects more interesting to their ambition.

The last advice of Charles to the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon was, to proceed to the coronation of his son; to strengthen the alliance with Germany, by uniting him in marriage to a princess of that country; to terminate the war with Brittany, and to conciliate the affections of the Bretons, from whom he acknowledged to have received the most essential services; and lastly to abolish the imposts, for the more speedy accomplishment of which he ordered an edict to be drawn up, which he signed the very day of his death*.

As a friend to the arts, as a patron of the sciences, as the promoter of many useful regulations of internal police, Charles is entitled to praise; at his death, his treasure amounted to seventeen millions of livres, equal in value to one hundred and seventy millions of the present money†, and in effect, to eight hundred and fifty; or, upwards of thirty-five millions sterling! When we consider that, on his accession to the throne, the kingdom was greatly impoverished, and that this enormous sum was saved during a long and expensive war, we may conclude, that the necessity of consulting the happiness of the people formed no part of his political creed.

Charles left three children, by Jane of Bourbon: Charles, the dauphin, who succeeded him in the throne; Lewis, duke of Orleans; and Catharine of France, married to John of Berry, count of Montpensier, second son to the duke of Berry. The funeral obsequies of Charles were not performed till the fourth of October.

Besides the territorial acquisitions already noticed during this reign, the king acquired the isles of Oleron and Re, which he annexed for ever to the crown‡: he obtained from the count of Savoy, for sixteen thousand florins of gold, the

* *Chambre des Comptes, Mem. E. Recueil des Ordonnances.*

+ Villaret, tom. xi. p. 102.

‡ *Chamb. des Comp. de Paris, Mém. D. fol. 135.*

cession of all the castles and domains in his possession, on the French side of the river Isere. That river was thenceforth considered as the limit which separated Savoy from Dauphiny.

The times were unfavourable for the encouragement of commerce, yet it was not wholly neglected. There were several manufactures in France, which, had not luxury introduced a taste for foreign productions, might have sufficed for the consumption of the kingdom. Coarse cloths were fabricated at Paris, Rouen, Amiens, Tournay, Rheims, Carcassonne, Marvejols, Saint Omer, Dourlens, Chalons, Terouane, Beauvais, Louviers, and at several other places. The mode of preparing wool, indeed, as practised in Flanders was unknown; and all the fine cloths, worn by the nobility and gentry, were brought from Brussels. Fine silks were imported from Italy, though silk-worms had been long introduced into the southern provinces of France.

The tradesmen and artisans in the great towns had long been united in communities, distinguished from each other by their particular privileges, customs, and statutes. The singularity of some of these customs is a sure proof of their antiquity. In the laws of the draper's company at Paris, is a clause, by which it is ordained, that a dish shall be provided for the king, at all public feasts*; whence it is probable that the French monarchs used formerly to attend these meetings.

The metropolis continued almost daily to encrease in size. As the king, the princes of the blood, and the chief nobility, had made it their principal residence, the number of its inhabitants experienced a prodigious augmentation, which induced Charles to extend its limits. But, as the people were still crowded together in houses ill constructed, and of a great height, while the streets were extremely narrow, Paris became very unwholesome; and the air was farther corrupted by the uncleanness of the inhabitants. An attempt was made to remedy this last evil by subjecting to a small fine such citizens as neglected to clear the filth from before their doors once a week; but the severity of the edict was loudly complained of, and as much pains were taken to elude it, as to avoid the payment of an oppressive tax, so that the streets were frequently impassable. To this must be ascribed most of those epidemic disorders which were so prevalent in those times. Instead of destroying the source of the disorder, the people were accustomed to apply for relief to some particular saint, who thenceforth became the patron of that contagion he was supplicated to remove. Hence "the Divine, or Sacred fire," "the fire of the Holy Virgin," "the fire of St. Ambrose," &c.—St. Anthony's fire had long been known. In the eleventh century a gentleman of Dauphigny, named Gaston, founded an order of persons destined to attend on those who were afflicted with it; the distinctive mark of this order was a T, affixed to the dress.

* Trésor des Char, Reg. 94. Livre Rouge du Châtelet, p. 78. Recueil des Ordonnances.

As Charles was fond of literature, he extended his protection to all who cultivated the sciences. The taste for study, which had been encouraged by Charlemagne, ceased under his descendants, and was but just revived. The literary monuments of that age, which are still extant, give us no very favourable idea of the *wisdom of the clerks*, so highly esteemed by Charles; they only appear to advantage when compared with the more stupid productions of preceeding ages. The king had spared no expence to procure the best collection of books that could be had; and, as the art of printing was not yet invented, not only a very great expence, but great trouble also, must have been incurred in collecting even a small library. In fact, a manuscript was a precious thing; and often bequeathed as a considerable part of the succession. Margaret of Sicily left a breviary to her father, the king of Sicily*. It was common to see a breviary carefully preserved in the churches, in an iron cage, for the convenience of priests who had no books of their own: it was placed in a part of the church where there was most light, that several priests might recite their office at the same time.

The president Henaut says, that Charles may be justly considered as the true founder of the royal library†. John had not more than twenty volumes; but his son encreased them to nine hundred; a collection then justly considered as immense. Under the regency of the duke of Bedford, the nine hundred volumes were valued at two thousand three hundred and twenty-three livres, four sols; but that prince bought them for twelve hundred livres, and sent them to London. Some of these volumes, however, are still to be seen in the king's library at Paris; these must either have been at some of the royal mansions, at the time of the purchase, or else have been since bought up in England, and sent over to France. Such was the commencement of the royal library, which was considerably augmented by Lewis the Twelfth and Francis the First; but it was principally indebted to Lewis the Fourteenth and Fifteenth for that degree of magnificence, which renders it one of the most extensive and valuable collections in Europe.

Among the books collected by Charles was a number of treatises on judicial astrology, which, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, was regarded as the climax of human knowledge. Charles caused all the books which had any relation to it to be translated. This science was held in such high estimation, that every physician became an astrologer. The father of the king's physician had a wonderful knowledge of the influence of the stars on the diseases of the human body, and on all the affairs of this world. "*A learned master-astrologer*" had foretold that the dauphin "*would have much to do in his youth, and would escape great dangers and adventures:*" a prediction which made the king very uneasy on his death-bed. Charles founded a college for the study of

* Regist. des Chart. Lay. *Testamenta regum.* 269. † Abregé Chronol. de l'Hist. de France.

physic and astrology, in favour of Gervase Chretien, who was a great adept in these sciences. The college was plentifully provided with astrolabes, quadrants, spheres, and other necessary instruments.

Had Charles confined his encouragement of the sciences to the protection of judicial astrology, the nation would have been little indebted to his taste; but, following the example of his father, he caused several of the ancient classics to be translated into French. The chief of these were Suetonius, Valerius Maximus, and Josephus; with a new and more correct translation of Livy. The ethics and politics of Aristotle were translated by Nicholas Oresmus, and his problems by Evrard de Contis, physician to the king. John of Antioch translated Cicero's Rhetoric, and the bishop of Meaux undertook the Metamorphoses of Ovid, at the request of Jane of Bourbon, wife to Charles. St. Augustine's "City of God" was also translated during his reign; as were the bible, the homilies and dialogues of pope Gregory, the decretals of the popes, and the institutes of Justinian. The statutes of different monasteries were "done into French verse," for the convenience of monks who did not understand Latin, though that language was taught not only in the universities, but even in some monasteries. Elizabeth, daughter to Charles count of Valois, taught Latin in the convent of Dominican nuns at Poissy*.

Most of these translations were faithless and incorrect. A contemporary writer represents the original authors as complaining of the ignorance of their translators, who made them say things which they had never thought of. He then adds, "Oh, how happy would have been the fate of books, had there been no tower of Babel; for then there would have been but one language on the earth, and no word would have stood in need of translation†!"

The library of Charles contained many geographical charts‡, illuminated with different colours, according to the taste of the times. The knowledge of the loadstone had enabled French navigators to undertake long voyages. The inhabitants of Dieppe traded on the coast of Guinea, so early as the fourteenth century. A Dominican missionary, who had passed the line, addressed his discoveries to Philip of Valois; but, the ignorance in which the nations of Europe were then plunged, prevented this first discovery of a new world from attracting attention. The monk affirmed that the christians did not form a twentieth part of the inhabitants of the globe, and also the existence of the antipodes. The contrary opinion still continued to prevail, and those were treated as heretics, who believed that the globe could be equally peopled. Although geographical knowledge would have been of great utility to Charles in his astronomical researches, it made but little progress during his reign. Such a disposition then prevailed to confound moral with physical objects, that the university of Paris, in some remonstrances they made to the pope, observed that Greece should not be considered as a part of Europe, because it was a *schismatic* country.

* Bibl. Chart. Mém. de Litt.

† Richard de Bury, Philobibl. 614.

‡ Mém de Litt.

The multitude of chronicles composed in this century, most of which are still extant in the libraries of France, prove, that the study of history was not neglected, though it does not appear that the historians of those times profited from the examples afforded them by the writers of Greece and Rome. Froissard was the only one whose works were at once pleasing and instructive; notwithstanding their barbarous style, they are still interesting. They contain numerous mistakes and misrepresentations. Froissard was a poet as well as an historian. He composed several poems on subjects that but ill-accorded with his profession as a priest; such as—"The Paradise of Love;" "The Temple of Honour;" "The Daisy;" "The Prison of Love;" "The Rose and the Violet;" and a variety of amorous pastorals, ballads, and roundelays. But the poems of Froissard, like all similar productions of that age, were destitute of genius, taste, and invention. Chronicles and private histories in verse were much in vogue; but reason was so entirely sacrificed to rhyme, that they had neither sense, decency, nor truth, to recommend them. The sacred poems were, if possible, still more disgusting, as they were more strongly tinged with the ignorance and vulgarity of the age in which they were written*.

The painters of this age were not more skilful than the poets; their chief merit consisted in representing birds, insects, trees, and flowers, in so brilliant colours, as still to retain their original lustre. When they painted human figures they exerted all their skill in preserving, with the utmost precision, the dress, and the form of the hair; but they had no idea of expressing the passions, or, in short, of giving the smallest degree of animation to the person or countenance. That their meaning, however, might not be subject to mistake or misrepresentation, they had recourse to written descriptions, explanatory of the subject. This curious expedient, which was long in vogue in France, originated in the following circumstance: a friend of Bufamaleo, a painter of Florence, consulting him on the best mode of giving expression to his pictures, was advised to put words in the mouths of his figures, by means of labels, on which might be written what he wished them to say. The ignorant artist followed his advice; he met with admirers as ignorant as himself, and his example was soon imitated. This ridiculous invention, being introduced into France, was adopted with avidity by the French painters. Nothing was then seen but pictures by question and answer, and, for greater safety, they were careful to inscribe on every figure the name of the person whom it was intended to represent. Some of these performances are still extant; particularly in old tapestry. Water-colours alone were in use at this period; painting in oils was not introduced till the following century.

Villaret asserts† that the sculptors of this period were equally ignorant with the painters; and that, except in some few of their basso relievos, and other

* Villaret.

† Tom. xi. p. 140.

decorations of the churches, they displayed a total want of taste, intelligence, and order; that their productions were neither marked by simplicity, nor distinguished for elegance; and that they were entirely ignorant of that connection which should ever be preserved between the different objects of representation. Father Montfaucon is of a different opinion; he declares that the art of sculpture had made a rapid progress; and that the sculptors of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries greatly excelled their predecessors*. The few statues and sculptures which still remain in England, of those that were executed in France at this period, tend to confirm the truth of this declaration†.

The Gothic style of architecture was still in use in France, as in other parts of Europe; and it seems to have been particularly calculated for religious buildings. The majesty and magnificence of the Gothic structures impress the mind with enthusiastic awe; and what modern churches gain on the comparison by neatness and elegance, they lose in grandeur and sublimity. With regard to other edifices, in their construction neither comfort nor convenience appears to have been consulted. In most private houses, light was admitted through an aperture, defended only from the weather by a wooden shutter, a few sheets of paper, or by canvas. Glass was an object of luxury reserved for the habitations of the rich, the mansions of the nobility, and the palaces of kings. These last were buildings of great extent, consisting of a ground-floor, a first-floor, divided into apartments of an immense size, and low garrets above. The furniture was as plain as the edifice. The king, and all the royal family, except the queen, sat on wooden benches or joint-stools; the queen had chairs made of some pliant wood, embellished with red leather, silk fringe, and gilt nails‡. Though there were chimnies to the palaces, a kind of stove was frequently used. The beams were decorated with fleurs-de-lys, made of gilt tin. There were two sorts of beds, the one, called *couchette*, were not more than six feet square: the other, called *couches*, were sometimes twelve feet in length and eleven in breadth. The state-apartments were richly decorated; the beds and alcoves were adorned with cloth of gold and silver, velvet, damask, satin, and tapestry. Glass mirrors were very scarce at this period; those of polished metal were generally used. The apartments occupied by the royal family were covered with tiles or slates; all the other parts of the building were thatched.

The favourite residence of Charles was the Hotel de St. Paul, which he built himself. The garden belonging to it covered twenty acres of ground; it extended along the banks of the Seine, from the spot where St. Paul's church now stands, to the *Port au Platre*||. It contained a variety of plants, flowers, and vegetables, indiscriminately mixed with yews and limes; and shady bowers. There were fruit-trees of almost every species; but they were all standards;

* Monumens de la Monarchie Francoise, tom. i.

+ Fox's Acts and Monuments, p. 360. col. i.

‡ Recherches des Antiquit. de Paris, Sauval, t. ii. l. vii. p. 279.

|| La Mare Traité de la Police,

tom. iii. p. 381.

dwarfs and espaliers were not yet known. The king ordered one hundred pear-trees, one hundred and fifteen apple-trees, eleven hundred and twenty-five cherry-trees, and one hundred and fifty plumb-trees*, to be planted at one time. These fruits were destined for the different tables of the royal family, and the great officers of the crown; the inferior officers were only allowed nuts. There was also a great number of fish-ponds in the garden well stocked for the twofold purpose of use and pleasure. Adjoining to the palace was a menagerie, in which lions and wild boars were kept; and aviaries filled with birds of all kinds.

Most officers of the household, who were very numerous, had apartments in the palace while on duty. In the kitchen, besides the cooks and their assistants, were four pages, whose business it was to blow the fire constantly "that the king's soup might not be suffered to cool." A clerk was kept for buying cloth for the king and queen; which the taylor cut out in the presence of witnesses. The king's fool was one of the most important personages of the household. Charles had two fools. There is a monument still extant, which was raised to the memory of one of them, who is represented in marble and alabaster, arrayed in the habit, and decorated with the attributes of folly, extended on a superb mausoleum†.

Whenever the king left home he was attended by a guard, composed of two *huissiers*, and eight serjeants-at-arms, with quivers. His carriage, as well as the queen's, was a waggon, drawn by five horses; but he most commonly rode on horseback; sometimes, indeed, he walked from one palace to another‡.

The king's children were attended by the officers of the household, till such time as they received their appanage. The princesses were allowed a *chevalier d'honneur*, two female attendants, and a clerk to teach them to read.

The little progress which science had hitherto made must not be ascribed to any want of the necessary establishments for cultivating it with success. Several French monarchs, and Charles in particular, had been anxious to promote it. Many towns, such as Montpellier, Orleans, and Poitiers, had universities endowed with valuable privileges. The university of Paris was frequented by men of all nations. On the decision of a question relative to the extinction of schisms in the papacy, ten thousand of its members voted; and, as graduates alone were admitted to that privilege, the number of students must have been great indeed||. On this university alone upwards of twenty colleges depended, in different parts of the kingdom.

* Villaret. † This mausoleum is to be seen at the church of Saint Maurice, at Senlis, with this inscription: "*Here lies Thevenin de Saint Leger, fool to our lord the king, who died on the eleventh of July, in the year of grace, 1375.*" *Histoire des Antiq.* t. ii.

‡ The ferryman at Paris received two sols every time the king crossed the Seine to go to any of his palaces, of which he had several in the metropolis. Villaret.

|| *Histoire de l'Univ.* t. iii. l. 5.

Such was the estimation in which Aristotle was held, that, if any author ventured to deviate, in the smallest degree, from his system, he took care to inform the public, that he did not mean to contradict the Grecian philosopher, but only to comment on his works*.

Judicial astrology formed an obstacle to the progress of medicine, by the false opinions with which it embarrassed that science. We learn from the capitularies of Charlemagne, that the study of medicine was cultivated in the reign of that emperor: it even appears that there was a part of the palace, appropriated to the reception of medical students; though there is no evidence that it subsisted under his successors. No public schools of medicine were established till near the end of the twelfth century: those of Salerno and Montpellier are regarded as the most ancient. The institution of the faculty of medicine at Paris is placed under the reign of Philip Augustus. The students were, at first, compelled to undergo a course of study, which lasted nine years, before they were suffered to practise. The desire of acquiring an art so essential to life, induced people of all professions to engage in the study of physic. The monks and secular priests were forbidden to frequent the schools; but they transgressed the prohibition, or else obtained a dispensation; since it appears that numbers of the clergy paid a regular attendance. Celibacy was prescribed to the agents of the faculty, and this restraint continued till the fifteenth century. The faculty had frequent disputes with the surgeons, whose encroachments they endeavoured to repress, while these last were as often at war with the privileged barberst, who practised to their prejudice. The apothecaries were, at this time, subject to the visits of the faculty, before whom they were sworn. They were obliged to keep a book, in which the quality of their medicines was marked. But the celebrity of their own schools did not prevent the French from giving a preference to foreign physicians; the Jews, in particular, were held in high estimation, nor did their credit diminish till the sixteenth century. Francis the First, being attacked by a disorder which is said to have baffled all the efforts of his own physicians, requested Charles the Fifth to send him a Jew of that profession; the emperor accordingly dispatched a converted Israelite to the court of France: but, when the king found that he had been converted to christianity, he dismissed him, not believing it possible that his cure could be effected by a christian physician. An *orthodox* Jew was then sent for, from Constantinople, who restored Francis by the use of asses' milk.

The rapidity with which the knowledge and study of the Roman law spread over Europe is amazing. The copy of the pandects of Justinian was found at Amalphi, in the year 1137. Irnerius opened a college of civil law at Bologna, a few years after†. It began to be taught as a part of academical learning in

* Mém. de Litt. † There were two different classes of surgeons at this period; the graduates of the university, who were called *surgeons of the long robe*, and the community of barbers, or, *surgeons of the short robe*. Hist. de la Ville de Paris, tom. i. l. 9.

‡ Gian. Hist. l. 11. c. 2.

different parts of France before the middle of the century. Vaccarius gave lectures on the civil law at Oxford, so early as the year 1147. A regular system of feudal law, evidently formed in imitation of the Roman code, was composed by two Milanese lawyers, about the year 1150. Peter de Fontains, who tells us that he was the first who had attempted such a work in France, composed his *Conseil*, which contains an account of the customs of the country of Vermandois, in the reign of St. Lewis. Beaumanoir, author of the *Customes de Beauvoisis*, lived about the same period. The "Establishments" of St. Lewis were published by the authority of that monarch. As soon as men became acquainted with the advantages of having written customs and laws to which they could have recourse on every occasion, the method of collecting them became common*.

The civil law was taught in all the schools throughout the kingdom, till the commencement of the thirteenth century, when pope Honorius forbade lectures on the civil law to be read in the university of Paris. This interdiction arose from the apprehension that the study of the law might supersede that of divinity. Notwithstanding the efforts that were made to renew those lectures, the utility of which had been experienced, the prohibition continued to operate for upwards of three centuries. Those who wished to gain instruction in the civil jurisprudence, were obliged to have recourse to other universities. The liberty of teaching it was not fully restored to that of Paris, till the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth, who published an ordonnance for that purpose, in the year 1679.

The establishment of the various imposts which the wants of the state had rendered indispensable, required the publication of edicts, either to explain the nature, or to regulate the collection of them. These edicts required to be interpreted, to facilitate their execution, to prevent mistakes, and to correct abuses. The interpretation and collection of the different regulations with regard to the finances began to form a new species of jurisprudence, which might have been denominated the revenue-code. The administration of the public revenue has, in all times, determined the actual force of a nation; it therefore forms one of the most essential objects of government; a truth, of which Charles fully convinced himself; but, the measures he was led to adopt were not attended with all the success he had reason to expect from them. The insatiate avarice of those who took the taxes to farm, was displayed in a thousand plans for ruining both prince and people. The exertions of the sovereign and his council to frustrate their machinations proved ineffectual; no sooner was one abuse corrected than another sprang up to replace it. A part of the mysteries, to which the industry of avarice gave birth, may be discovered from a perusal of the ordonnances passed at this period: men, equally destitute of

* Robertson.

property and principle, were suffered to farm the taxes, the produce of which was frequently received and not accounted for; sometimes it was appropriated to other purposes than those for which it was destined; imaginary expences were charged for the conveyance of money which had never quitted the hands of the person who received it; false receipts were given, and delays in payments obtained on false pretences. In short, nothing was omitted which interested ingenuity could suggest for defrauding the prince; though these frauds were trivial, when compared to those which were committed on the people. It seemed as if these subaltern tyrants, united by interest, had agreed to divide between them the spoils of the kingdom. Adjudicators, receivers, comptrollers, visitors, all, in short, who had any concern with the revenue; had their fixed share of the general plunder. They made the people pay the same tax twice. They used the most rigorous means for enforcing the payment before it was due, in the view of profiting by the exaction of usurious interest; they had the audacity to levy imposts invented by themselves. Such as were unable immediately to satisfy their demands, were compelled to abandon their habitations to these rapacious vultures. Even the lowest officers of the revenue thought themselves authorised to oppress the public. Wherever this privileged banditti appeared, desolation attended their steps. They always found some pretence for entering private houses; and, such was the terror which their presence inspired, that the inhabitants paid them for retiring; even those who had paid the taxes with the utmost punctuality were equally subject to their visits, nor had they any means of defence against men who were at once plaintiffs, judges, and executioners: in vain did they produce their receipts, they were obliged to satisfy the arbitrary demands of these wretches. Ordonnance was passed after ordonnance, and the most severe injunctions were issued, but they were scarcely sufficient to remove a small part of these flagrant abuses, while the culprits were screened from punishment by the protection of those in power.

The oppressors of the people purchased impunity by supplying their powerful patrons with the means of supporting their extravagance. The apologists for luxury have vainly asserted that it is a sure proof of wealth in a great kingdom, though it may accelerate the ruin of a small one. Necessarily productive of effeminacy, confusion of ranks and conditions, neglect of duty, and corruption of manners, it is equally destructive to both, with this difference only, that the ruin of a small republic is more rapid than that of a vast empire; as the flames consume a bush sooner than a forest. The government had long been constrained to prohibit the citizens from using *Cars*; to regulate the price of stuffs according to the rank of those who wore them; to fix the difference of furs used in dresses, by the same standard; to prevent, as much as possible, the introduction of foreign cloths, in order to encourage the manufactures; in short, to attempt the restoration of plenty by the establishment of moderation. The vigilance of the laws was eluded by the invention of vanity: as soon as

one fashion was suppressed another was adopted, perpetual variations occurred, and the ingenuity of the people surpassed the rigour of government.

Gaming was one of the prevailing vices of the age; and though it had been proscribed by the severest edicts, it still continued to thrive with undiminished vigour. Games of dice appear to have been most in vogue; and the nobility gave themselves up so completely to this destructive passion, that many of them were reduced to a state of poverty the most degrading. It was the only amusement to which military men devoted their leisure hours; ignorant and unlettered, their minds were not susceptible of more rational recreation. Even the princes of the blood were not uninfected by the general disorder. James, count of la Marche, having received from Charles the Sixth considerable sums, for defraying the expenses of a projected invasion of England, dissipated them all, and returned without accomplishing the object he had in view. "He spent all he had received," says an ancient chronicle*, "in stupid prodigality, on women and dice." On his return through Orleans, from this curious expedition, the scholars assembled in a body on the road, and saluted him by singing *Mare videt et fugit*.—He saw the sea, and fled.

Music and dancing have always formed the *characteristic* amusements of the French nation. At this time they were held in high esteem, and all who taught them experienced encouragement. Charles was passionately fond of music. In Paris, as in most great towns, the musicians formed a company under the direction of a chief, who was called the "*The King of the Fiddlers*;" and whose business it was to keep the corps in order, and to enforce the observance of the laws by which they were governed. These laws were framed by themselves, and not unfrequently confirmed by the king. The musicians were invited to all feasts, and the poets often associated with them, in order that their productions might derive additional lustre from the accompaniment of music. When the actors, musicians, and rhymers united, they were distinguished by the general denomination of *jugglers*. They frequented the palaces of the great, and the private habitations of the wealthy. They often exhibited their performances on scaffolds erected in the market-places, and endeavoured to attract the attention of the vulgar by the representation of indecent farces. The government, wishing to repress this licentiousness, published an ordonnance, forbidding the *jugglers*, under pain of imprisonment and an arbitrary fine, to recite, represent, or sing, in the public streets, or elsewhere, any thing offensive to modesty. Such was the rude commencement of theatrical exhibitions, which, under the succeeding reign, began to assume that form which they still retain.

One of the most useful discoveries of the fourteenth century was the invention of spectacles: but the name of the inventor has not been preserved. It appears that he was anxious to keep the secret to himself, but, that it was divulged, not-

* Chron. MS. B. R. No. 10297. p. 72, verso, † Recher. d'Antiq. de Spon. p. 213. Mém. de Litt.

withstanding his care to conceal it; for an ancient chronicle relates that a monk, named Alexandro de Spina, made spectacles and gave them away, while the person who invented them refused to let the public partake of the advantage of his discovery*. This invention facilitated the progress of astronomy; and, by the introduction of telescopes, gave the astronomers of that age an advantage over the ancients.

This period is farther remarkable for the introduction of paper-manufactories, into France, at a time, when they were peculiarly acceptable; since men, having recently emerged from a state of ignorance the most profound, were seized with a rage for writing. The Romans wrote their books either on parchment, or on paper made of the Egyptian papyrus. The latter, being the cheapest, was the most commonly used. But, after the Saracens conquered Egypt, in the seventh century, the communication between that country and the people settled in Italy, or in other parts of Europe, was almost entirely broken off, and the papyrus was no longer in use among them. They were obliged, on that account, to write all their books upon parchment; and, as the price of that was high, books became extremely rare, and of great value. We may judge of the scarcity of the materials for writing them from one circumstance. There still remain many manuscripts of the eighth, ninth, and following centuries, written on parchment, from which some former writing had been erased, in order to substitute a new composition in its place. In this manner, it is probable, that several works of the ancients perished. A book of Livy or of Tacitus might be erased, to make room for the tale of a saint, or the prayer of a missal†. P. de Montfaucon affirms, that the greater part of the manuscripts on parchment which he has seen, those of an ancient date excepted, are written on parchment from which some former book had been erased. As the want of materials for writing, is one reason why so many of the works of the ancients have perished, it accounts likewise for the small number of manuscripts of any kind, previous to the eleventh century, when the means for encreasing them were supplied. Many circumstances prove the scarcity of books during these ages. Private persons seldom possessed any books whatever. Even monasteries, of considerable note, had only one missal. Lupus, abbot of Ferriers, in a letter to the pope, A. D. 855, beseeches him to lend him a copy of Cicero de Oratore, and Quintilian's institutions; "for," says he, "although we have part of those books, there is no complete copy of them in all France." The price of books became so high, that persons of a moderate fortune could not afford to purchase them. The countess of Anjou paid, for a copy of the homilies of Haimon, bishop of Halberstadt, two hundred sheep, five quarters of wheat, and the same quantity of rye and millet. Even so late as the year 1471, when Lewis the Eleventh, borrowed the works of Rasis, the Arabian

* Recher, d'Antiq. de Spon. p. 213. Mém. de Litt.

† Murat. Antiq. Ital. v. iii. p. 833.

physician, from the faculty of medicine in Paris, he not only deposited in pledge a considerable quantity of plate, but was obliged to procure a nobleman to join with him as surety in a deed, binding himself under a great forfeiture to restore it. When any person made a present of a book to a church or a monastery, in which were the only libraries during these ages, it was deemed a donative of such value, that he offered it on the altar *pro remedio animæ suæ*, in order to obtain the forgiveness of his sins. In the eleventh century, the art of making paper from rags was invented; by means of which not only the number of manuscripts encreased, but the study of the sciences was wonderfully facilitated*. But, whether the art was but imperfectly understood, or whether this new invention did not meet with the encouragement it deserved, no vestige of it is to be met with in France earlier than the reign of Saint Lewis; even after that time it was but little used, and it was, moreover, brought from Lombardy, till the fourteenth century, when several manufactories of paper were established in the kingdom; the first of which were those of Essonne and Troyes†.

The art of clock-making had been greatly neglected since the famous Gerbert had, about the tenth century, invented clocks that moved by wheels. This neglect suffices to prove with how little ardour the discoveries of genius were pursued. During the day the sun, or else an hour-glass, served for a clock; and in the night a wax-light, marked at different distances to indicate the hours answered the same purpose: the first large clock that was introduced into France, was the work of a German, named *Henry de Vic*, who was invited to Paris by Charles. This clock, which struck the hours, was placed in the tower of the king's palace. Some years after another was put up at the cathedral of Sens, when the king paid one half of the expence of a wooden case in which it was enclosed. The town of Dijon is still in possession of a clock made at this period, which the duke of Burgundy brought from Courtrai, when that town was taken by the French, at the commencement of the reign of Charles the Sixth.

The ingredients of gunpowder, and the art of making it, were known to the celebrated Roger Bacon‡, an English monk, who was born near Ilchester in the year 1214. But that capricious philosopher, so transposed the letters of the Latin words which signify charcoal, as to render the whole obscure and unintelligible.—“*Sed tamen falis petræ, luru mope cān ubre, (carbonum pulvere,) et fulphuris; et sic facies tonitrum et corruscationem, si scias artificium.*” By this means he rendered it difficult for any one to discover the fatal secret by the perusal of his works, and secured to himself the honour of the invention, if it should be discovered by any other person. This accordingly happened not long after Bacon's death, which occurred in 1292; Barthold Schwartz, otherwise cal-

* Murat. vol. iii. p. 871. Robertson's View of the State of Europe, prefixed to his History of Charles the Fifth, p. 280, 281, 282. † Villaret, tom. xi. p. 200. ‡ Baconi Epistola, de secretis Operibus Artis et Naturæ, c. xi.

led the *Black Monk*, or *Constantine Ancklitz*, a native of Fribourg in Germany, having put some saltpetre, sulphur, and charcoal into a mortar, for some chymical preparation*, a spark of fire accidentally flew into it; when the mortar was rent asunder by the sudden explosion. The monk, who, escaped with his life, had no sooner recovered from his fright, than he began to make experiments, which, by moderating the effects of this dreadful composition, taught him how to use it as a sure engine of destruction.

The exact period when gunpowder and fire-arms were first employed by the French is not ascertained with precision. The following article appears in the accounts of the treasurer of war, in the year 1338—"To Henry de Faumichan, "for gunpowder and other things necessary for the cannon at the siege of Puy-Guillaumet." In 1340, the English were compelled to raise the siege of Eu, at which artillery was employed by the garrison: this artillery consisted of two large "iron boxes," which they loaded with round pebbles. It was considered as a remarkable instance of good fortune, that these pieces had sustained no damage; which proves, that the art of managing them with effect was then unknown, and this was probably one of the reasons which so long prevented them from being generally used†. But we are told by Froissard||, that when the English laid siege to St. Malo, in 1373, they had four hundred cannon with them, which they must have known how to manage, or they would never have encumbered themselves with so many. It is evident, indeed, that most of these must have been a smaller kind of fire-arms, called *hand-cannons*, one of which was carried by two men, and fired from a rest fixed in the ground§. These portable fire-arms were not introduced into France till the reign of Charles the Sixth. Their introduction gave a fatal blow to chivalry, and effected a total alteration in the art of war. The bravest warrior could no longer rely on his personal prowess, or the excellence of his arms, as means of defence against an adversary, who, though destitute of courage, might, with success attack him at a distance. A tranquil intrepidity, accustomed to give and to receive death without design as without fear, was now substituted in the room of that active valour which had hitherto been deemed the chief support of hostile armies. By this new mode of fighting every man was rendered fit for the purposes of war. Armies were more numerous, and nations exhausted their resources in augmenting their military forces.

From this short sketch of the laws and customs of the French in the fourteenth century, it must appear that there was nothing in their general knowledge, in their arts, nor in their pleasures, worthy of imitation or regret.—But do their virtues form a just object of envy to their posterity? The recital of their actions, and the events they produced, will afford the best solution of the problem.

* Du Cange Gloss. ad verbum Bombarda. † Ibid. ‡ Liv. Rouge de la Ville d'Eu. Mém. de Litt. Villaret mentions the existence of a piece of artillery so early as the year 1308, Tom. xi. p. 205.
|| Tom. ii. p. 34. § P. Daniel, t. i. l. vi. p. 321.

CHARLES THE SIXTH.

A. D. 1380.] THE funeral of Charles had been retarded by the misunderstanding which prevailed between the princes of the blood. They had surrounded the bed of the dying monarch, with the semblance of affection; but he no sooner breathed his last than his body was abandoned to the care of his attendants. The dukes of Burgundy, Berry, and Bourbon, hastened to secure the persons of the young princes, who were then at Melun, while the duke of Anjou hurried to Paris, to seize such treasures of the late king as were there deposited. The gold and silver coin, amassed by the economy of Charles, had been melted, formed into ingots, and lodged in a strong room in the palace. The exact amount of this property has never been ascertained; whatever it was, the duke of Anjou seized it all, and never accounted for it to the state. This theft proved the source of most calamities with which the kingdom was, in the sequel, afflicted.

The princes, who had hitherto been restrained by respect for their deceased sovereign, now began to pursue without disguise their projects of ambition. Each assembled his friends and dependants, and exerted every effort to augment their number. The court was divided; and military men hastened to range themselves under the standards of the different parties. Already various bodies of troops approached the metropolis; Paris was invested, and the commencement of hostilities was announced by the depredations committed on the surrounding country. The people rejoiced at this appearance of confusion, and resolved to increase the general anarchy, without reflecting, that it was their *interest* to adopt that line of conduct which must tend to the preservation of peace and order.

Of the brothers of the late king, the duke of Anjou had the least claim to respect; though adorned with every grace of person, endued with wit, eloquence, and courage, his accomplishments were greatly over-balanced by his vices; he was ambitious, inflexible, avaricious and cruel. The duke of Berry was equally destitute of virtue, and would have possessed all the glaring defects of his brother, had they not been tempered and modified by his excessive indolence; in one point, however, they essentially differed; the latter was a cautious miser, the former an undiscerning spendthrift. The duke of Burgundy was endowed with qualities to excite admiration and to command esteem; in youth he had given unequivocal proofs of his courage, and it never forsook him at the latest period of his life; though his mind was not shut against ambition,

it was open to generosity ; his affability, his insinuating manners, and liberal soul, secured the affections of all who approached him. He would have been justly esteemed the most accomplished prince of the age, had he not been surpassed in merit by the duke of Bourbon, maternal uncle to the youthful monarch, who joined to all the advantages which result from the best qualifications of head and heart, the splendour of virtue. But he was, unfortunately, placed by his birth in a subordinate station, where his talents and integrity had less room for exertion. Such were the four arbiters of the fate of France.

Though the late king had, when he settled the business of the regency, entrusted the care of his children to the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon, the duke of Anjou, insisted that the government of the kingdom, and the care of the princes, should alike vest in himself. These pretensions were of course resisted by his brothers, and a civil war was on the point of breaking out, when the four dukes agreed to refer the decision of the matter to arbitration ; four arbiters were accordingly appointed, whose names have not been preserved in history.

The umpires took a solemn oath, to be guided only by a strict regard for the welfare of the king and kingdom*. After some deliberation, they submitted their judgment to the princes, by whom it was solemnly confirmed, at a bed of justice convened for the purpose ; at which were present, the duke of Anjou, as regent ; the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon ; Meaux and Chartres, besides many of the nobility, prelates, and barons. The result of the arbitration was, that the king, though he had not yet attained the age required by the laws, should be crowned at Rheims, and take upon himself the government of the realm, under the guidance and direction of his uncles. It was farther privately agreed between the princes, that the education of the young monarch and his brother should be entrusted to the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon, who were appointed superintendants of the royal household ; and that the duke of Anjou should keep the regency till the king's coronation, which was fixed for the end of October. This last prince was induced to withdraw those ambitious claims which he had at first advanced, on being permitted to appropriate to his own use all the furniture, plate, and jewels belonging to his deceased brother, except such as were immediately necessary for his son and successor. A private fund was set apart for the support of the young princes, arising from the revenues of particular provinces ; and the remainder of the public revenue, after all expences had been paid, was to be placed in the royal treasury, there to remain till the king should have attained the age of majority, and hence have acquired the right to dispose of it.

Paris was still surrounded by troops, who laid waste the neighbouring country ; expelled the inhabitants of the villages from their habitations, and forced

* Regist. du Parlement.

them to take refuge in the walled towns. They infested the public roads, and stripped the passengers, in order, they said, to procure payment of their wages, which they were unable to obtain from the regent. These disorders occasioned continual disputes in the council, where the duke of Burgundy pressed his brother to pay the troops, most of whom were under his own command, with the money which he had seized. But, instead of complying with this request, the regent determined to disband all the regular companies which had been embodied by Charles, except those of the count of Sancerre and Oliver de Clisson. He was unable to put this expedient in execution, and the attempt multiplied the causes of discontent.

The people, who had waited with impatience for the abolition of the taxes, as ordered by the late king, began to murmur at the delay. Their complaints grew louder, when, instead of finding their burdens removed, they saw themselves more harassed than before; not only by an augmentation of the imposts, but, by the oppressive manner in which the receivers, who were themselves pressed by the regent, urged them to pay their arrears. They, at first, threatened; and then proceeded to open insurrection. The officers for receiving the taxes were plundered at Compiègne, and several towns in Picardy. The contagion, spreading by degrees, soon reached the capital. About two hundred of the populace assembling, compelled John Culdoe, provost of the merchants, to place himself at their head, and conduct them to the palace. He led them to the regent, to whom he presented their request; the insurgents exclaimed with one voice, that they would no longer pay any taxes, and that they would sooner die than submit to so many exactions. The duke of Anjou had neither equity to examine the demands of the people, nor firmness to repress their first efforts. He in vain endeavoured to appease them by vague promises; all he could obtain was an assurance that they would proceed no farther till the king's return to the capital. They retired with the resolution of persisting in their pretensions, and proud of having made the authority of the regent bend before them. This success increased their insolence, and cemented their union; their numbers daily augmented.

The duke of Anjou was less anxious to avert the threatened attack on the sovereign power, than to profit by his own station, which he was so shortly destined to resign. For a valuable consideration he confirmed the privileges which the Jews had obtained during the preceding reign; prolonged the time of their residence in the kingdom, by adding five years to the term prescribed by Charles; exempted several of the most opulent from the necessity of wearing a badge of distinction; and gave them a general absolution for all the crimes which they had committed against the state or the king.

Meanwhile the necessary preparations for the coronation were carried on; and the court were actually on the road to Rheims, when the apparent calm that subsisted between the princes was suddenly interrupted. The seizure of

the treasure, the furniture, plate, and jewels of the late king, had not satisfied the avidity of the duke of Anjou. Informed, by the officers of the guard, that Charles had deposited a treasure in the castle of Melun, he questioned Philip de Savoisy, one of his chamberlains, on the subject; and that nobleman, eluding his questions, and despising his threats, the regent sent for the executioner, who was ordered to put him instantly to death, unless he revealed the secret. By this means he discovered the object of his search, consisting of a quantity of ingots of gold and silver, which Charles had carefully concealed in the walls, and which his brother now carried off.

The confusion occasioned by this violent exertion delayed the coronation for some days; so that the young monarch did not make his public entry into Rheims, till the third of November. The ceremony was performed in presence of the king's uncles; and most of the principal nobility of France. At the feast which succeeded the coronation, the dishes were placed on the table, and the guests were waited on by Oliver de Clifson, and some other nobles arrayed in cloth of gold, and *mounted on superb coursfers*.

When the court returned to the capital, care was taken to avoid all the towns on the road, that the people might have no opportunity of applying for a repeal of the taxes. The king entered Paris amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants. His accession to the throne was celebrated by public rejoicings.

But the Parisians, emboldened by the success of their last application to the duke of Anjou, thought themselves sufficiently formidable to enforce any request they might be induced to prefer. Most of the reputable citizens, however, condemned the seditious commotions; the tumult was excited by men in desperate circumstances, with which every great city abounds. John Culdoe, provost of the merchants, endeavoured to avert the impending storm, by calling a meeting of the principal citizens; but the populace repaired in crowds to the appointed place, and baffled all attempts to enforce obedience to the laws. A cobbler acted as orator for the people; in his speech he attacked not only the princes and nobility, but even many respectable citizens, whom he accused of forsaking the popular cause. The people drew their swords and surrounding the provost, compelled him to lead them to the palace. When they arrived, they called for the duke of Anjou. That prince appeared. The provost of the merchants had a difficult part to support; since he was equally fearful of offending the duke, and of irritating the people: while he expatiated on the public misery, and the necessity of immediate relief, he insinuated, in cautious terms, the inability of the people to pay the taxes, and their resolution to sacrifice every thing to obtain a repeal. The duke of Anjou was equally circumspect in his reply; and, when he had somewhat calmed the minds of the populace, the chancellor addressed them, and advised them to return peaceably home, promising that their request should be taken into immediate consideration, and a decisive answer given on the morrow. The insurgents retired.

The question was discussed in the council ; where the necessity of appearing to yield to the insolence of an infatuated populace, was enforced. The demands of the people were just, but the mode of preferring them was culpable. Those who held the reins of government had neither penetration to discover, nor courage to adopt such measures as were most conformable to reason, and to the majesty of the throne. While the chief members of the council were involved in a state of uncertainty, the insurgents assembled, and the revolt becoming general, the court was intimidated. By this indecision the princes had lost the opportunity of granting as a favour, what they were now compelled to accord through fear. The chancellor was ordered to announce the abolition of the imposts, and the necessary letters for that purpose were published the next day*.

It was imagined that this act of condescension would restore tranquillity ; but the chancellor had no sooner finished his speech, than a general clamour was heard. The people insisted on the expulsion of the Jews ; the chancellor replied, that he would speak to the king on the subject, who, he doubted not, would give them the satisfaction they required. The council did not suppose that this new demand would be productive of any serious consequences ; but the insurgents, assembled the next day, at the instigation, it is said, of certain noblemen who had borrowed considerable sums from the Jews. The houses of the public receivers, most of whom were Jews or Lombards, were broken open, the chests in which the money was deposited were seized upon, and their contents emptied in the streets ; while the registers and all other papers, not forgetting bonds and other securities for money lent, were destroyed. In one street alone thirty houses were pillaged, and the furniture became the prey of the populace. The Jews endeavoured to preserve their lives by flight ; but most of them were intercepted and massacred, while the few that escaped fled for refuge to the dungeons of the Chatelet. Their wives, in despair, attempted to follow their husbands, with their children in their arms ; but the mob forced the children from them, and carried them to be baptized†. The government was too weak to inflict on the insurgents the punishment which they deserved ; the council, indeed, re-established the Jews in their habitations, and issued an order for every one to restore, under pain of death, whatever he had taken from them ; but the order was treated with contempt. The Jews, after being despoiled of their property, were exposed to prosecution from those who had placed pledges in their hands ; but an ordonnance was passed to exempt them from the consequences, on taking an oath that the property, which was the object of the action, had been taken from them during the tumult.

The harmony between the princes was incessantly on the point of being in-

* Trésor des Chartres, reg. 118, pièce 56, et suiv ; Recueil des Ordonnances, t. iv. † " This act of violence," says Villaret, " would have deserved commendation, had not *its sanctity* been polluted " by avarice and rage."—The infatuated mind of a bigot, surely, never engendered a more preposterous idea.

interrupted, by the intervention of some new subject for dispute. The duke of Berry, who had hitherto evinced no ambitious desires, suddenly awoke from his lethargy, and demanded the government of Languedoc, which was granted him, and with such extensive powers, that he was rather sovereign than governor of the province*. The duke of Burgundy obtained the government of Normandy on the same conditions. By continuing thus to dismember the kingdom, it would soon have been reduced to the same state in which it was under the last kings of the second race.

In November, Oliver de Clifson was promoted to the dignity of constable, which had remained vacant ever since the death of du Guesclin, and at the same time the states of the Langue d'oïl assembled at Paris, to settle the form of government. It was probably at this assembly of the states, that the dukes of Anjou, Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon, agreed between themselves, that, in future, every thing should be decided in the council, by them, or two or three of them; that they should chuse twelve persons to compose the council; that they should dispose of all places whatever; that the administration of the finances should be subject to their controul; that the demesnes of the crown should only be alienated for life; that a regular account of the produce of the revenue should be kept, to be delivered to the young king, when of age; and that the care of the king and his brother should still be entrusted to the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon.

The princes, far from obtaining, from the states, the re-establishment of the taxes which had been recently abolished, were obliged to confirm the letters of suppression†. Nor were the deputies contented with the simple abolition of the imposts; feeling their superiority they went farther. In times of trouble and confusion the same conduct was invariably observed; the nation insisted that the ancient form of government should be restored, without reflecting that circumstances being changed, and a material alteration effected in the political system, the same rule of administration could no longer be followed. Those who were able to enforce these objections, wanted the necessary credit to procure them a favourable reception; while those who were at the head of affairs were too much occupied in consulting their own interests to attend to those of the king or people. The states, therefore, obtained their demand. In consequence of the complaints preferred by the three orders a declaration was drawn up, by which the king abolished all innovations introduced into the government since the reign of Philip the Fourth, and restored to the nation its *franchises, liberties, privileges, and immunities*, renouncing for himself and successors, all prerogatives hostile thereto. By this means the sovereign found himself reduced to subsist on the produce of his own demesnes, which was, indeed, sufficient for his support, had

* Mém. de la Chambre des Comptes, D. fol. 209, R.; Recueil des Ordonnances, tom. vi.

† Trésor des Chartres, Rec. des Ordon. tom. vi.

not so many alienations been made, but which was no longer adequate to defray the additional expences of the state, augmented by the number of regular troops kept in constant pay, and the sensible diminution, and inutility of feudal service. This reform, adopted by the states, and published in pompous terms, instead of a public good, which it professed to have in view, was productive of evil. The impossibility of reducing it to practice supplied a fresh subject for discontent to the people, whom neither mildness could soothe nor severity intimidate; and it proved an endless source of division between the prince and his subjects. It is necessary to be circumstantial in detailing the first events of this reign, as the revolutions by which they were succeeded were the consequence of the imprudent conduct of those who then exercised the sovereign power.

The troubles which now began to appear in the capital alarmed government. The number of its inhabitants daily encreased. The licentiousness of the soldiery, who committed devastations in the country, compelled the farmers and peasants to quit their habitations, and take refuge in the walled towns. In Paris, all whom profligacy or idleness had reduced to a state of poverty, all the refuse of the nation, in short, flocked together, and held nocturnal assemblies, in which they meditated the destruction of the wealthy citizens, whose opulence they envied; and of the government which they detested. Compelled to procure subsistence by unlawful means, they committed depredations which it was difficult to repress.

The government of Paris, which conferred the title of *Captain* on the person who possessed it, had, for a long time, been united to the *Provostship*. But it was now thought proper to divide these offices; and that of captain of the city of Paris, was accordingly conferred on Maurice de Trefignidy. The duties of this magistrate nearly resembled those of an English justice of the peace. His salary was, at first, six hundred livres, but it was doubled a few days after his appointment.

A. D. 1381.] After the duke of Anjou had left the army, on the news of his brother's illness, the troops ranged themselves along the banks of the Sartre, which the English were obliged to pass. To obstruct their passage, the French had stuck piles in the bottom of the river, the tops of which reached the surface of the water, and on the opposite side they had thrown up entrenchments. When the duke of Buckingham approached, he became sensible of the danger of his situation; and, had the French troops been careful to guard the passages of the river, it is probable that, enclosed as he was in an enemy's country, he would soon have been reduced, by famine, to the necessity of capitulating. But the death of Charles threw the whole army into confusion; the passages were left unguarded; and the duke, dismounting his men at arms, made them enter the water and remove the piles: this they were suffered to do with-

out opposition; the English then forded the river, and, after a tedious march, arrived safe in Brittany.

The duke of Brittany, who at this time resided at Hennebonne, was wholly at a loss how to act. The defection of a great part of the duchy, since he had determined to have recourse to England, had at length convinced him that he would never enjoy his dominions in tranquillity, so long as he had the enmity of France to encounter. The Bretons were averse from the French, but they detested the English. Besides, Charles who had persecuted the duke, was now dead; and he might hope to obtain, by a treaty with the new government, an advantage which the chance of war rendered uncertain. But as he had invited the English to his assistance, he found it necessary to treat them with some degree of civility; he therefore sent the bishop of Laon, and some other of the nobility, to congratulate the duke of Buckingham on his arrival, and to assure him that he would join him without delay.

The English general, though surpris'd at this coolness, continued his march; but, when he arrived at Vannes, the inhabitants shut the gates of the city against him, and he was compelled to lodge his troops in the suburbs. After waiting there a fortnight, without receiving any intelligence of the duke, he moved onwards, sending before him a detachment of one thousand men, under the conduct of sir Thomas Percy, sir Thomas Trivet, and sir Robert Knolles. Montfort, informed of their approach, went to meet them; and, it was agreed that the English should lay siege to Nantes, and that Montfort should join them in a fortnight. But, when he attempted to collect his troops for that purpose, the officers, almost unanimously, refused to obey his orders.

Thus abandoned by his subjects, the duke of Brittany was, at length, compelled to treat with France; but before he opened the negociation, he privately sent for an apostolical notary, in whose presence he disavowed all treaties which he might conclude with the new king of France, as far as they should be inconsistent with the engagements that he had previously contracted with the English. The negociations were soon brought to a conclusion, and a peace was signed on the fifteenth of January, 1381, by which the duke engaged to renounce his alliance with England; to send home the English army; and to hold his duchy of the crown of France.

The duke of Buckingham had, in the mean time, been compelled to raise the siege of Nantes, and to retire into winter-quarters at Vannes, and the neighbouring towns. Nothing could exceed his indignation when he heard of this treaty; Montfort, however, pleaded in his defence the supreme law of necessity, and endeavoured to appease the duke by promising that he would never join the French against the English, a promise which he procured to be signed by the principal nobility of Brittany; he then produced the secret protest, which he had made before the notary, previous to the treaty. The duke was

obliged to acknowledge the validity of his reasons; and with his troops soon after, returned to England.

The war in Brittany was thus brought to a happy termination; the success of the French arms in Guienne; the inability of England to repair the losses she had sustained; and the new alliance which had been recently concluded with the king of Castille; seemed to promise a happy and a prosperous reign. But ambition, avarice, and a restless spirit of independence, prevented both the nobles and people from profiting by these advantages. The kingdom was farther harassed by the schism which prevailed in the papacy, and the manœuvres of the rival pontiffs. Urban and Clement appeared to have attached the fate of Christendom to the validity of their election. Whoever acknowledged their authority discharged every obligation, human and divine; but opposition; or doubt, was the height of sacrilege and impiety. The property of the church was appropriated to the purpose of venal attachment. France was particularly affected by these shameful proceedings, since it was almost the only resource left to Clement. He laid claim to half the revenues of the clergy, to support himself and his court. An abbot at Rheims, was appointed to levy this contribution, and to threaten the possessors of livings with deposition, in case they refused to comply with the will of his holiness. The sacred college of Avignon then consisted of three and thirty cardinals, whose agents and emissaries, armed with *provisions*, were spread over the different provinces, hunting after vacant livings. Cathedrals, collegiate churches, conventual priories, *commanderies*, in short, any kind of preferment, was eagerly grasped at: the only thing they enquired into was the amount of the net revenue it produced; and that the inevitable expence attending the performance of duty, the collection of rents, &c. might be diminished as much as possible, they let these benefices to farm, and the leases were sometimes let at so high a price, that the lessees found themselves obliged to give them up. On the death of a bishop, the collectors of the apostolic chamber seized, in the pope's name, all his effects and possessions, without reserving the smallest part, either for repairing the church, or for paying the debts of the deceased*.

Conduct like this could not fail to excite complaints. The university, which had well-founded pretensions to a share in the patrimony of the church, took no pains to dissemble its indignation. Several consultations were held, and it was finally determined that the only mode of repressing this spirit of plunder, was by convening a general council, in which the rights of the two popes might be decided†. *John de Ronce*, doctor of divinity, having been appointed to present to the king the resolutions adopted by the university, was arrested during the night, and confined in a close prison, till he promised to acknowledge Clement. All those who maintained the necessity of calling a general council were de-

* Pasquier, l. iii. c. 23.

† Chron. MS. Le Laboureur.

clared guilty of *lese-majesty*, and treated with the utmost rigour. The persecution became so violent, that the schools were deserted by most of the professors and students.

The protection afforded to Clement, by the duke of Anjou, made it dangerous to advance any thing to his prejudice. He had insinuated himself into the good graces of the duke by the gratification of his avarice; he had granted him a tenth part of the revenues of the French clergy, and of all other ecclesiastics who acknowledged his authority, under the pretence of enabling that prince to arm against Urban and his adherents. Clement had also destined for the duke of Anjou, a part of the Italian provinces, which depended on the holy see, to be held, as a fief, of the sovereign pontiffs, under the appellation of the *Adriatic kingdom*. This new monarchy was meant to comprehend the March of Ancona, Romandiola, the duchy of Spoleto, Bologna, Ferrara, Ravenna and Perouse*. When the duke was adopted for her successor by Joan, queen of Naples, the pontiff, not only confirmed the adoption, but augmented his privileges, and enabled him to double the taxes on the clergy; he was also the first to solicit the inhabitants of Provence to declare in his favour. These services the duke could not forget.

The provost of Paris had attracted the enmity of the university, which occasioned his ruin†. Hugh Aubriot was born in Burgundy, of obscure parents; but he had found means to insinuate himself into the good graces of the duke of Anjou. Being a man of sense and extensive knowledge, he was soon noticed by Charles. Raised to the dignity of provost of Paris, he proved himself worthy of that important office. He was studious to promote such improvements as were calculated to contribute to the embellishment of the city, and to the convenience of its inhabitants. Paris still contains numerous monuments of his zeal and ability. He was the first who contrived to purify the air, and to disencumber the streets of the metropolis, by the invention of common sewers, for removing and carrying off the filth. All those who had no visible means of subsistence, found employment in the various works he undertook, so that he converted dangerous enemies of the state into useful members of it.

Nothing which could disturb the public tranquillity escaped the vigilance of this magistrate. The students of the university, presuming on their privileges, committed flagrant disorders, and gave themselves up to every kind of excess: the citizens were exposed to continual insults; tumults were daily excited in the streets, and not unfrequently attended with bloodshed; their insolence had arrived at a pitch of extravagance, which called for effectual restraint and exemplary punishment. Aubriot accordingly ordered his serjeants to apprehend them, whenever they should find them engaged in raising a riot, and to conduct them to the dungeons of the Petit Chatelet, which he had purposely prepared

* Spicil. t. iii. p. 746.

† Chron. MS. de la B. R. No. 10297. Chron de Saint Denis. Antiq. de Paris. Histoire de Paris.

for their reception. This conduct rendered all the members of the university his irreconcilable enemies. His ruin was resolved, and no measures neglected which malice could devise to effect it. His public conduct was irreproachable: an enemy to persecution, he had, indeed, opened the doors of the Chatelet to the oppressed Jews, and procured, by his solicitations, the restitution of their children; but this it was not thought prudent to urge as an object of public accusation. They were therefore reduced to the necessity of investigating, with malignant curiosity, his family concerns, and of selecting, from his private life, such actions as they thought fitted to answer the purpose of oppression. When the members of the university had obtained or forged sufficient proofs, they cited Aubriot to appear before the ecclesiastical tribunal. Secure in the protection of the court, he, at first, despised their threats; but the credit of his adversaries proving more powerful than the favour of his patrons, he was arrested and thrown into prison. The same spirit of injustice which had commenced the prosecution, presided at the trial, and dictated the sentence; the witnesses—*such as they were* (says an ancient chronicle*)—were examined; and the provost was declared to be a bad catholic, a libertine, a debauchee, a keeper of bad women, particularly of Jewesses; and lastly, a Jew and a heretic. Accusations thus vague and indefinite could not easily be confuted, and, but for the interference of the court, he would have been consigned to the flames. A scaffold was erected opposite to the cathedral; the provost was compelled to ascend it, and, on his knees, to ask pardon, in the presence of a crowd of spectators, and to promise to submit to the punishment that should be inflicted on him. The bishop of Paris, arrayed in his pontifical robes, expatiated on the criminality of his conduct; and finished his harangue, by condemning the prisoner to pass the remainder of his life in confinement, with no other nourishment than bread and water. But he was released, the following year, by that same populace who now exulted in his disgrace. It was from *Hugh Aubriot* that the appellation of *Hugonots* was given to the protestants of France.

A more certain mode of alienating the affections of the inhabitants of Languedoc could not have been adopted, than the appointment of the duke of Berry to the government of the province. The people highly resented the nomination, and Gaston, the former governor, conceiving himself injured, assembled the states, who sent a deputation to the duke to assure him that they would never submit to part with their governor. It was determined in the council, that the spirit of revolt should be immediately checked, and an army was accordingly assembled; but the duke of Burgundy, who had other projects in view, caused the enterprise to be laid aside. The duke of Berry, however, resolved to take possession of his government, collected the troops belonging to his appanage, and being joined by the count of Armagnac, marched into Languedoc; engaging with

* Chron. MS. de la B. R. No. 10297. sub. anno 1381.

Gaston, he sustained a total defeat ; but the count resigned his government in the moment of victory, and, after he had concluded an advantageous treaty, returned to his own territories.

A. D. 1382.] The council were at this time solely employed in attempts to repeal the suppression of the taxes. This was the only means which the duke of Anjou could now devise for augmenting his treasures ; since he had already secured all the fruits of his brother's economy. The chancellor's journal, which is still extant in the royal library at Paris, is a lasting monument of his avidity. Every day he formed some new demand : having seized a part of the late king's plate and jewels, he found means to obtain the rest. Not content with having procured a grant of the produce of all the taxes that were levied in his appanage, he obtained an extension of that privilege to other parts of the kingdom, and thereby became interested in the re-establishment of the imposts. His efforts to induce the Parisians to second his schemes proved fruitless. The people declared that they should consider as enemies to the state all those who attempted to renew the imposts ; they flew to arms, fixed chains across the streets, and appointed officers, created by themselves, to guard the different gates of the city*. The example of the Parisians was followed by the inhabitants of several provincial towns. At Rouen, the populace chose a mercer for their king. This monarch was conducted to a throne which his *subjects* had prepared for him. When seated a petition was presented to his majesty, beseeching him to suppress the imposts ; this being complied with, the collectors of the revenue were massacred and their houses plundered. The abbey of St. Ouen, having just gained a law-suit against the town, the insurgents broke open the monastery, and, entering the tower where the archives were deposited, tore them all into pieces. After committing a thousand acts of violence, they made a formal attack upon the old palace, a fortress which greatly incommoded them ; but the garrison easily repelled their attacks.

The court removed to Rouen to chastise the rebels ; the king ordered the gates to be thrown down, and entered the town through the breach, accompanied by his uncles, and a strong body of troops. The citizens were disarmed, the leaders of the insurrection executed, and the taxes re-established.

This instance of well-timed severity instead of intimidating the Parisians increased their insolence. An impropriety of conduct on the part of the council, tended to produce the disorders which now occurred. The duke of Anjou, caused the produce of the taxes to be exposed to sale in a private house, and several purchasers attended. But it was still necessary to publish the renewal of the suppressed imposts ; the man who undertook this commission, repaired, on horseback, to the market-place, where the people assembled round him in crowds. He began by giving notice that a quantity of plate had been stolen

* Recueil des Ordon, Chron, MS. ; Histoire de Paris.

from the king; and seized the opportunity when but few could hear him, to announce that the next day the taxes would be levied in the same manner as before the publication of the edict by which they were suppressed. The moment he had given this notice he clapped spurs to his horse, and galloped off at full speed. News immediately spread through the town; and the people flying to arms, swore that they would massacre all who should make the attempt.

Next day the collectors went to market, when one of them, having demanded payment of a poor woman, was instantly seized by the populace, and torn to pieces*. This was the signal of revolt. A body of five hundred men, armed with sticks, forks, and whatever weapons they could lay hold of, attacked the collectors, compelled them to fly, and massacred such as they were able to overtake. The streets were presently filled with insurgents, and the cry of, "*To arms!*" "*Liberty!*" was heard from either extremity of the metropolis. The collectors and other officers of the revenue were all put to death wherever they were found. The number of insurgents hourly encreasing, they burst open the doors of the town-house, where a large supply of arms had been deposited in the preceding reigns, and proceeded to pillage and demolish the houses of those whom they had murdered. The doors of the prisons being forced, the insurgents gained a fresh accession of strength, by the junction of their inhabitants. Perceiving they wanted a chief, they released Hugh Aubriot from confinement, and compelled him to place himself at their head. They mounted him on a mule, and conducted him to the house which he had occupied previous to his imprisonment. He took advantage of this event to retire secretly from the capital, which he left that very night; and, passing the Seine, fled to Burgundy, his native country, where he passed the rest of his days in tranquil obscurity.

Paris, in the mean time, was reduced to the situation of a town taken by assault. Theft, rapine, and murder, marked the progress of a desperate rabble. They ran from house to house, taking away whatever was portable, and destroying what they were unable to carry off. They broke open the cellars, drank as much wine as they could, and threw the rest into the streets. Being informed that several of the Jews and financiers had taken refuge in the abbey of Saint Germain-des-Pres, they hastened to attack it; but it was able to resist their efforts. The respectable citizens trembled for their lives and property; ten thousand of them were embodied by the municipal officers; and the town was now divided into two parties, both seemingly resolved to proceed to extremities.

During the night, the insurgents only suspended their rage to riot in intemperance. At dawn of day, they repaired to Aubriot's house, and were surprised to find that he had escaped. They then left the town, with a view of destroying the bridge at Charenton; but the fear of being intercepted by the regular troops which were stationed in the neighbouring country, induced them

* Le Laboureur; Juvenal des Ursins; Grande Chron.

to return with precipitation. Every effort that could tend to the restoration of tranquillity, was employed by the inhabitants; but no one exerted himself so successfully as the advocate general, Desmarets. At the commencement of the riots, the bishop of Paris, the magistrates, and most of the people of distinction, had left the town; Desmarets alone had the courage to remain; and his presence served to appease the storm. His eloquence was admired; his virtues were respected; he had grown grey in the service of four successive sovereigns; and he enjoyed that esteem which was due to his talents and integrity. He now exerted his influence to calm the minds of the people.

The news of this revolt being carried to Rouen, where the king still resided, the council immediately dispatched a body of troops towards the capital, with the resolution to make the Parisians undergo the same punishment which the inhabitants of Rouen had just experienced. But this was a task not easy of accomplishment: although the sedition was apparently quelled, the principle which had occasioned it still subsisted. The Parisian insurgents, instructed by the example of those at Rouen, were determined to defend themselves to the last extremity, and to reject every proposal for an accommodation, of which the renewal of the imposts should form the basis; with this view they had stationed guards in all the principal parts of the town, and at the different gates*. The citizens of Paris endeavoured to avert the storm which threatened them; the university went forth in a body to meet the king. They presented to him the petition of the Parisians, the prince was affected on perusing it. He confirmed the suppression of the imposts, and granted a general amnesty. This indulgence was published, the same day, at Paris. John Desmarets, though so far oppressed with age and sickness as to be unable to walk, was carried on a litter to the place where the people had assembled; but he had the mortification to find them insensible to the proffered indulgence, and more inclined to renew the revolt than return to their duty. The provost of Paris having seized several of their leaders, was conveying them to the place of execution, when he was openly opposed by the populace. Their punishment was suspended by order of the court, and the most criminal were put into sacks, and thrown into the river, in the night.

Twice had the council been compelled to abolish the imposts, though the necessity of renewing them continued. Prayers, threats, and negotiations had been alternately employed for the purpose of procuring money. Except some trifling hostilities in Guienne, the kingdom had no war to sustain. The expences of the king's household, though considerably reduced during his minority, were not paid with regularity. At an assembly of the states-general, where the young monarch was present, the first president, represented to the members, that the king, finding it impossible to effect any greater diminution of the expences, to

* Trésor des Chartres, Reg. 122, p. 217. Rec. des Ord, t. vii.

which the revenue was inadequate, it was necessary that the people should pay the same subsidies as in the preceding reign. The deputies retired without making any positive promise. The members for the province of Sens alone consented to renew the imposts, and they were disavowed by their constituents*.

This opposition from the provinces was fomented by the resistance of the Parisians. But all rational and moderate men deplored the dangerous misunderstanding which subsisted between the prince and the people; and hoping that the presence of the sovereign would tend to re-establish tranquillity, they appointed a deputation of the principal citizens to wait on him, and request he would return to the capital. The council agreed, on condition that the Parisians should not come to meet him in arms; that he should enter the town accompanied by his troops; that the gates should remain open during his residence in the metropolis; that the chains should not be placed across the streets in the night; and, that none should bear arms except the native inhabitants of Paris, and such as had *property to lose*. Three days were allowed for considering these proposals; but the populace became furious, and threatened to massacre the principal families, if they dared to accept them. Six citizens who were sent to apprise the king, met with a cool reception, as it was believed that they exaggerated, in order to extort more favourable terms from Charles. The lord of Villiers was dispatched to Paris for the purpose of verifying the fact; and he had orders, in case he should find it impossible to obtain the renewal of all the taxes, to propose that a part of them should be re-established. Villiers, unable to fulfil his commission, hastened back to the king, and informed him that the rage and obstinacy of the people even exceeded the representation of the citizens.

The duke of Anjou, who was impatient to commence his projected expedition to Italy, and resolved, at all events, to procure money from the Parisians, determined to have recourse to the most violent measures. He collected a powerful body of troops, which he stationed in the environs of Paris, and there suffered them to live at discretion. Every kind of excess was allowed; the only restraint imposed on their conduct, was a prohibition from setting fire to the houses, and murdering the inhabitants. The people were but little moved at an evil which only affected the opulent citizens, who saw their lands laid waste, and their property exposed to pillage. The conferences were renewed, and an accommodation terminated. It was agreed that a general amnesty should be passed, and that the city should make the king a present of one hundred thousand livres. The day after this agreement was signed, the young monarch made his entry into Paris, amidst the acclamations of the people. When the

* Villaret, tom. xi. p. 293. This circumstance tends to establish a fact of some importance in the *parliamentary* history of France, viz. that the members of the states-general were always considered as the mere organs of the people, whose mandates they were bound to receive, and to whose instructions it was their duty literally to adhere.

time came for paying the money, some disputes arose on the subject between the inhabitants and the clergy; the former insisting that the latter ought to pay their part. The greatest part of this sum was seized by the duke of Anjou; it was, however, the last of his exactions, as he set out for Provence immediately after, to prepare for his expedition to Naples.

By the departure of the duke of Anjou, the principal share in the government became vested in the duke of Burgundy. This prince, besides the duchy of Burgundy, was in possession of the lordships of Bethel and Nevers, on which the duke of Brittany had some claims; but the matter having been left to arbitration, it was decided in favour of the former. He enjoyed the county of Burgundy as a gift from the emperor, Charles the fourth*; and he had purchased the town and territory of Verdun, for one and twenty thousand florins. He was on the point of joining to those extensive possessions, the dominions of Lewis de Male, count of Flanders, his father-in-law; who, being engaged in a war with his subjects, entreated the duke of Burgundy to persuade the French to assist him in reducing the rebels to submission.

In a prior revolt, in the year 1378, the duke had with great difficulty effected an accommodation between the Flemings and their prince, but the mutual animosity made either party anxious to seize every opportunity for renewing the dispute. An abuse of power on the one side, and a licentious spirit of independence on the other, proved an invincible bar to a sincere reconciliation. The artificers of Ghent, having formed themselves into companies, distinguished by particular badges, the count repaired to that city with the view of compelling them to lay aside those marks; but, failing in the attempt, he retired†. His revenge was cruel and unmanly; he caused several tradesmen of Ghent to be stopped on the Scheld, and, after putting out their eyes, permitted them to pursue their voyage. In this situation they arrived at the town, where their presence inspired their fellow-citizens with horror and indignation. They immediately flew to arms, appointed officers to command them, and, marching out of the city, attacked Oudenarde, took it by assault, and demolished the fortifications. The nobility having joined the count, their houses were pillaged and destroyed. A new treaty put a stop to these hostilities; and Oudenarde was restored. But the contest was soon renewed, and most of the towns of Flanders evinced a disposition to join the inhabitants of Ghent. A general insurrection was on the point of breaking out. The Flemings, apprehensive that the count must apply for assistance to the court of France, had addressed themselves to the council; and their remonstrances, seconded by the duke of Anjou and pope Clement, were favourably received; the count therefore was, for some time, left to bear the whole burden of the war, with no support but his own nobility.

The most horrid cruelties were committed during this contest. Bruges was

* Inventaire des Chartres, B. R. No. 6765.
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† Froissard, Annales de Flandres, Chron. MS.
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was divided into two factions; that which favoured the count proving most powerful, Lewis took possession of the city, and put to death five hundred of the inhabitants. At Ypres, where he met with no opposition, he ordered seven hundred of the citizens to be beheaded. This conduct, far from depressing the spirits of the people, encreased their fury. Having sustained a defeat at the gates of Ypres, which they ascribed to the misconduct of their leader, John Boule, they retired to Courtray, and literally tore him in pieces. From thence they returned to Ghent, which the count hastened to invest. This city was then deemed the strongest place in Europe; it was defended by eighty thousand combatants; and two hundred thousand were requisite to invest it completely. During the siege, six thousand of the inhabitants sallied from the town, and taking Alost by surprise, first pillaged and then reduced it to ashes. This success gave fresh spirits to the insurgents, who successfully repelled every attack on the place, so that the count was unable, during the whole campaign, to obtain any advantage over them. But, at the commencement of the following year, they sustained a defeat, and lost two of their leaders; one of them, John de Lannoy, had taken refuge in the steeple of a church to which the troops had set fire; he called out aloud—“*Ransom, ransom!*”—shewing his garment, which was full of florins; his cries were disregarded; he threw himself into the midst of the enemy, who tore him in pieces, and cast his body into the flames.

The citizens of Ghent, finding that the war was likely to continue, perceived the necessity of chusing a leader, who should be able to keep the multitude in awe. Peter Dubois, with whom this idea originated, fixed his choice on Philip d’Artevelle, son to that James d’Artevelle, who had distinguished himself during the former commotions. The Flemings hastened in crowds to the residence of Philip, whom they conducted to the market-place, and took the oath of fealty and allegiance to him, as to their sovereign. He commenced his reign by executing twelve of the men who had been concerned in the death of his father. The insurgents under their new leader, believed themselves invincible. The count invested Ghent a second time, and was again constrained to raise the siege. An accommodation was talked of, and deputies from the principal towns were appointed to confer on the subject with the agents of the count. The envoys from Ghent consented to certain articles, which they communicated to their fellow-citizens. One condition was, that two hundred of the principal inhabitants should be delivered to the count. Artevelle and Dubois, convinced that they must infallibly be comprised in the number, massacred the envoys in presence of the people, who now rejected all hopes of peace.

The siege of Ghent was formed, for the third time, by the count; who, by the reduction of Grammont, and most neighbouring places, cut off their supplies, and reduced the inhabitants to the last extremity. As they evinced a disposition to surrender, the duke and duchess of Brabant, the count of Hainault, with

the inhabitants of Tournay, and several of the nobility, employed their interests with the count to procure them favourable terms ; but Lewis refused to listen to any proposals, unless all the inhabitants, between the ages of fifteen and sixty, would consent to present themselves before him, without shoes, stockings, or any outward garments, in the supplicating posture of criminals, submissive to the sentence which he might please to pronounce.

These conditions were rejected with scorn ; and the inhabitants of Ghent resolved on some act of desperation. Five thousand, under the command of Artevelle, offered to march to Bruges, where the count then held his court. The count informed of their arrival, sallied forth from the town, with forty thousand men ; but he was attacked with irresistible fury. In a short time his troops sustained a total defeat, and the count was compelled to re-enter the town with precipitation, closely followed by the inhabitants of Ghent. He threw aside his arms, and, changing his dress, sought refuge in the cottage of a poor woman, to whose loyalty he was indebted for a safe protection till night, when he escaped to Lille. The day after this event, Artevelle and his followers, began to plunder the houses, and inflict vengeance on their enemies. They conducted themselves with a degree of regularity and order, which could scarcely have been expected. All the foreign merchants, great numbers of whom were then at Bruges, were treated with respect ; even a part of the citizens was exempted from the effects of their resentment, which was confined to the companies of tradesmen and artisans, who had signalized, in a particular manner, their enmity to the insurgents. Twelve hundred of these were conducted to the market-place, and massacred in cool blood ; their families were destroyed, and their property was seized. The spoils of Bruges were carried to Ghent, with the news of the victory. All Flanders, except Terremonde and Oudenarde, affected by this event, embraced, either from choice or compulsion, the party of the insurgents. Oudenarde was soon invested by an hundred thousand Flemings.

Artevelle, inflated with the victory he had obtained, assumed all the power and splendour of a sovereign prince. Endued with the courage, but not the genius of his father, he became intoxicated with success, and lost the ability to profit by the revolution which his arms had effected.

The count, expelled from his dominions, applied for protection and assistance to the duke of Burgundy, his son-in-law, and intended successor. At an interview which took place at Bapaumes, it was agreed that all the forces of France should be employed in reducing the Flemings to subjection. The authority possessed by the duke at this time was almost absolute ; and the proposal he made to his nephew for waging war against the Flemings, was eagerly embraced. The council was assembled. In vain did some of the members attempt to dissuade Charles from taking the field in person ; and represented to him the lateness of the season for the commencement of such an enterprise.

Artevelle and the other leaders of the Flemings sought to avert the storm which threatened them, by sending an envoy to the court of France ; but he was treated with contempt, and, for some time, confined in prison. Their application to England was not more successful, for the unsettled state of the English government rendered it highly imprudent to engage in a foreign war.

Every preparation was now made in France for assisting the count of Flanders. As apprehensions were entertained, that, during the absence of the court, sedition would again break out in the capital, the duke of Burgundy assembled the principal inhabitants, and exhorted them to persist in the fidelity which they owed to their sovereign.

The troops having assembled on the frontiers of Picardy and Artois, directed their march towards Lille. The approach of the French army did not deter the Flemings from pursuing the siege of Oudenarde, as they deemed themselves sufficiently secure from attack, in being masters of the passages of the Lys. They had just driven the count's troops from the bridge of Comines, and had stationed ten thousand men to defend it. This was the very passage which the constable Clifton, who led the van-guard, undertook to force. Four hundred men at arms forded the river above the bridge. The Flemings, thus attacked on both sides, defended themselves for some time ; but Clifton, having repaired that part of the bridge which they had broken down, obliged them to retreat ; the defeat was general, and four thousand of them were left dead on the field.

Next day the whole army passed the Lys ; and, continuing their march, reduced several towns. Ypres was the first to open its gates to the French, who levied a contribution of forty thousand florins on the inhabitants. Flanders was, at this time, the centre of commerce. Its numerous manufactories gave ease and opulence to an active and industrious people. The soldiers, laden with the spoils of this fertile province, disdained all inferior booty, and would only content themselves with rich furniture, costly trinkets, and stuffs of gold. The inhabitants of the towns, alarmed at the approach of the troops, hastened to avert their rage by a speedy submission. Gravelines, Furnes, Dunkirk, and others, sent deputies to meet them, accompanied by their governors in chains. These men, who had been entrusted by Artevelle with the care of those places, were beheaded, and the submission of the inhabitants was accepted, on paying a small contribution.

When Artevelle was informed of these disasters, he left his camp before Oudenarde, and repaired to Ghent, where, having embodied all such as were able to bear arms, he joined them to a part of the troops that were employed in the siege, and determined to hazard a battle. It was now the month of November ; the weather was very severe, and, had they contented themselves with acting on the defensive, the French would have been obliged to quit the field. But the Flemings, and their leader, inflated with the easy victory they had obtained at Bruges, were confident of success. They had sworn to give no quarter, but to

massacre all except the king. This excess of confidence proved their destruction. The French were not less imprudent in exposing an infant sovereign, the flower of the nobility, and the hopes of the state, to the uncertain event of a campaign, begun at the opening of winter, without even securing a retreat in case of misfortune; for they neglected to fortify the bridge of Comines, which gives us no very favourable idea of the military talents of the constable.

During the absence of the court, the Parisians again revolted, and were on the point of demolishing the royal palaces*; but they were diverted from the accomplishment of their schemes, by Nicholas Flamand, a citizen, who persuaded them to wait the event of the war in Flanders. "If the people of Ghent," said he, "succeed, as we trust they will, it will be then time enough to do this; let us not begin a thing which we may afterwards have cause to repent." The Parisians, in the mean time, prepared for war; they sent for arms from all quarters, and set all the workmen in the town to make helmets and cuirasses. This epidemic sedition spread over the provinces; Châlons, Rheims, Orleans, and Blois, evinced the same rebellious disposition with the capital. The inhabitants of the country threatened to renew the disorders which prevailed in the time of the *Jacquerie*. The kingdom appeared on the eve of a general revolution. On the event of the war in Flanders the safety of the state depended.

It was in the plain between Rosbec and Courtray that the rival armies met. That of the Flemings, almost wholly composed of artisans, was drawn up in order of battle, according to their different trades, the symbols of which were displayed on their banners. The constable divided the French into three bodies; the first of which he commanded himself, assisted by the marshals of Sancerre and Blainville, and the admiral John de Vienne. Before the battle began, the king created four hundred and sixty knights.

The Flemings were encamped between a deep ravine and a thick wood, with a ditch in front strengthened by an intrenchment; a post which it was almost impossible to force. But they were so imprudent as to give up this advantage, in order to take possession of a small hill, called *The Golden Mount*, whence they imagined they could attack the French with greater impetuosity. As soon as the constable perceived this motion, he made sure of the victory. The battle commenced by the second division where the king was posted, which by that means became the centre division, while the two other divisions, forming the wings, attacked the enemy in flank, who preserved no other order than that of keeping close together, that they might occupy less ground. The Flemings, at first, fought with a degree of fury that balanced the superior discipline of their adversaries, and rendered victory doubtful; but the latter at length recovered its usual advantage, and turned the tide of success. Far,

* Chron. MS.; Froissard; Le Laboureur; Juvenal des Ursins,

however, from seeking to retreat, they continued to press forward, so that, in the end, they were so encumbered with the dead bodies, that they could not possibly act. The victory was complete, and the slaughter dreadful; five-and-twenty thousand*, or, according to some writers, forty thousand† of the Flemings, perished in the action, while the French are said not to have lost a hundred men. Froissard tells us, on the authority of a gentleman who was present, that the battle was won in less than half an hour. The body of Artevelle, being found among the dead, was suspended on a tree. Such was the fate of the battle of Rosbec, where the Flemings were guilty of the same error which had proved so fatal to the French at Crecy and Poitiers: in this case, indeed, the error was more glaring, since they had not the same temptation for attacking their adversaries, their army only consisting of fifty thousand undisciplined troops, whereas that of the French was composed of twenty thousand men at arms, and sixty thousand infantry‡. The king wrote from the field of battle to the parliament of Paris, to inform them of his success. They immediately sent for the principal citizens, to whom they read the letter, and, at the same time, ordered them to communicate its contents to the people, that they might evince their zeal by public rejoicings:—but, no appearance of joy was to be seen.

The news of this defeat spread such a consternation through the province, that had the French marched directly to Ghent, the gates of that city would have been opened to them, and the war finished by the total subjection of Flanders. But, instead of improving the advantage they had acquired, they repaired to Courtray, which had surrendered immediately after the battle of Rosbec. There the king passed some days, during which time he received deputies from the inhabitants of Bruges, who rescued their city from pillage by a contribution of one hundred and twenty thousand florins. It was hoped that this example would be followed by the people of Ghent, but, having recovered from their first alarm, and being encouraged by the presence and exhortations of Peter Du-bois, they refused to submit. Such was the inveteracy of their hatred to the count, that they offered to acknowledge the authority of the king of France, on condition that he would annex the city of Ghent to the demesnes of the crown; but the fear of offending the duke of Burgundy, prevented the council from accepting their proposals.

The Flemings had, in the mean time, raised the siege of Oudenarde; and the season was too far advanced to permit the French to form that of Ghent. The king and his uncles only thought of returning to France with their troops, who were laden with the spoils of that province which they came to restore to its lawful prince: no sooner had the king left Courtray, than, in return for its voluntary submission, the soldiers began to massacre the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex; with cruelty insatiate as their avarice, they did not cease

* Villaret,

† Le Gendre,

‡ Idem, tom. ii. p. 512.

to pillage and murder, till neither people nor property remained; they then set fire to the town, and reduced it to a heap of ashes. Froissard, who lived at the time, expressly affirms, that the massacre took place in consequence of the king's orders, who rejected all the entreaties of the count of Flanders to spare the town and its inhabitants. Some historians have affirmed, that several letters were found at Courtray, from the Parisians, which proved that a secret intelligence subsisted between the insurgents of the capital, and those of Flanders. This discovery, whether real or pretended, was used as a pretext for inflicting vengeance on those seditious inhabitants of Paris, whose conduct had long merited punishment.

Not only the towns which had revolted were affected by the presence of the troops; the inhabitants of many places which had preserved their allegiance to the count were imprisoned, under pretence that they had embraced the party of pope Urban, and were compelled to purchase their liberty by levying contributions. The king passed his Christmas at Tournay, and from thence went to Arras, which place the soldiers evinced a strong disposition to pillage. But the constable and the marshals deterred them from their purpose, by promising that all their wages should be paid on their arrival at Paris. The towns of Picardy testified their zeal by public rejoicings, and by sending presents to the king, who repaired to Compiègne.

The troops would have been immediately disbanded, but for the resolution which had been adopted of inflicting an exemplary chastisement on the Parisians. This, however, appeared no easy matter, when the extent of the city, and the numbers and disposition of its inhabitants, were considered. The court had advanced as far as Louvres, undetermined how to accomplish the object they had in view. For the purpose of founding the minds of the people, the princes and nobility had sent their servants before them to prepare their houses, and to circulate the report that the king might be daily expected. The Parisians, on receiving this intelligence, resolved to meet their sovereign on the road; and they accordingly dispatched twenty thousand citizens completely armed, who arranged themselves in order of battle, on the plains of Saint Denis. The king was at Bourget, when he heard of their approach; the nobles who attended him exclaimed, "Had this insolent rabble been thus forward to serve the king when he was going to Flanders, they would have done well; but they were then employed in praying to God that not a soul of us might ever return."

As this armed multitude still kept their station, it became necessary to adopt some decisive measure. The constable, the lords of Albret, Coucy, and Tremoille, and the admiral, John de Vienne, determined to remonstrate with them, in order to persuade them to return to Paris. With this view, they sent to ask for a safe conduct, but the Parisians assured the heralds that they might safely approach them, since they had only armed themselves for the purpose of

obeying the king's orders, and of shewing him what forces the city of Paris could muster, whenever their services were required in defence of the state. On receiving this assurance, the noblemen went to them and ordered them, in the king's name, to retire, which they immediately did. The storm, which had excited their apprehensions, being thus averted, the court prepared to make their entry into the metropolis.

The king, however, first visited the church of Saint Denis, at this place he received a deputation from the city of Paris, consisting of the provost of the merchants, and some of the principal citizens, who attempted to moderate his anger; but he refused to explain his intentions, and would only tell them what day he meant to enter the metropolis. At the appointed time the troops were under arms, and advanced in three divisions*. The constable and the mareschal de Sancerre, at the head of the first division, advanced towards the gate of Saint Denis, which they ordered to be pulled down. All the men at arms were dismounted, and the troops entered the town in the same order as if they were taking possession of a conquered place. The young monarch, surrounded by his uncles, the princes of the blood, and his courtiers, repaired to the cathedral, without deigning to listen to a fresh deputation, and from thence to the palace.

An universal alarm prevailed through the city: the people, accustomed to pass, from insolence to despair, waited in silent consternation, the punishment of their faults. The strict orders that were issued to commit no violence, under pain of death, somewhat revived their spirits. The soldiers hastened to the quarters assigned them; and the only interruption of the general tranquillity proceeded from the execution of two of the inhabitants, who were hanged at their own windows, for making use of some seditious language.

The dukes of Berry and Burgundy paraded the city at the head of their men at arms. The chains were taken from the ends of the streets and carried to Vincennes; the inhabitants delivered up their arms which were deposited at the Louvre, and were found to be sufficient to equip a hundred thousand men. When the city was thus deprived of all means of defence, the executions began. The prisons were filled with criminals, many of whom put an end to their existence in order to avoid a more cruel death. The duchess of Orleans interceded for the people, and her humane interference was seconded by the university, who carried their supplications to the foot of the throne†. The university would probably have succeeded in their attempts, had not the duke of Berry been present at the audience. The execution of Nicholas le Flamand was, doubtless, an act of necessary severity. But one of a far different description soon followed; twelve prisoners were brought forth and chained together in

* Chron. MS. de la B. R.

† Froissard; Chron. de Saint Denis; Le Laboureur; Histoire de la Ville de Paris.

one cart, to be conveyed to the place of execution. Seated upon a plank, placed in an elevated situation, appeared the advocate-general, John Desmarets; that venerable magistrate had passed his seventieth year; the organ of the laws, honoured and beloved by his fellow-citizens, he had incurred no other reproach than that of having rendered innumerable services to his country. Far from being an accomplice in the disorders which had prevailed in the metropolis, he had ever loudly condemned such violent proceedings, and had exerted his utmost efforts to remedy or prevent them. The people, the nobility, even those who promoted his destruction, were convinced of his innocence. Condemned without a trial, he was led to the scaffold. He uttered no complaints against his persecutors, but pronounced, in a firm voice, these words of David, "Judge me, O God, and distinguish my cause from that of the ungodly." When he arrived at the place of execution, he was pressed to ask pardon of the king. "Master John," exclaimed the officers of justice, "cry for mercy to the king, in order that he may pardon you." But he replied, "I have served his great grandfather, king Philip; his grandfather, king John; and his father, king Charles; neither of the three would have asked me to cry mercy; nor would this, had he attained to the age and knowledge of a man; to God alone will I apply for mercy." He received the fatal blow with a firmness which did not belie the integrity of his life. The true cause of his death was the hatred which the dukes of Berry and Burgundy bore him.

The court began to be ashamed of these numerous executions; numbers, whom they had marked for destruction, were, therefore, tied up in sacks, and thrown into the Seine, during the night. Some were permitted to purchase their lives, and the money they raised amounted to four hundred thousand livres, which was chiefly appropriated to the use of the king's uncles, and ministers.

This, however, only served as a prelude to the measures which those princes had in contemplation. On the steps of the palace a throne was erected, on which the young monarch took his seat, accompanied by his uncles, the noblemen who composed his court, and the members of his council. A crowd of people attended. Peter D'Orgemont, the chancellor, made a violent speech, in which (addressing himself to the inhabitants) he expatiated on their past faults, omitting no circumstance which could render them more deserving of punishment. He next adverted to the executions which had already taken place, and observed that there were more to come, there being a great number of criminals yet to punish. He then turned to the king, and asked him if he had not rightly explained his intentions; Charles answered *yes*. He had no sooner pronounced this fatal affirmative, than his uncles fell at his feet, and besought him to have pity on his people; the women of Paris with dishevelled hair and streaming eyes, enforced the same petition, while the men prostrated themselves before him, and called aloud for mercy. The king then said, that he pardoned the Parisians, and converted the punishment of death, which was due to their

crimes, into a pecuniary fine. This degrading commutation had been imagined by those in power, who, to gratify their own avarice, did not scruple to expose their sovereign to the detestation of his subjects.

The fines were excessive; those who experienced the most favourable treatment were compelled to pay one half of their property. Somewhat less than a third of these immense sums was paid into the royal treasury; the rest was divided among the nobility. The constable and the marshals claimed a part for the payment of their troops, whom they engaged to disband, without suffering them to commit any act of violence or outrage. But they kept the money, and left the soldiers to pay themselves by depredations on the country through which they passed, on their return home. John de Vienne went to Rouen, where the inhabitants experienced the same treatment as the Parisians. Several other towns were subjected to similar oppression.

As the privileges and authority enjoyed by the magistrates of Paris had frequently been rendered subservient to the purposes of faction, it was now resolved by the government, to abolish all municipal offices. By the same edict*, the king suppressed the office of provost of the merchants, the duties whereof were united to those of the provost of Paris. The spirit of the people was so humbled by these repeated severities, that all the taxes which had been abolished, were now renewed without the smallest opposition.

A. D. 1383.] The victory of Roßbec, and the rapid progress of the French arms, had, at length, opened the eyes of the English council, who began to repent their refusal of assistance to the inhabitants of Ghent. As the popular commotions which had prevailed in that kingdom, immediately after the accession of Richard the Second, were now suppressed; the parliament, which met in the month of February, determined to send over a body of troops, to cooperate with the Flemings, under the command of the bishop of Norwich, a martial prelate, who had signalised his courage during the late insurrections. This politic general found means to interest religion in his cause, by procuring the appointment of leader for pope Urban, who had published a crusade against all such as acknowledged the authority of his rival. This last character was of great advantage to the bishop, as it furnished him with the means of raising and paying his troops. The military men flew to his standard in order to gain the pardon of their sins, which was promised to all who engaged in this pious enterprise; even the ladies of England, who espoused the cause of Urban, contributed liberally, both in money and jewels, to the expence of the expedition†. The bishop sailed for Calais, with his army, in the month of May, and, after refreshing his troops, marched to attack Gravelines, which he took by assault. He next engaged and defeated an army of thirty thousand French and Flemings, under the command of the count of Flanders, near Dunkirk, and made him-

* *Mém. de la Chambre des Comptes, reg. E.*

† *Knyghton, p. 2671; Walsingham, p. 297.*

self master of that place; after which he continued his successful progress through great part of Flanders, taking Nieuport, and other places. He next laid siege to Ypres, but there his career was stopped.

On the first news of this irruption, the king assembled an army of sixteen thousand men at arms, besides a numerous infantry. The duke of Brittany joined him, in person, with two thousand lances. It was on this occasion that *state-letters* were first used, which suspended all actions commenced against military men, during the campaign. The *arriere-ban* having been published, all gentlemen and such as possessed *noble* fiefs, were obliged to take arms. The king exempted from military service, several officers of the superior courts, and, among others, all the magistrates belonging to the chamber of accounts. Before the troops marched, the French ministry had recourse to an expedient which had never before been adopted; they contracted with a citizen of Paris, to supply corn for a hundred thousand men for four months. As soon as the French army approached, the English raised the siege of Ypres, and retired with precipitation. One part of them marched to Bourbourg, under the command of sir Thomas Trivet, and the remainder retreated with the bishop of Norwich, to Gravelines. The French immediately invested Bourbourg, and obliged the English to surrender the place, on condition of being allowed to march, with their arms, horses and baggage (including all the spoils they had taken in the course of their incursions) to Calais*. They then laid siege to Gravelines; and, the bishop of Norwich, having no prospect of relief from England, was reduced to the necessity of capitulating; after which he embarked the shattered remains of his army, and returned to England.

A. D. 1384.] The campaign was terminated by conferences which were opened at Lelighen, between the plenipotentiaries of the two courts. The French insisting on the restitution of Calais, Cherbourg, and Brest, these negotiations were only productive of a truce, from January the twenty-sixth, 1384, to Michaelmas†, in which the inhabitants of Ghent were included. But the English are said to have violated the truce, by reducing several places in Guienne, and attacking the marshal de Sancerre, whom they compelled to retire from that province‡. During the negotiations, died Lewis, count of Flanders. He was succeeded by Philip, duke of Burgundy, who, by uniting his own appanage to the dominions of his father-in-law, became one of the most powerful princes of Europe. The duke of Berry retired to his government of Languedoc, where he soon rendered himself odious to the people by his tyrannical and oppressive conduct. The resources of that province proved insufficient to support his prodigality. At Beziers, the inhabitants flew to arms, but they were soon defeated and dispersed by the troops that were sent

* Froissard, l. ii. c. 142, 145.

† Rymer, t. 7. p. 419, 423; Froissard, l. ii. c. 147.

‡ Le Laboureur.

to oppose them ; such as fell into the hands of the conquerors were executed, and obedience was once more restored by the dread of punishment.

These commotions in Languedoc were but the prelude to a more dangerous revolution, with which Auvergne and Poitou were threatened at the same time*. These provinces also belonged to the duke of Berry. Almost all the peasants and farmers forsook their work, and assembled in bodies, with the avowed resolution of "delivering the country from the burden of taxes, and "of restoring its ancient liberty." Gentlemen, ecclesiastics, tradesmen, opulent citizens, all, in short, who were exempted from their poverty, were exposed to their rage. Slaughter and conflagration marked their destructive progress. Those who wished to escape their fury were obliged to assume the dress of a peasant, but several who had recourse to this stratagem were discovered ; for the insurgents examined the hands of all they met, and if they discovered no symptoms of rustic labour, they massacred them. The duke of Berry collected all his forces, and marched against the insurgents, who immediately dispersed ; but being pursued by the troops a dreadful slaughter ensued ; the greater part of them either perished by the sword, or were thrown into the rivers ; while the few that escaped returned to their usual occupations.

The military men, being left without employment, by the conclusion of the truce, undertook a crusade against the infidels on the coast of Africa. The duke of Bourbon was at the head of them, accompanied by the count of Harcourt, the lord of Tremoille, and several other knights and noblemen, composing a body of eight hundred men at arms. The christians landed in Africa, and fought some few battles ; but, destitute of provisions, and perpetually harassed by the moors, they were soon compelled to regain their ships, and return to France, after an absence of six weeks.

The same year in which this inconsiderate expedition to Africa was undertaken, intelligence was received in France of the failure of another enterprise, more important in its object. The duke of Anjou, who, for sometime, had appeared wholly engrossed with the gratification of his avarice, at length prepared to execute his projects of ambition. He left Paris, laden with the spoils of the kingdom. He took the road to Provence, the inhabitants whereof he wished to secure in his interest before he entered Italy. But the people refused to acknowledge him for their sovereign till such time as he had proved himself worthy of that title. He was therefore compelled to renounce the title of king of Naples which he had imprudently assumed, and content himself with that of duke of Calabria, and heir to the kingdom of Naples. While he was wasting his time in preparatory measures and fruitless negotiations, a rival appeared to dispute that crown which he was so anxious to obtain. Charles di Durazzo, *mis-named The Peacable*, having been called to the throne of Naples, by pope Urban, had marched

* Chron. de St. Denis ; Juvenal des Ursins ; Hist. Anonyme ; Le Laboureur.

from Hungary at the head of a powerful army. Besides the support of this pontiff, and the more effectual assistance of his troops, he had a right of inheritance, which the adoption of the queen was incompetent to annihilate. Like her, he was descended from the first house of Anjou, to which the throne of Sicily had been given, with an unlimited right of succession, to the latest posterity of the brother of St. Lewis. Charles entered Italy, and after being crowned at Rome, by Urban, advanced towards the territories of which he had just received the investiture. As soon as he approached, a part of the kingdom declared in his favour; Naples opened her gates to him; in vain did Otho of Brunswick, husband to Joan, attempt to impede the progress of his arms; he was taken prisoner in a skirmish, and his defeat proved the ruin of his party. The queen, who had taken refuge in a fortress which was deemed impregnable, was so imprudent as to surrender herself to the discretion of her enemy, after having long waited in anxious expectation, for the promised succours of her adopted son, the duke of Anjou. The Genoese sent ambassadors to Naples to effect an accommodation between Joan and Charles, but the captivity of this princess deprived her of every resource, and left her wholly exposed to the mercy of her conqueror.

It was the duty of Charles to treat his illustrious prisoner with respect. She had taken care of him in his infancy; she had adopted him for her son, in happier times; she was his relation and his sovereign. But the dictates of gratitude, justice and humanity were silenced by the calls of ambition. The unfortunate princess was strangled in the castle of Aversa. The profligacy of her youth had been expiated by the virtues she displayed in the latter part of her life, by the mildness of her government, and by the love which she bore to her subjects.

Clement, the pope, who resided at Avignon, had, in the mean time, pronounced, in a full consistory, a sentence of excommunication against his competitor, Urban, and against Charles di Durazzo; a sentence which the new duke of Calabria promised to enforce by arms. At Rome, a similar sentence was issued by Urban, against Clement and his adherents. The duke embarked at Marseilles, amidst the acclamations of the people, who made the shores resound with the cries of "Long live pope Clement!—Long live queen Joan!—Long live the duke of Calabria!" The count of Geneva, brother to the pope, accompanied the duke; the count of Savoy, in return for the cession of Piedmont, supplied him with two thousand men at arms; and, by a treaty with Bernardo Visconti, he secured a passage through the duchy of Milan. His army consisted of sixty thousand of the best troops in Europe, who were attended by three hundred mules, and an infinite number of carts laden with money.

After passing the Alps, the duke entered Lombardy, and traversed with rapidity the duchies of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany, and the ecclesiastical territories. Had he presented himself before Rome, that city would have opened her gates to him; but as he was more anxious to gain possession of the kingdom

of Naples, than to support the interests of Clement, he continued his march. When he came to the province of Abruzzo, he was informed of Joan's death, and immediately assuming the title of king of Sicily, was crowned at Aquila. Although this invasion had been expected, all the provinces he attacked made but little resistance; Charles, indeed, had adopted the wise policy of standing wholly on the defensive, in the hope that this formidable army would soon be reduced to the necessity of quitting the field.

In fact, the duke, on his entrance into Italy, had lost several of his troops in successive skirmishes, and a part of his money had been seized by the mountaineers. The only means of keeping the troops in his service, was by liberal donations to their leaders, which soon exhausted the immense treasure he had collected from the spoils of France. In this emergency he dispatched Craon to the dukes of Anjou, who paid him considerable sums, but that nobleman betrayed the confidence that was reposed in him, and spent the whole in debauchery at Venice. This treachery reduced the duke to the last extremity; he had parted with his equipages, his plate, and even his crown, to purchase provisions; and was at last obliged to content himself with a daily meal of barley-bread, procured with difficulty. His cavalry were all dismounted; and his troops, reduced by famine and sickness, daily perished without fighting. Surrounded by enemies, striving in vain against the intemperance of the climate, the inconstancy or perfidy of the inhabitants, and the most wretched indigence, his difficulties every moment increased. Urged by despair he pressed forward to Barletta, where his rival was stationed, and dared him to battle. Charles, however, prudently refused to engage an enemy whom he could reduce without the danger of an action; enraged at his disappointment the duke decamped, and, at some distance from Barletta, meeting with a body of troops advantageously posted, he endeavoured to force their entrenchments; but his attack was successfully repelled, and being wounded in the attempt, he was conveyed to the castle of Biseglia, near Bari, where he expired. After his death, the army dispersed; and scarcely a tenth part of the troops returned to France. The noblemen and knights, who had engaged in this unfortunate expedition, were seen, almost naked, on the public roads of Italy, with no other defence than a stick, begging the means of returning to their native country. The lord of Coucy had just entered Italy with a body of twelve thousand men; but when he heard of the duke's death, he was so fortunate as to effect his retreat without opposition or loss. Such was the success of the ambitious projects of the duke of Anjou; to support which the kingdom had been drained of its wealth. But unfortunately the calamities which resulted to the nation from this enterprise did not terminate with the life of that prince; it was productive of future disgrace and misfortunes, which, in the course of this history, will frequently render it necessary to advert to its origin. The faithless Craon returned to France, and had the audacity to appear at court in a most splendid equipage,

The duke of Berry, seeing him enter the council-chamber, could not restrain his indignation—"Ah, false and disloyal traitor!" exclaimed the prince, in a transport of rage, "you were the cause of my brother's death; let him be seized, and led to punishment." No one appearing to execute this order, Craon retired with precipitation: he was afterwards sentenced to pay a hundred thousand livres to the dukes of Anjou; a punishment greatly inadequate to his crime.

At the time when intelligence of the duke of Anjou's death was received in France, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy were engaged in a conference with the duke of Lancaster, at Boulogne. But this conference, at which plenipotentiaries from the kings of Castile and Scotland assisted, proved as inefficacious as the last; it terminated in a prolongation of the truce, till the first of May, 1385.

As the treasury had been exhausted to gratify the avarice, or support the ambition of the duke of Anjou, the government determining to recruit it, had recourse to the destructive means of a new coinage, preceded by a proscription of the old. This proscription was so rigorously enforced, that a total stop was put to commerce, all payments were suspended, and a general murmur of indignation was heard throughout the kingdom. It then became necessary tacitly to acknowledge the error they had committed, by renewing the circulation of the ancient coin. The value of silver experienced several variations in the course of this year, which tended to augment the price of this metal, one sixth. The object of this augmentation which was enforced by government, was to favour the new coin, which was much less pure than the old; thus seeking to remedy one abuse by the establishment of another, equally prejudicial to the fortunes of individuals, and the confidence of the public. The duke of Burgundy tried a similar expedient in Flanders, but with no better success. The commercial intercourse which subsisted between the Flemings and English, rendered the consent of the latter necessary before any alteration in the coin could take place. Thus, when the duke neglected this precaution, the new coinage no sooner made its appearance, than it was proscribed by the English ministry.

The court of England had particular reasons for wishing to thwart all the schemes of the duke of Burgundy. The marriage of the count of Nevers, son to the duke, with Margaret of Hainault, had just been concluded. The duke of Lancaster, who had expected to procure the hand of this princess for his son, sent ambassadors to the count of Hainault, to know whether it was true that he had promised his daughter to the count of Nevers. The count, very properly, replied, that if the duke was about to marry his own children, he should not presume to interfere, and therefore he had no right to enquire into the affairs of his family, nor to ask when, or to whom, he meant to marry his daughter. The nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence at Cambray.

A. D. 1385.] While the court resided at Cambray, measures were taken by the ministry for procuring a suitable alliance for the king himself, who had

just entered his seventeenth year. It was some time before they could fix their choice, which, at length, fell upon Isabella, daughter to Stephen, duke of Bavaria, a princess of fourteen, who was esteemed one of the greatest beauties of the age. The princess was taken to France, under the pretext of performing a pilgrimage. Amiens was the place appointed for the interview. As soon as Isabella appeared, her charms excited such powerful emotions in the bosom of the king, that he assured the duke of Burgundy, *he could not sleep till he had married her*. The duke informed the duchess of Brabant, and the other ladies, who had accompanied the princess, of the monarch's impatience, adding, "*Tomorrow we will find a remedy for his disorder.*" Next day the young couple received the nuptial benediction at the cathedral of Amiens; when Isabella, with the crown upon her head, was conducted to the church in a covered wagon, richly decorated.

The rejoicings occasioned by the marriage of the king, were interrupted by the news of an advantage obtained in Flanders by the inhabitants of Ghent*. Francis Attremen, one of their leaders, had left the town, at the head of seven thousand men, with a resolution to achieve some enterprise of importance. While he was meditating on the means of accomplishing his designs, he received intelligence from his spies, that the governor of Dam, had imprudently left that town, relying for its defence on the valour and vigilance of the inhabitants. Attremen immediately resolved to take advantage of his absence, and marching to Dam, he *escaladed the walls* in the night, and took possession of the place while the inhabitants were in their beds. Besides the property belonging to the town which was considerable, he found immense riches belonging to the principal citizens of Bruges, who, dreading an insurrection of the populace, had brought them to Dam, as to a place of safety. Attremen conducted himself, on this occasion, with a generosity that did him honour. In the midst of these tumults and horrors, which inevitably occur where a town is taken by assault, he ordered the women to be respected. To this precaution were several ladies of distinction, who had repaired to Dam, according to the custom of the times, to attend the governor's wife in her lying-in, indebted for the preservation of their lives and honour.

About this time ambassadors arrived at Paris, from the nobles of Hungary, to propose the marriage of the daughter of their late king with the young count of Valois. The proposal being accepted, envoys were sent to Hungary, who married the princess in the count's name. "John de la Personne," one of the envoys, "laid himself down on the bed, by the side of the princess," and returned with the marriage-contract properly authenticated†. Soon after, Charles the Peaceable entered Hungary, and seized the crown, but being assassinated at

* Froissard; Grande Chron.; Chron. MS. de la B. R.; Juvenal des Ursins; Le Laboureur; Hist. Anon.

† Froissard; Chron. MS. de la B. R.; Trésor des Chartres Du Tillet.

a festival, it returned to the lawful heir, the princess Mary, whom the Hungarians, from the vigour of her mind, distinguished by the appellation of *king* Mary. Towards the conclusion of this year the count of Valois prepared to join his intended bride; but just as he had taken leave of his brother, he was prevented from pursuing his journey, by the news that Sigismund, second son to the emperor, Charles the Fourth, had entered Hungary with a powerful army, and compelled the queen to give him her hand. The count therefore was deprived of all hopes of a crown, and was compelled to resign the title of king of Hungary, which he had prematurely assumed.

As all attempts to establish a solid peace between the rival powers of France and England had proved fruitless, a vigorous renewal of hostilities was resolved on by the former. The duke of Burgundy proposed, in the council, to make a descent upon England; and, as the scheme was highly pleasing to the martial disposition of Charles, his proposal was instantly adopted, and the necessary preparations were ordered to be made. The general rendezvous of the troops was appointed in Artois, while a prodigious fleet was collected in the harbour of Sluys. To defray the expence of this armament, recourse was had to loans from the people and clergy; for the repayment of the sums thus borrowed the king's word was pledged*. A list of the opulent citizens, and an account of the sums which each of them were able to advance, were presented to the council, and by them delivered to the person who was entrusted with the collection of the loans. A term was then fixed for the repayment of the money, but without interest. At the same time, all the taxes were doubled, and levied with the utmost rigour. During these preparations, the Scots having made application to the court for assistance, John de Vienne, the admiral, was sent with fifteen hundred men at arms to support them in their incursions on the English territories.

The English, apprised of the intentions of the French court, were kept in a state of continual alarm, and their preparations for defence were, of course adequate to the magnitude of their apprehensions: but the divisions which prevailed in the French councils rescued them from the impending danger. The troops were assembled, and on the point of embarking, when an incident, which ought to have hastened the execution of the enterprise, was employed as a pretext for laying it aside. Francis Attremen, who had reduced the town of Dam, conceived the bold design of burning the French fleet, in the harbour of Sluys; and, with a view to forward his plan, he had engaged some of the inhabitants of Sluys in his interest, who promised to admit him into the place; but the plot was discovered, and his accomplices were seized and executed. The duke of Burgundy, who wished to employ the troops in the reduction of Flanders, urged this as a sufficient reason for deferring the expedition till the ensuing season. The king accordingly formed the siege of Dam, which, after a vigorous resistance, was taken by

* Extrait des Comptes de la Recette des Finances de la Ville de Paris.

assault, pillaged, and reduced to ashes. The troops then extended their incursions to the very gates of Ghent, laying waste the country with fire and sword. The prisoners that were taken were massacred in cool blood.

As soon as the campaign was finished, the king dismissed his troops and returned to Paris. Before he left Flanders, the duke of Burgundy had obtained from him the sovereignty of the town of Sluys. He farther sought to profit by the terror with which the French arms had inspired the inhabitants of Flanders; for whose reduction he threatened to employ more powerful efforts, at the commencement of the ensuing campaign. The citizens of Ghent were exhausted by the expences of the war, which fell entirely upon themselves. The English, contented with acting on the defensive, appeared to be wholly occupied in making provision for their own safety. The duke of Lancaster, intent on asserting his claims to the throne of Castile, was preparing to embark for Portugal; and, in short, the interests of either kingdom seem to have been sacrificed to the private views of those who were entrusted with the reins of government.

All the Flemish towns were anxious to put an end to the war, which tended to ruin their commerce; and several of them sent deputies to the king to request that he would effect an accommodation. Even the citizens of Ghent began to be aware that, without foreign assistance, they would be unable to resist the united forces of their sovereign, and his nephew, the king of France; and that, consequently, their ruin must be inevitable, unless averted by a treaty*. The duke of Burgundy was equally desirous of putting a stop to the desolation of an opulent province, which had become the patrimony of his house. When both parties were thus favourably disposed, conferences were opened at Tournay, at which the duke and duchess of Burgundy assisted in person. Peace was soon concluded; the citizens of Ghent submitted to the duke, and that prince had, at length, the satisfaction of being acknowledged for count of Flanders by all the towns in his dominions. The citizens of Ghent renounced the alliance they had contracted with the English, and took the oath of allegiance to their sovereign†.

When the duke of Burgundy found that tranquillity was re-established in his new dominions, he thought he should meet with no difficulty in persuading his subjects to renounce pope Urban, and acknowledge his rival Clement; but he was mistaken, the Flemings had fixed their choice, and were neither to be moved by threats nor entreaties. Indeed, the shameful exactions of Clement daily augmented the number of his enemies. In France, the people were loud in their complaints of the pontiff and his partisans; and the evils increased so rapidly, that the interference of government became necessary to avert their effects.

For almost nine years had Clement exacted a tenth of all the ecclesiastical revenues in the kingdom; but even the immense sums that were collected by

* Chron. de St. Denis, Anon.

† Regist. des anciennes Ordonnances du Parlement, fol. 105.

this means proved insufficient to gratify his avidity. The rapacious ingenuity of his ministers was exerted in the invention of new taxes, in the creation of unknown rights*. Disdaining all *subaltern* means of extortion, Clement imposed a general impost upon all ecclesiastical benefices. The abbot of St. Nicaise was appointed to levy this tax. Threats, seizures, censures, and excommunications were all employed. The provinces were over-run with the collectors of the apostolical chamber. The holders of benefices, in order to raise the sum required, were frequently obliged to sell the books, the sacred vases, and the ornaments of the churches: the collectors even constrained them to unroof the churches, that the tiles and other materials might be exposed to sale. For giving greater authority to their exactions, they had obtained letters from the king, the dangerous abuse whereof the council had not foreseen. Their eyes, however, were at length, opened by the general complaints of the people, which induced the king to revoke the permission he had granted, to distrain the goods of the clergy, in consequence of actions commenced against them by the collectors and sub-collectors of the pope. This revocation was soon followed by a second ordinance, providing for the security of ecclesiastical property, the support and repairs of churches, and the validity and execution of wills made by abbots and prelates, against the pursuits of the agents employed by the pope and cardinals. The abbot of St. Nicaise, was ordered to quit the kingdom in three days. Arnaud de Corbie, first president of the parliament, was sent to Avignon, to apprise the pope of these regulations. Clement acknowledged the justice of them, and promised to conform to the intentions of the king and his council. The university of Paris had been chiefly instrumental in persuading the council to repress the depredations of the court of Avignon.

A. D. 1386.] Though the people were burdened with taxes, the king determined to renew his preparations for an invasion of England. The port of Sluys was again fixed on as the general rendezvous of the fleet and army. Fifteen hundred vessels were accordingly collected, destined for the embarkation of a hundred thousand men, to be headed by the king in person, accompanied by the princes of the blood, and all the nobility of the kingdom. The expence of the fleet amounted to three millions of livres. Independent of the ships collected by the king, many of which had been purchased in the ports of Holland and Zealand; the constable de Clifson had equipped seventy-two sail at his own expence. He had also caused a singular edifice to be constructed of prodigious magnitude: this was a town of wood, three thousand paces in diameter, fortified with towers and entrenchments, and capable of containing a whole army. It was intended to serve as a secure retreat for the troops after they had landed in England; and was so constructed that the different parts of it might be united

* Regist. A. du Parlem. fol. 112. verso. Ibid. fol. 113. R. Rec. des. Ordon. t. vi. Juvenal des Ursins. Chron de France. Le Laboureur.

in a very short space of time. It was embarked on board a second fleet, which the constable had prepared for the purpose in the ports of Brittany. The French regarded the conquest of England as a matter of certainty.

It is extraordinary, that while the English were exposed to such danger, the duke of Lancaster should leave the kingdom with twenty thousand of the best troops it contained. That prince sailed from Portsmouth in the month of May, in order to join the Portuguese, who were at war with the Castilians; and having, in his passage, raised the siege of Brest, which was besieged by the duke of Brittany, he arrived at Corunna in the month of August.

The troops in the mean time repaired to Sluys, and its environs, from all parts of France. The disorders they committed on their march, are thus described by Froissard, who was then on the spot. "The poor farmers, who had got in their corn, were only suffered to keep the straw for their labour; if they ventured to remonstrate on the violence they sustained, they were either beaten or killed; the fish-ponds were let dry; and the houses pulled down to supply the soldiers with fuel: had the English entered France, they could not have made greater destruction than the French troops. After robbing people of their property, they said—We have no money now, but we shall have plenty on our return, and then we will pay you!"

At length the king arrived at Sluys, attended by a splendid train of nobles. His presence increased the ardour of the men; in a short time every thing was ready for the embarkation; and the troops only waited the arrival of the duke of Berry and the fleet from Brittany. The constable had set sail, but meeting with a storm in the channel, his ships were dispersed, and many of them were wrecked on the English coast; among these were several which had part of his *wooden town* on board. Clifton, after the storm was over, collected the shattered remains of his fleet, and directed his course to Sluys, where they hastened to repair the damages it had sustained. The king impatient to embark, daily sent messengers to the duke of Berry to hasten his departure, but the answers he received were evasive. In the mean time the season was far advanced; the troops had consumed the provisions and forage; the surrounding country was laid waste by their excursions; a scarcity prevailed; and, such was the dreadful depredations which had taken place in the finances, the troops were not paid; of two months' pay that were due to them, they could with difficulty obtain one week's. Yet had immense sums been levied on the people: so oppressive, indeed, were the burdens imposed on them, that no man paid less than one-fourth of his income; and many, from inability to satisfy the demands of the collector, were compelled to quit their habitations, and abandon their property to his discretion.

The duke of Berry did not arrive at Sluys till the season was too far advanced for engaging in an expedition of such importance. A council was held; at which it was determined to defer the invasion of England till the following

year : and the troops were accordingly dismissed. A great part of the fleet was destroyed by a storm. The court returned to Paris, to form new plans for the ensuing campaign. Towards the end of this year, Charles the Bad, king of Navarre, finished a life, which had exhibited one continued series of criminal actions. He had just ordered a contribution of two hundred thousand florins to be levied on his subjects ; and deputies from the principal towns of Navarre had waited on him to procure the suppression or diminution of this impost ; enraged at their presumption, Charles is said to have harboured the design of putting them to death*. Soon after the death of the king of Navarre, Charles instituted a suit against him, with the view to the confiscation of his possessions in Normandy. He was summoned to appear in court, as if he had been alive, and the same forms were observed as if the party accused had been present. Sentence was pronounced against the dead culprit, and it remained with Charles to enforce it when he should think proper.

A. D. 1387.] Notwithstanding the ill success of the two last armaments, the court were still determined to render England the theatre of war ; preparations were, for the third time, ordered to be made. The management of the expedition was entrusted to Clifton ; and the admiral, the count of Saint Paul, and the lord of Coucy, assembled troops and vessels, in the ports of Normandy, to join the forces which the constable was collecting in Brittany. The quarrel in England, at this period, between the king and parliament, seemed to afford flattering hopes of success to Charles. But his projects were again thwarted by an unforeseen obstacle.

The duke of Brittany had, for the second time, formed the siege of Brest, which the English again compelled him to raise†. But his eagerness to obtain possession of this place, could not remove the suspicions of the people, who made no scruple to affirm, that he was secretly attached to the English ; their suspicions acquired fresh force from an incident that occurred at this time. Of the two sons of Charles of Blois, who had so long been kept prisoners in England, the youngest had recently died ; while John, the eldest, hoped, in vain, to procure his liberty by the interposition of his family, or the generosity of the enemy. By the last treaty of Guerrande, the duke of Brittany had engaged to obtain the liberation of these princes, but when pressed to perform his engagement, he replied that he could afford them no farther assistance than his recommendation. But when John of Blois began to think himself doomed to perpetual captivity, ambition came to his relief. The constable cast his eyes on this prince as a husband for the youngest of his two daughters, the eldest being already married to the viscount of Rohan. This alliance being accepted by John of Blois, Clifton applied to the duke of Ireland, the favourite of Richard, who obtained from his sovereign the disposal of the prisoner. The constable agreed to

* Villaret.

† Hist. de Bretagne.

pay the duke for his ransom one hundred and twenty thousand livres; half of which sum was to be advanced immediately, and the remainder as soon as the prince should arrive at Boulogne. When this negociation was communicated to the duke of Brittany, it revived his animosity against the constable; but he concealed his resentment the more effectually to secure its gratification.

The duke, for the accomplishment of his project, convened the states at Vannes, where the nobility of the province attended. He carried his dissimulation so far, as to be present at a feast given by Clifton. As he knew that the constable was about to leave the place, to forward preparations for the invasion of England, he entered into conversation with him on the subject of the expedition, and invited him to visit the castle of l'Hermine. Clifton accepted the invitation; and, when arrived at the castle, the duke conducted him to the principal tower, requesting his opinion of it; he made some difficulty in ascending the stair-case before the prince, till Montfort told him that he wanted to speak with the lord of Laval. The constable then proceeded to the second story, without perceiving that the door was shut upon him, when several men rushed out, loaded him with irons, and conveyed him to a dungeon. The place in which they confined him was so cold, that he was almost frozen, though it was in the midst of summer; and, but for the compassion of a poor esquire, who threw his robe to him, he must probably have perished. The lord of Laval, who was engaged in conversation with the duke, seeing him turn pale, the moment the door of the tower was shut, began to suspect the truth. Beaumanoir coming up, in the mean time, asked for the constable; "Do you wish to experience the same fate?" said the duke, and that noblemen replying in the affirmative, he drew his dagger, and exclaimed, in a transport of rage, "Since you wish it, I'll put out one of your eyes, and then you'll be like him!" He was deterred from executing his threat; but Beaumanoir was seized, and conducted to the tower.

Laval in vain had recourse to prayers and remonstrances, to awake the duke to a sense of honour. As soon as he had left him, Montfort called the governor of the castle, John de Bavalan, and ordered him to enclose the constable in a sack, and, in the night, to throw him into the sea. This officer threw himself at the feet of his master, and entreated him to forego a design so pregnant with dishonour; the duke was resolute; he told the governor that he had received his orders, and that his head should pay the forfeit of his disobedience.

In the middle of the night the duke awoke; and began to reflect on his conduct; he deplored his error, and lamented the impossibility of repairing it. The entrance of Bavalan into his chamber, at the dawn of day, with the news that his orders had been executed, converted his sorrow into despair. He shut himself up in his apartment, ordered that no one should be admitted to his presence and refused all sustenance. Bavalan was reproached for having executed the commands imposed on him, but he pleaded the precision of the duke's orders, as an excuse for obeying them. At night, however, he again entered Montfort's

apartment, and relieved him from his distress, by an assurance that Clifton was still alive. The duke was unable to contain the transports of joy and gratitude with which his bosom was agitated. He seized the knight in his arms, extolled his fidelity, and called him the guardian of his honour.

The duke, however, refused to release the constable, till he had engaged to purchase his liberty by the payment of one hundred thousand livres, and the surrender of four fortified places in his possession. But the moment Clifton was released, he hastened to Paris, where he threw himself at the king's feet and demanded justice for the violence he had sustained; while the noblemen attached to his service, retook the places which he had been compelled to cede. The king was enraged at the affront offered to the first officer of the crown; and his indignation was increased when he reflected that, by this means, his project of a descent upon England had, for the third time, been rendered abortive. Charles resolved to make the duke of Brittany feel the weight of his resentment, but the dukes of Berry and Burgundy induced him to forego his design.

Charles resolved to procure some satisfaction for the affront offered to his favourite, and with that view dispatched ambassadors to the court of Brittany. The duke, in the mean time, had strengthened the fortifications of his principal towns and fortresses, and had persuaded several of the former to receive English garrisons. The earl of Arundel, with an English fleet, was cruising off the coast of Brittany; and by pushing Montfort to extremities there was reason to apprehend that he would open his ports to the public enemy. The new king of Navarre, whose sister the duke had lately espoused, might, it was feared, take advantage of this conjuncture, to assert his claim to his father's possessions in Normandy. The duke of Brittany was aware of these motives of forbearance, and, therefore, refused to give any satisfactory answer to the French ambassadors. At length by the persuasions of the lord of Montboucher, he repaired to the French court, where he engaged to repay, by instalments, the money extorted from Clifton.

Charles was now at leisure to satisfy his resentment against the duke of Gueldres, one of the vassals whose military services Charles the Wise had purchased, towards the conclusion of his reign. This prince, having received more advantageous offers from the English court, had withdrawn his homage, and sent a formal defiance to the king*. The necessary preparations being completed, Charles placed himself at the head of his troops; but as he was about to enter the imperial territories, it was necessary to send ambassadors to Winceslaus, to explain the motives of his conduct and the object of his expedition. The emperor replied, that he was acquainted with the intentions of his cousin, the king of France, but he could not conceive it necessary that so powerful a monarch should assemble all his forces, and incur so great an expence, for an enterprise of

* Trésor des Chartres; Du Tillet; Froissard.

such little importance; he added, that had he been sooner apprised of the circumstance, he would have saved the king the trouble of so long a journey, by compelling the duke of Gueldres to listen to reason. The ambassadors returned thanks to the emperor, and assured him that the king of France, when his honour was concerned, neither regarded trouble nor expence. When the ambassadors returned with this answer, the army were already on their march; application had been made to the duchess of Brabant to allow them to pass through her territories; but, although her subjects were at war with the duke of Gueldres, the nobility requested she would desire the king to take another road, as they were not less afraid of the troops of their allies, than of those of their enemies. It became necessary to take a circuit; and the army, having traversed Champagne, the Ardennes, and Luxembourg, preceded by three thousand workmen, who were employed in levelling the roads, arrived on the frontiers of Juliers, after a long and toilsome march. The duke of Juliers, whose territories lay open to the depredations of the troops, threw himself at the king's feet, and besought him to pardon his son. He experienced a favourable reception from Charles, whose troops extended their incursions into the duchy of Gueldres. The duke of Gueldres then sued for peace, and obtained it*, on condition that he should submit his dispute with the duchess of Brabant to the decision of the king; that if, in future, he should find occasion to send a defiance, it should be couched in terms of greater politeness than the last, and preceded by a warning given a year before.

To support these extraordinary expences, recourse was had to the usual means of raising money in those ages. Considerable sums were exacted from the Jews, either for the new privileges they obtained, or for the renewal of such as they had before enjoyed. Among the infinite number of concessions†, all contrary to existing laws, that were now granted to this people, one of the most singular, was the permission to exact from their debtors compound interest.

The authority enjoyed by the dukes of Berry and Burgundy had long excited the jealousy of the courtiers; and, on the violence offered to the constable by the duke of Brittany, that jealousy had manifested itself in a peculiar manner. The expedition of Gueldres had suspended the effects of this misunderstanding; but those who wished to deprive the princes of any share in the government, had not ceased to instil into the mind of the king, suspicions of their fidelity, which their conduct was calculated to confirm. Charles now began to regard his uncles as troublesome tutors, to whose authority he was resolved no longer to submit. He had attained to an age impatient of restraint; and nothing could please him better than to take the government into his own hands. On his return from Gueldres, he convened an assembly at Rheims, which was attended by the princes of the blood, many of the nobility and dignified clergy, and by

* Trésor des Chartres.

† Trésor des Chartres, Reg. 132. p. 215.

all the members of the council. It was here submitted to the assembly, whether it was not time for the king to reign alone, as his understanding appeared to be fully developed; and as he saw his uncles, and their agents, more intent on their own private interest, than on the promotion of the public good? The dukes of Burgundy and Berry were present while the question was discussed. The chancellor called upon the cardinal de Laon for his opinion. That prelate declined speaking first; but, the king insisting, he was forced to obey. After observing that the king was old enough to sway the sceptre, since he had completed his twentieth year, he said, that the good of the state required that he should immediately take the government into his own hands, to remove all cause for envy and discontent between the nobles of the realm, whence great inconveniences had arisen, and still greater might be reasonably expected. The cardinal, who at first had seemed fearful of entering into an open explanation of his sentiments, grew bolder, as he advanced in his speech, and expatiated largely on the abuses which had crept into the government. Although the two princes were greatly dissatisfied with the conduct of their nephew, they did not venture to express their discontent at his resolution.

Some days after the dissolution of this assembly, the cardinal de Laon fell dangerously ill; and, from the symptoms of his disorder, he was convinced that some secret enemy had hastened the period of his existence. He died, with sentiments truly christian; his last breath spoke the language of forgiveness, and he earnestly requested that no attempt might be made to discover the author of his death*. The king was extremely afflicted at his loss: he ordered the body to be opened, and the discovery of poison, then reduced to a certainty, what before was but doubt. The prelate's last request, however, was complied with, and the punishment of the atrocious deed was left to the severest of all judges, a guilty conscience.

A. D. 1388.] The dukes of Berry and Burgundy now retired to their respective appanages, while the king entered on the duties of his station. He found the finances in dreadful disorder. The royal household, instead of the splendour of royalty, exhibited an appearance of want. The king, at the time the dukes took leave of him, had few jewels, and little plate, tapestry, and furniture, while his uncles displayed a degree of pomp that eclipsed the lustre of the throne.

A total change took place at court; where those who had been connected with the princes were dismissed, and replaced by the creatures of the new ministry. The government was entrusted to Le Begue de Vilaines; the lord of la Riviere; John de Mercier, lord of Noviant; and John de Montagu: these noblemen were supported by the credit and authority of the constable. The duke of Bourbon still preserved, with the king and council, that influence and power, to the possession of which he had every claim that illustrious birth, magnani-

* Le Laboureur.

mity of mind, and unshaken integrity could confer. Charles, when he dismissed his paternal uncles, particularly requested that this prince would continue to assist him with his advice. His virtues were known to every one; he loved the king for himself; and all his views were directed to the good of the state. He was equally esteemed by the sovereign, the nobility, and the people, and contemporary writers unite in giving him the best of characters.

The people flattered themselves that their new governors would signalise the commencement of their administration by diminishing the weight of imposts*: but the only relief which they obtained was a repeal of the additional tax, which had been levied for defraying the expences of the war. All the other taxes and subsidies continued to be levied as before. Six *generals of the finances* were appointed, who constituted *the court of aids*, which regulated all matters of finance, and took cognizance of all causes relating to the public revenue. A new council of state was formed at the same time, consisting of the constable, the two marshals, and nine other members.

After enforcing some regulations for promoting cleanliness in the metropolis, and for reducing the number of judges in parliament, the ministry applied themselves to the conclusion of a peace with England: and, though no immediate accommodation was the result of their negotiations, a tacit suspension of hostilities took place till the following year, when a truce was signed, for three years, in which all the allies of both crowns were included†.

The marriage of the duke of Touraine with Valentina of Milan, daughter to Galeazzo Visconti by Isabella of France, sister to Charles the Wise, was celebrated about this time at Melun, in presence of the king and his whole court. The rejoicings lasted several days. Besides the county of Asti, and an estate of thirty thousand livres per annum, the princess of Milan brought her husband a considerable sum of money, amounting, according to Froissard, to more than a million of livres, equal, in value, to four hundred thousand pounds sterling of our present money, and, in effects to upwards of two millions. A part of this money was employed in the purchase of estates, which produced a considerable augmentation of the prince's appanage.

The next subject of rejoicing which occurred, was the queen's public entry into Paris, which had been deferred till the present year. The king, wishing to be present (incognito) at the procession, mounted behind one of his courtiers; they both paraded the streets in disguise, and were beaten by the serjeants, who were stationed to keep off the mob; an incident which amused Charles. Next day the queen was crowned in the chapel belonging to the palace. The presents made, on this occasion, by the citizens of Paris to the queen, were carried to her apartment by two men, one of whom was disguised as a bear, and

* Cour des Aydes; Recueil des Ordonnances; Registres de la Cour des Aydes; Trésor des Chartres.

† Rymer, vol. vii. p. 623.

the other as an unicorn. The plate presented to the duchess of Touraine, on her marriage, was likewise carried by two men, with their faces blacked, and dressed like Moors. These presents cost the city sixty thousand crowns of gold. The Parisians had flattered themselves with the hopes that this testimony of their zeal would be the means of affecting some diminution of the taxes; but, on the departure of the court, their hopes all vanished. The duty on salt was encreased; and an alteration of the coin gave them fresh subject of discontent. People were forbidden to receive the old coin under pain of death; and, as this prohibition extended to every species of money, it produced the greatest inconvenience to the public. As the kingdom was now at peace, the truce with England being concluded, there could be no excuse for such oppressive exactions.

About this time the king undertook a journey to Avignon, to confer with Clement, who exhorted him to profit by the troubles which prevailed in Italy, to secure to Lewis of Anjou the crown of Naples. The pontiff received the king with the honours due to his rank, and was prodigal in such favours as were best fitted to please Charles and his court. Among other proofs of liberality, he granted him the disposal of four bishopricks and seven hundred and fifty benefices. Two days after the arrival of the court, Lewis of Anjou received the crown of Naples and Sicily from the hands of his holiness.

While the king was at Avignon, intelligence arrived of the death of Urban competitor of Clement. It was at first hoped that his death would put an end to the schism in the church; but those hopes vanished. The prelates who had been attached to the pontiff of Rome filled the pontifical chair. The conclave, composed of fourteen cardinals, elected Boniface the Ninth*.

When Charles left Avignon he repaired to Beziers. The inhabitants of Languedoc, oppressed by the government of the duke of Berry, carried their complaints to the throne. A Bernardine monk, had undertaken to represent to the king the deplorable state of the province. The people experienced every species of oppression. The towns and villages were equally exposed to exactions the most unjust: impositions innumerable had been levied on them, and repeated five or six times in one year. When unable to pay, their goods were seized, their persons arrested, and the smallest resistance experienced rigorous punishment. Such were these depredations, that upwards of forty thousand families were compelled to abandon their country and take refuge in Arragon, or some of the neighbouring provinces; this abuse of power converted one of the finest countries in France almost into a desert.

Betizac the chief minister of the duke of Berry, had acquired an absolute ascendancy over the mind of his master. He had a fertility of invention, in expedients pregnant with destruction. In other respects, his ignorance was extreme, and could only be exceeded by his vices. The king, moved by the representa-

* Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. 98.

tions of the monk, which were made in presence of the duke of Berry, promised to remedy the evils of which the province complained. The duke imagined that this promise would soon be forgotten, and that the king would be contented with the orders which he sent to his minister to moderate the taxes in Languedoc. But the resolution was taken not only to deprive him of the government, but to inflict exemplary punishment on such of his ministers as had made improper use of authority. Most of the duke's officers were dismissed. Betizac was thrown into prison, and preparations were made for his trial that soon caused him to tremble for his life. Commissioners were appointed to examine him, who asked him by what means he had amassed the immense treasures found in his possession? To which he replied, "My lord of Berry wishes his servants to be rich." This defence was rejected as unsatisfactory; but the proceedings of the commissioners were stopped by the arrival of two knights, with letters from the duke of Berry, who acknowledged that Betizac, in his administration, had done nothing without his express orders. Such a justification ought to have procured the immediate release of the prisoner; but the council resolved to accomplish by stratagem what could not be effected by law. A person was sent to visit Betizac in prison, under the mask of friendship, who informed him that his execution was fixed for the next day, and that the only means of averting the fate which awaited him, was by acknowledging the commission of some crime cognizable only by the ecclesiastical judge, in which case he would be conducted to Avignon, where the duke of Berry had sufficient influence to procure his absolution. Betizac gave credit to this intelligence; and, next day sending for his judges, he confessed to them that he neither believed in the doctrine of the Trinity, nor in the incarnation. This was sufficient for their purpose; they hastened to the king and informed him of what they had heard. Charles exclaimed, that Betizac was a wretch who deserved to perish, and that all the remonstrances of the duke of Berry should not save him from the flames.

When brought before the ecclesiastical judges, Betizac persisted in the declarations he had previously made. He was then delivered up to the civil jurisdiction, and conducted, without delay, to the place of execution. The duke of Berry vowed to revenge the death of his favourite on the constable and his associates, by whose means it had been promoted. Though this rapacious minister was, doubtless, deserving of the severest punishment, yet the artifice, by which his destruction was effected, reflected the highest disgrace on the council. The nation seems to have derived little advantage from the change of its governors. Clisson, indeed, had ever displayed a ferocious and sanguinary disposition; any act of cruelty in him, therefore, cannot excite surprise. La Riviere and other ministers were, on this occasion, wholly influenced by the constable. Farther, to irritate the duke of Berry, they not only deprived him of the government of Languedoc, but John Harpedenne, nephew to Clisson, was chosen to carry to the prince the order of his dismissal.

A. D. 1390, 1391.] Although the duke of Bourbon had been requested by the king to remain at court, and assist him with his advice, that prince had a very small share in the government. His advice was too disinterested to be followed by a monarch destitute of experience, and surrounded by rapacious courtiers, who barred all access to the throne. Every body murmured at the conduct of the present administration, and the people were almost tempted to regret the dismissal of Berry and Burgundy. Bourbon, and the few noblemen truly zealous to promote the welfare of the state, deplored, in secret, the present disorders, and the fatal consequences of those divisions which already began to appear. They were silent; and their silence tended to augment the audacity of those who directed the government. Clifton, la Riviere, Noviant and Montagu had become arbiters of the kingdom.

The duke of Bourbon seized the first opportunity that occurred for absenting himself with honour at least for a time. The arrival of ambassadors from the republic of Geneva, who came to implore the assistance of France against the African corsairs, furnished him with a pretence*. Being declared chief of the expedition, he repaired to Genoa, with fifteen hundred men at arms, where he was joined by the earl of Derby, eldest son to the duke of Lancaster, a prince of the greatest courage. These troops, joined to the Genoese, landed on the coast of Africa, in sight of the infidels, who were drawn up on the shore, but who, on the approach of the christians, fled with precipitation. The christians laid siege to Carthage, and made several fruitless efforts to take that city by assault; foiled in this attempt they made a furious attack on the enemy, who were entrenched in a fortified camp; they forced the entrenchments, and routed the infidels with great slaughter. Their army, in the mean time, diminished from the intemperance of the climate. They were on the point of re-embarking, when the king of Tunis proposed an accommodation. A treaty was concluded, by which that monarch agreed to restore all the christian slaves in his dominions; to pay ten thousand ducats of gold towards defraying the expences of the war; and engaged, in future, to impose no restraint on the freedom of commerce. This last article was but ill-observed. The christian merchants were exposed, more than ever, to the exactions of the infidels. All the commerce of the Levant was monopolized by the Venetians, the Neapolitans, and the Genoese, but principally by the latter. Genoa was then considered as the emporium of the east and west, and the interest of that republic had been alone consulted in the expedition to Africa. The Genoese flattered themselves, that, by obtaining possession of Carthage, they would exempt their vessels from paying the tribute exacted by the mahometans, on their approach to the coast of Barbary. But, after this expedition, the Africans made them pay such heavy duties, that, for a long time, all the commodities of the east, and particularly spices, sold at a most enormous price.

* Chron. MS. No. 10279; Juvenal des Ursins; Le Laboureur; Chron. de St. Denis.

The noblemen and knights who accompanied the duke of Bourbon, made themselves amends for the failure of their enterprise by the recital of their adventures. The king, heated by the description of these martial achievements, formed the project of attacking the infidels, either by repairing to the coast of Africa, or by marching against Bajazet, emperor of the Turks, who had just succeeded his father, Amurath the First. Charles accustomed himself to give way to his inclinations. His ministers had recourse to a stratagem, to make him abandon, or at least suspend the execution of this project; they gave him to understand that he could not render a greater service to religion, than by effecting the extinction of the schism which prevailed in the papacy; that it was necessary to establish harmony in the church, before he took up arms in her defence. The king relished this advice. He determined to march into Italy, and compel the Romans to submit to the authority of Clement. He recollected that, on his departure from Avignon, he had promised that pontiff to espouse his cause with effect.

This expedition being resolved on, an account was drawn up of the number of troops destined to pass the Alps. The king was to lead four thousand lances; the dukes of Berry and Burgundy each of them two thousand; the duke of Bourbon, one thousand; the constable, two thousand; and the lords of Coucy and Saint Paul one thousand. The duke of Brittany was apprised of the king's departure for Italy, and invited to accompany him, but he laughed at the idea; observing, that Charles would soon have other business to occupy his attention. In fact, a party was already formed against the government. The king was blind to every thing; the weakness of his mind began to display itself; and his ministers, elated with the favour they enjoyed, took no pains to avert the storm which hovered over their heads. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy seemed to approve the king's resolution, from the conviction that they could deter him from carrying it into execution.

Although the constable was protected by the king, he had not been able to constrain the duke of Brittany to fulfil the terms of the last accommodation; wherefore he exerted his influence with the council to make the nation a party in his private disputes*. The duke had plausible grounds of recrimination against Clifton and his son-in-law, the count of Penthievre, who had hitherto refused to pay him that homage to which he was bound by the treaty of Guerande. Hostilities had commenced, and several places been reduced. Deputies were sent by the court of France into Brittany, for settling new terms of pacification. When they had concluded a treaty; they returned; but they had no sooner left the province, than the duke took possession of Chantonceaux, a place belonging to the constable. This incident rekindled the flames of discord. The duke sent ambassadors to France, for whom he was under the necessity of apply-

* Histoire de Bretagne; Froissard,

ing for safe-conducts, in the apprehension that they would be stopped by Pen-thievre and Clisson.

To engage the duke of Brittany in a quarrel with France, the constable accused him of invading the prerogatives of the crown, by coining money in his own dominions; and of being guilty of rebellion, by prohibiting the officers of his courts of justice from receiving the citations of the parliament of Paris. The sovereigns of Brittany had, at all times, enjoyed the privilege of coining money. It was recorded in all the ancient registers, and had never been given up. With regard to the citations, the duke properly observed that they could not have effect in Brittany, unless in those particular causes, in which the feudal laws admitted of appeals to the superior lord, and in the case of a refusal of justice. He justified himself from the complaints preferred against him for receiving the oath of fealty from his vassals, accompanied by a promise to serve him against all men whatever, without any exception of persons; such being the form of the oath which had, for time immemorial, been exacted. The schism in the papacy afforded another ground of complaint. The duke, on the death of Urban, had declared in favour of Clement, merely in hope of seeing tranquillity restored to the church; but, on the election of Boniface, he adhered to the system he had formerly adopted, and observed a strict neutrality. The king disapproved of his conduct; but the duke, in his defence, alledged that this was a question merely spiritual, which could have no possible relation to his feudal duties; and that he thought himself obliged, in so delicate an affair, to be guided by the dictates of his conscience, in preference to all human considerations.

Such were the principal subjects of discontent, which the constable and his partisans were incessantly repeating to the king; while the princes, who favoured the duke of Brittany, threw all their influence into the opposite scale. At length it was resolved that the king, the constable, and his son-in-law, should repair to Tours, and that the duke should meet them there, to bring about a final accommodation. The duke of Berry went to Brittany to prepare Montfort for the interview, and he was accompanied by envoys dispatched by the council for the same purpose. These ambassadors, in fulfilling their commission, displayed so much pride, and so little regard to decency, that the duke would have thrown them into prison, but for the intervention of his wife. He therefore dismissed them, with a promise to attend the conference at Tours.

While these proceedings kept the minds of the public in suspense, a court intrigue, which, at the time, excited but little attention, first set in motion those secret springs which produced the greatest calamities to the kingdom*. Amongst the crowd of idle people who frequented the court was Peter de Craon, whose criminal neglect hastened the disgrace of the duke of Anjou. Supported by the

* Froissard; Chron. de St. Denis; Chron. MS.

protection of the young duke of Touraine, he braved the reproaches which his conduct had merited ; while the splendour of his birth, and his immense riches, encreased that consideration which the friendship of the prince had procured for him. Craon had, for some time, carried on a secret correspondence with the duke of Brittany, to whom he was related, but his imprudence soon deprived him of the means of supporting it. He had the indiscretion to reveal to the duchess of Touraine, an affair of gallantry, which the duke had imparted to him in confidence. The duchess immediately sent for the lady, and threatened her with instant death, unless she renounced all future connections with her husband : she then informed the duke of the perfidy of his confident ; and he immediately preferred a complaint to the king against Craon, who was banished from the court, without being informed of the cause of his disgrace. He had retired to Brittany some time before the interview at Tours. The duke persuaded him that Clifton was the author of his disgrace ; Craon resolved to be revenged on his enemy, and waited a favourable opportunity to gratify his resentment.

The court, in the mean time, arrived at Tours, whither the duke of Brittany repaired, attended by a retinue of fifteen hundred persons, and by five vessels manned and armed. Notwithstanding the eagerness with which this interview had been promoted, the duke was compelled to wait a long time before he could procure an audience. The ministers, indeed, seem to have studied every means which they thought could induce him to break off the conferences. His people were insulted, and his arms, which he had placed over the door of his mansion, were covered with mud. The king informed of these insults, doubled the guards, and attempted to appease the duke. At this juncture, when an open rupture was hourly expected, the constable arrived with the duke de Penthièvre. Clifton's retinue, in numbers and magnificence, exceeded those of the princes of the blood. The ascendancy which this minister had acquired over his master destroyed all hopes of reconciliation. He advised him to return to Paris, and from thence to march into Brittany, at the head of a powerful army ; this advice Charles had actually adopted, but the spirited interference of the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, prevented him from putting it in execution, and induced him to renew the negotiations with the duke of Brittany, by proposing a double marriage between the infant son of that prince, and a daughter of Charles ; and a son of the count of Penthievre, with a daughter of the duke. This project, by which the duchy of Brittany would be ensured to a princess of France, disconcerted Clifton and his partisans. Montfort was prevailed on to accept this proposal. The count of Penthievre accordingly paid homage to the duke, ratified the treaty of Guerrande, and promised to lay down the arms and ducal title of Brittany, which he had assumed. The dispute between the duke and the constable was settled with equal facility. The court then returned to the capital, and Montfort to his duchy, with the full resolution of evading what he had, in a manner, been compelled to sign. He had no sooner arrived at Ren-

nes, than he set a new enquiry on foot, the result of which was a complete confirmation of those claims which he had been obliged to relinquish, their validity having been contested by the council.

Immediately after the king's return from Tours, the queen gave birth to a prince. This event proved a source of infinite satisfaction, as his two first children had died in infancy ; and as a hermit had, three years before, predicted that he would be the last of his race, unless he abolished the taxes. The hermit's prediction had a great effect upon Charles, but the dukes of Burgundy and Berry, being less credulous, and more avaricious than their nephew, dissuaded him from enforcing the resolution he had adopted, to suppress those imposts.

A. D. 1392.] At the commencement of this year, the dukes of York and Lancaster repaired to Amiens. They were received by the king with every mark of attention. The object of their embassy was, a renewal of the negotiations for a peace between France and England ; but all they could effect was a prolongation of a truce for a year.

Soon after the departure of the English princes, the king was attacked by a dangerous disorder, during which the first symptoms appeared of that delirium which embittered the remainder of his days. As he was in the bloom of youth, the strength of his constitution might, with the assistance of a proper regimen, have, probably, enabled him to have stopped this infirmity in its origin ; but those faithless ministers, by whom he was surrounded, tended to promote the growth of an evil, which it was their duty to eradicate. The queen was addicted to pleasureable pursuits ; and it must be supposed that her conduct had an irresistible influence over that of the court.

But amidst the pleasures of the table, the princes of the blood were not deaf to the calls of ambition or interest. The duke of Touraine obtained from the king, his brother, the duchy of Orleans, in exchange for that of Touraine ; with a pension of four thousand livers*. He made a farther acquisition of territory, by the purchase of the county of Blois†, much against the will of the duke of Berry, whose daughter, widow to the only son of Guy, count of Blois, had a part of her dower payable from the revenues of that county. The price of the county was fixed at two hundred thousand livres, which the duke of Orleans paid out of his wife's fortune.

During these transactions, Craon had established his residence in Brittany, where he had been employed in devising means of revenge against Clifton. He secretly sent arms to his house in Paris, and assembled about forty of his dependents. He repaired to the metropolis himself, where he lay concealed till the time arrived for putting his scheme in execution. On the festival of the holy sacrament, Clifton had staid at the Hotel de Saint Paul till night was far advan-

*Trésor des Chartres, reg. 143.

† Froissard.

ced; on his return home, with only eight attendants, all of whom were unarmed, he was suddenly attacked by a body of ruffians, with Craon at their head. So sure was that nobleman of effecting his purpose, that he called out to Clifson to let him know whom he had to encounter, and what he had to expect. The constable defended himself; but, being overpowered by numbers, he was dismounted, and left motionless on the ground. Craon, thinking that he was dead, retired with precipitation, and most of his accomplices effected their escape. But the wounds which Clifson had received, though numerous, proved to be slight; and the surgeons assured the king, on the first dressing, that he would be able to mount his horse in a fortnight.

The king, who had hastened to the spot where the affair happened, expressed the greatest sorrow and indignation. The provost of Paris had orders to dispatch messengers after Craon, but he had too much the start to be overtaken. Two men at arms, however, and a page, who were found in the road, some leagues from Paris, were beheaded three days after they were taken; as was also the porter of Craon's hotel, though ignorant of his master's designs. A canon of Chartres, at whose house Craon had stopped to refresh himself, was conducted to Paris, and, though a man of unimpeached integrity, he was treated as a criminal, deprived of his livings, and condemned to pass the remainder of his days in a dungeon. Craon, in the mean time, arrived at Sable, a strong fortress of his own, on the confines of Maine and Brittany. He there learned that Clifson was not dead. Not thinking himself safe at Sable, he pursued his journey to Brittany. Though absent, he was tried for the crime he had committed, and his mansion at Paris was levelled with the ground. His property was confiscated, and divided among the king's favourites. The duke of Orleans had a considerable part of it. Almost all the houses he had inhabited were demolished; and most of the courtiers, from a servile attention to the king, assisted at the demolition. The admiral, John de Vienne, was ordered to take possession of the lordship of Ferte-Bernard, which belonged to Craon; not content with securing the immense riches he found there, he turned Joan of Chastillon, wife to Craon, out of doors, with scarcely cloaths sufficient to conceal her nakedness.

Charles, when informed that Craon had taken refuge in Brittany, sent ambassadors to the duke to demand the criminal. Montfort assured them that he was ignorant of his retreat; and observed, that he could have nothing to do with a private quarrel between Craon and Clifson. This answer was deemed equivocal, and war was immediately resolved on by the council. The duke of Berry was at Paris at this time; and it is pretended that he had been informed of the conspiracy against Clifson, by Craon's secretary. This prince and the duke of Burgundy, were enemies to the constable, whom they accused of having acquired a perfect ascendancy over the king, in order to obtain a degree of authority which he daily abused, and to appropriate the revenue of the state to his own private use. When Clifson was wounded by Craon and his accomplices,

he believed his life to be in danger ; he therefore, made his will ; after disposing of his real property, he bequeathed seventeen hundred thousand livres, in money and jewels, equal in value to about seven hundred thousand pounds, and, in efficacy, to upwards of three millions and an half sterling ! Besides the marriage portions of his two daughters, as considerable as if they had been princesses of the blood, he had discharged the ransom of one of his sons-in-law ; had recently paid a hundred thousand livres to the duke of Brittany ; had purchased several estates ; and displayed in his house all the pomp and splendour of a sovereign prince. As his father had left his children but trifling fortunes, this immense wealth must have been acquired at the expence of honesty.

Bent on revenging the projected assassination of his favourite, Charles would listen to nothing that was foreign from his plan. Orders were issued for levying troops throughout the kingdom ; every man was anxious to display his loyalty by obedience, and such as disapproved an enterprise which tended to make a private quarrel the object of a national war, were compelled to conceal their real sentiments ; for the king had declared that any remonstrance on this subject would incur his displeasure. Clifton and his associates were aware that the eyes of the nation were fixed on their conduct. Impressed with these ideas, they courted popularity, and sought to conciliate favour by condescension. The university had long solicited in vain, for an audience of the king ; their wishes were now complied with, and a promise was obtained that the object of their complaints should be immediately removed, and the preservation of their privileges enforced. The enmity of the duke of Berry they sought to avert, by restoring to him the government of Languedoc ; while Charles endeavoured to secure the compliance of the duke of Burgundy, by professions of favour and affection. But the enlightened part of the nation viewed the enterprise in a proper light, while the princes, less cautious and circumspect, openly expressed their disapprobation of the minister's conduct. The duke of Burgundy, in particular, was loud in his censures ; and denounced threats against all such as should confirm his nephew in the resolution of carrying the war into Brittany. The council would have yielded to his opinion, but Clifton, was too proud to relax, where interest and revenge urged him to be firm.

Some private meetings were held, at which different means for setting aside the enterprise were proposed. Many difficulties were started, and embarrassments promoted, which retarded the departure of the troops. One reason appeared unanswerable ; the king's physicians protested that Charles was not in a condition to pursue the journey. Since his last illness, his constitution had been impaired ; an internal heat preyed upon his health ; and his mental faculties had sustained still greater injury than his bodily powers. His conversation continually betrayed symptoms of derangement. Alternately cholerick and lethargic, his ideas seemed only to be clear and regular on the execution of the project he had in view. Letters were presented him, from the queen of

Arragon, who informed him that a knight, whom she suspected to be Craon, had been stopped at Barcelona, on the point of embarking for Naples. It is pretended that the duke of Brittany had actually compelled Craon to retire into Arragon.

The king refused to listen to the information* ; and, when the duke of Burgundy pressed him to verify the fact, by sending messengers to Barcelona, he replied, that he might send when he pleased, but that Craon was certainly in Brittany, and there alone would he seek him. The refusal of the governor of Sable to surrender that place confirmed Charles in this opinion. In vain did the duke renew his protestations that he had no share in the crime committed by Craon, and that he was wholly ignorant of his retreat ; it was determined to give no credit to this assertion, but immediately to proceed to the gratification of Clifton's resentment. The departure of the troops was accordingly fixed for the fifth day of August, in the year 1392.

The whole nation, excepting only the ministers and their immediate partisans, were highly discontented with the war. There was no proof that the duke of Brittany protected the criminal who was claimed by the French council. The formal disavowal of the duke was all that the most rigid justice could require. Clifton triumphed over all his opponents: the army moved forward. As the troops pursued their march, they were in hourly expectation of some event which would cause them to return. There is every inducement to believe that secret measures were taken to set aside the expedition. From an exact relation of circumstances, our readers will be enabled to form an opinion on the subject, and to discover, at least, a part of the truth.

The day on which the king left Mans, his spirits were more than usually depressed ; before he mounted his horse, he sat down to a repast, but scarcely tasted any thing that was offered him ; he appeared gloomy and stupid. Although the weather was excessively hot, he threw a *furtout* of black velvet over his armour. On his head he wore a hat decorated with pearls, over a scarlet hood. As he crossed the forest of Mans, on the road to Angiers, he had but few attendants near his person, for the troops kept at a distance, that they might not incommode him with the dust. He had not long entered the wood, when a strange figure, clad in a white robe, sprung from between two trees, and, seizing his horse's bridle, exclaimed, "*King advance no farther, but return, for you are betrayed!*" Some men at arms, who were near the king, rushed forward, and, striking the hands of this living apparition, obliged him to let loose the bridle. He then retired, while no one either thought of stopping him or of enquiring who or what he was. The king pursued his journey ; and, on quitting the forest entered on a sandy plain, where the heat was almost insupportable, from the scorching rays of the sun. Two pages were immediately behind

* Chron. MS. B. R. No. 10297.

† Villaret,



Singleton Del.

Galland Sc.

Charles the Sixth arrested in the Forest of Mans by a Specter.

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the king, one of whom carried his lance, which he let fall on his comrade's helmet. At this noise the king, roused, as it were, from a deep lethargy, imagined the prediction of the apparition was on the point of accomplishment; impressed with this idea, he attacked the pages, sword in hand, and, having dismounted them, pressed onwards. Every one fled at his approach; the duke of Orleans, hearing the tumult, rode up to his brother, who instantly attacked him with such fury, that he had scarcely time to provide for his safety by a precipitate flight. The duke of Burgundy called out "*let him be seized!*" No one, however, durst approach him. The king, in the mean time, flew through the ranks, aiming his blows at all that came in his way. The troops, at length, formed a circle round the monarch, and one of his chamberlains, a gentleman of Normandy, named William Martel, jumped up behind him, and, seizing his arms, secured him from the commission of farther violence. When his uncles and the duke of Orleans approached, they found him senseless. The troops immediately faced about, and the king was put into a cart and carried to Mans. It was, at first, supposed he was poisoned; and the wine of which he had drank in the morning was analysed; but, on consulting the physicians, they declared that the king had long borne within him the dangerous principles of this disorder, which excess of labour and fatigue had only served to develope.

The princes who were called by their birth to the government of the kingdom on such an occasion as the present, immediately began to exercise their authority. The care of the king's person was entrusted to four knights, who were entirely devoted to their service; next day the king's disorder encreased to such a degree, that it was found necessary to chain him. He was conveyed to Creil, a country-seat on the banks of the Oise. It was not thought prudent to take him to Paris, as the queen was then pregnant, and it was intended to conceal from her, as far as possible, the real situation of her husband. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy, after they had disbanded the army, hastened to the capital. The news of the king's illness spread a general consternation throughout the kingdom, for Charles was beloved by his subjects. The people flocked to the churches, and sought to conciliate the favour of the Deity and to ensure his protection to their afflicted sovereign. But, while the aid of the Divinity was implored, human assistance was not neglected. A physician of Laon, was called in, and, by a proper regimen, he calmed the violence of the disorder, and restored the king to his senses. Charles was then permitted to see the queen, who had just given birth to a daughter.

The dukes of Berry and Burgundy had, at first, evinced a disposition to admit the duke of Orleans to a share in the government; but their conduct soon shewed that this was foreign from their intentions. The exclusion of that prince incapacitated him from preventing the disgrace of his friends. Clisson, la Riviere, le Mercier, and Vilaines, had spared no pains to conciliate his favour; and their endeavours had been attended with success. But his patronage and pro-

tection proved insufficient to secure them from the resentment of the royal brothers. The ruin of Clifton had been previously resolved on, and it was the intention of the princes to bring him to trial before the parliament. Clifton reflected on the danger of his situation; and, crossing the Seine, hastened to Montlhery, a place which belonged to him.

The dukes were informed of the constable's evasion; they repented that they had not ordered him to be arrested, but it was now too late. Clifton having received information that the lord of Coucy, and others, had orders to invest him in his retreat, did not think it prudent to wait their arrival; he repaired to Brittany, where the fortified towns in his possession could afford him a safe asylum. Montagu likewise effected his escape; but la Riviere and le Mercier were arrested and thrown into prison; and it is probable they would have been brought to the scaffold, but the duchess of Berry threw herself at the feet of her husband, and obtained their release.

Commissioners were sent to Brittany to summon the constable to appear before the parliament, but they returned without having been able to find him*. They proceeded, however, with his trial; and, being declared a *false, wicked, and disloyal traitor to the crown of France*, he was sentenced to pay a fine of an hundred thousand marks of silver, to be deprived of the dignity of constable, and to be banished the kingdom. Philip of Artois, son-in-law to the duke of Berry, was appointed to succeed him; and entered on the duties of his office, though Clifton could not be prevailed on to resign the constable's sword. Secretly assisted by the duke of Orleans, he commenced hostilities against the duke of Brittany, and once more involved his native country in civil war.

As the king's constitution was impaired, and his faculties injured, it was deemed necessary to provide for the safety of the kingdom, in case of his death†. The first measure adopted by the council, was, a confirmation of the edict of Charles the Wise, which fixed the majority of the French kings at the completion of their fourteenth year. For this purpose the king held a bed of justice. The different courts of justice were assembled, and a multitude of people attended to hear the publication of the ordonnance. The king settled the guardianship of his children; which was entrusted to the queen, the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon, and Lewis of Bavaria, the queen's brother. The revenues of the duchy of Normandy, the town and viscounty of Paris, and of the bailiwicks of Senlis and Melun, were assigned for the support of the dauphin and his brothers. A council, consisting of three prelates, six noblemen, and three clerks, was appointed to assist the queen and the four princes. By the same ordonnance, the form of the oath to be taken by the guardians and the counsellors, was prescribed. If the queen contracted a second marriage, after the king's death, she forfeited her right to the guardianship.

* Froissard; Hist. de Bretagne.

† Trésor des Chartres, Layette, *Regences et Majorites des Rois*, No. 94 Régist. du Parlement.

Although the dukes of Berry and Burgundy appeared, from their age, and from their quality of uncles to the king, to have a kind of superiority over the duke of Orleans, yet this last, as first prince of the blood, had an incontestible right to the supreme authority ; wherefore he was appointed, by letters patent, regent of the kingdom, without any sort of restriction ; he was not even obliged to have the assistance of a council of regency. As the king lived thirty years after these regulations, they were never enforced ; but they tend to shew that the same principle, which had been established by the ancient laws of the realm, still prevailed, in the separation of the offices of guardian and regent.

A. D. 1393.] After the king's health was restored, his physician requested, that he might experience no contradiction, nor be suffered to attend to business, that his mind might acquire strength. In compliance with this request, his inclinations were studied, and every recreation which could amuse him was promoted. The diversions of the carnival were more than usually brilliant ; and, during that season of relaxation and gaiety, the marriage of one of the queen's female attendants with a gentleman of Vermandois, was celebrated by a splendid feast, followed by a masquerade. The king entered the apartment, in the disguise of a savage, leading five other masks, who were all chained together, and arrayed in a similar dress ; the six dresses were made of linen, covered with pitch, and while warm, powdered with down. Before the ball began, an order had been issued to extinguish all the torches ; but the duke of Orleans, who was ignorant of the order, took a lighted torch from an attendant, and, carelessly approaching it to the face of one of the savages, whom he wished to recognise, set his dress on fire ; the combustible matter of which it was composed caused the flames to spread with rapidity, and, in an instant, they were communicated to his four companions. The king had left them some time before, and was engaged in conversation with the duchess of Berry. This accident threw the company into such confusion, that, each individual being intent on providing for his own personal safety, no one thought of attempting to extinguish the flames. When Charles heard the noise, he made an effort to leave the duchess of Berry, but that princess, though she knew not with whom she had been conversing, prudently detained him, and warned him of the danger he would incur by mingling with the crowd. The king then made himself known, and the duchess wrapped him in her cloak, and rescued him from destruction. Four of the five masks, perished : the fifth, John de Nantouillet, broke the chain which fastened him to his companions, and, running into an adjoining apartment, jumped into a cistern of water, and extinguished the flame. The queen fainted away, and had been conveyed to her chamber ; when she recovered, and saw the king standing at her side, her joy was so great that she could scarcely credit the testimony of her senses. Next day the king shewed himself to the people, who displayed an eagerness to see him. He went to the cathedral of Notre Dame, attended by the princes of the blood, and such of the nobility

as were then at Paris. The duke of Orleans, to expiate his imprudence, founded a chapel, which he endowed with the lordship of Perche-Fontaine, a part of the confiscated property of Craon.

The terror of the king at this disaster, produced a return of his disorder*. William Martel, one of his chamberlains, was the first who perceived its approach, of which he apprised the duke of Orleans. During this second attack, which lasted nearly seven months, there was sufficient time to examine minutely all the symptoms of the disorder, which began by a depression of spirits, and, by degrees, degenerated into a total alienation of mind; when he neither knew himself nor any one that approached him. He denied he was the king, and, wherever he met with his name or arms, he instantly erased them.

The physician who cured the king in the preceding year, had died in the interval of his convalescence; and the faculty now exhausted all the resources of the medical art in fruitless attempts to discover an effectual remedy for his disorder. All human modes of cure having been found ineffectual, recourse was next had to supernatural aid. In Guienne lived a pretended magician, who had boasted, that, he would restore the king to his senses. This man was accordingly sent for; and, neither the wretchedness of his appearance, the ignorance he betrayed in his conversation, nor the gross vulgarity of his manners and address, could, for a considerable time, open the eyes of a superstitious and credulous court.

The king was conveyed from one country seat to another, in the hope that the change of air might produce what the faculty had failed to effect. But his mind had lost its force; and, at those lucid intervals which sometimes occurred, he was encouraged, by those who surrounded him, to plunge into debauchery, which produced an almost immediate relapse. For the last thirty years of this reign, therefore, the reader must not expect to see a king on the throne of France. Charles can only be considered as a phantom of sovereignty, successively in the possession of different ministers, who prostituted his name to sanction the violence of the great, and the oppression of the people.

The duke of Orleans, was unable to pursue, with consistency, the projects of ambition, amidst that tumult by which his bosom was agitated. Supreme power would have flattered his vanity, but the plan for seizing the reins of government, and for keeping them when obtained, required application and steadiness of conduct, of which, at that time, he was incapable. Besides, though he was only brother to the monarch, his credit seemed to be eclipsed by that of his uncles, who had the advantage of years and experience. The duke of Burgundy had acquired a superiority which nothing could shake. Every thing appeared to concur to the elevation of this prince; the extent of his domains; the number of his dependants; his genius, fortune, and splendour; his abilities

* Froissard.

in the cabinet and the field. The duke of Berry yielded to this all-powerful brother, who exercised the principal authority, at his discretion, and only employed his power for the purpose of his greatness.

The late king, had prohibited all his officers, as well as nobility, from having any concern in the collection of the taxes; but a new ordonnance was now passed, which permitted the nobility to take the taxes to farm, provided there were no other bidders. This was a sure and easy road for the gratification of their avarice; they took advantage of this permission, to deter all others from attending the sales, which produced greater inconvenience than that which the first edict was calculated to prevent; those who were at the head of affairs were not ignorant of the evil effects of such a proceeding, but they sacrificed the interest of the sovereign, and the welfare of the people, to the acquisition of partisans.

Charles, in his first short interval of convalescence, received a deputation from the university of Paris, who entreated him to exert his authority for the extinction of the schism in the papacy. As the rival pontiff's had recently made an application to him for the same purpose, this object was supposed to be nearly attained. The university received orders from the court to give their advice on the subject. Fifty-four doctors were accordingly appointed to examine and collect the suffrages, which amounted to ten thousand, and Nicholas de Cemen-gis, was commissioned to draw up a memorial, containing the opinions of the members. These were reduced to three, the voluntary cession of the papal dignity by the rival pontiffs; the submission of their respective rights to the discussion and decision of umpires appointed by either party; and, the assembly of a general council. The death of Clement, in the following year, put an end to, or rather changed the nature of the dispute.

A. D. 1394.] About this time, the commotions which had prevailed in Brit-tany, between the duke and Clifton, were terminated by a reconciliation. Montfort was induced to sue for an accommodation from his own advanced age, and the tender age of his sons, the eldest of whom was but in his eighth year, and the youngest was in his cradle. The restoration of tranquillity to his dominions was an object peculiarly desirable, and it could not be too dearly purchased by the sacrifice of resentment, and the forgiveness of injuries.

A. D. 1395, 1396.] The truce between England and France had been recently renewed, for four years; and Richard sent a splendid embassy to Paris, to demand Isabella, eldest daughter to Charles, who had not yet completed her eighth year. His offers being accepted by the French court, the princess was married, by the English ambassadors, who represented their sovereign, in the chapel belonging to the palace: the actual celebration of the nuptials was deferred till next year. The king's malady continued to encrease; his intervals of convalescence became shorter, and his relapses more frequent; in one

year he had seven. His situation excited the compassion of all who approached him*.

Genoa was a republic distinguished for its extensive commerce, its numerous fleets, and the wealth of its citizens; but, being more opulent than martial, it was convulsed by intestine factions, and was now on the eve of a revolution†. Threatened by Galeazzo Visconti, whose power daily acquired fresh force, the Genoese had recourse to the protection of France, preferring subjection to a lawful prince, to becoming a prey to an usurper. Galeazzo, apprised of a project which tended to thwart his ambitious designs, exerted every effort he could devise to render it abortive: but, the negotiations were continued at Genoa, and a treaty was, in a short time, concluded, by which the Genoese formally transferred the sovereignty of their republic to the king of France. The convention was ratified by all the orders of the state, and the French ambassadors took possession of the country in the name of their sovereign. The doge resigned his sword, with the other ensigns of royalty, and, at the same time, received the title of governor of the State of Genoa, under the authority of the French king.

When the marriage-contract was signed between Richard and Isabella, a truce for twenty-five years was concluded‡. It had been understood that the young queen of England was to remain at the court of France till she attained to a proper age for the consummation of the marriage; but this delay by no means accorded with the impatience of the English monarch, who was earnest in his solicitations to Charles, to have his youthful consort sent to England, that she might accustom herself betimes to the habits and manners of the country. He expressed his intentions of passing over to Calais, in the hope of inducing the king to comply with his request. Richard, accordingly, repaired thither, accompanied by his uncles, the dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester, and by the principal nobility of the kingdom. The king of England's expences were estimated at three hundred thousand marks of silver; a sum, that greatly exceeded the marriage portion of his wife, which only amounted to eight hundred thousand livres. The moment it was known in France that Richard had landed, the count de Saint-Paul was sent to receive him. This nobleman was followed by the duke of Burgundy; and the king himself, accompanied by the princess Isabella, and the whole court, took the road to St. Omer. The duke of Brittany, who had come to Paris, was of the party§. Previous to his departure, he had appointed Clisson regent of his dominions, and had entrusted him with the care of his wife and children. Montfort's principal object, in accompanying the king on this excursion, was, to procure the restitution of Brest from the English, which, with the assistance of Charles, he at length accomplished, on paying Richard one hundred and twenty thousand livres of gold.

The nuptials of Richard and Isabella were celebrated, on the first of Novem-

* Froissard.

† Ibid.

‡ Rymer's *Fœdera*, t. vii, p. 21, &c.

§ Histoire de Bretagne.

ber, with great pomp at Calais, by the archbishop of Canterbury*. On the sixth of the same month, Richard embarked for England, while Charles returned to the capital. Before they separated, they agreed to meet again, to convert the late truce into a solid peace.

Sigismund, king of Hungary, had implored the assistance of France, to check the rapid progress of Bajazet, the sultan of the Ottomans, who had already swept away whatever adhered to the Greek empire, in Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly. It was accordingly determined to send a body of troops to his relief, under the conduct of the count of Nevers, son to the duke of Burgundy. In this army, which consisted of ten thousand men at arms, there were upwards of a thousand knights, and as many esquires. During their march they were anxious to enjoy every species of luxury and dissipation. But, in the plains of Nicopolis, it was decreed, that their vices and presumption should experience the punishment they deserved. The Hungarians being engaged in the siege of that city, Bajazet hastened to its relief, with two hundred thousand men. Rejecting with disdain the sage councils of de Coucy, and of Sigismund, the French nobility, whose troops formed the van-guard of the Hungarian army, attacked the enemy, before the main body could support them. Surrounded by myriads of infidels, their courage, though desperate, was ineffectual; and the only honour they acquired was that of having sold their lives dearly. Only three hundred survived to become the captives of Bajazet; all of whom, except the count of Nevers, and twenty-four other lords, whose birth promised the advantage of a splendid ransom, were put to death by order of the sultan, in retaliation of a similar instance of cruelty practised by the French on a body of infidels immediately before the battle. The survivors were a long time confined at Bourssa, the residence of the victor, and were at length ransomed for two hundred thousand ducats.

A. D. 1397, 1398.] The death of Philip of Artois, occasioned by a wound he had received in the battle of Nicopolis, having rendered the office of constable vacant, it was conferred on the marshal de Sancerre†. The relapses of Charles became every day more violent; and the alienation of his mental faculties was attended with extreme bodily pain. Though viewed with tender compassion by his people and domestics, he had become an object of disgust to the queen. About this time she contracted a criminal intercourse with her brother-in-law, the duke of Orleans, which rendered them both objects of public indignation.

The king's frequent relapses began to occasion disorders in the government, which the jealousy that prevailed between the princes of the blood contributed to encrease. Each of them, during the illness of Charles, laid claim to the sovereign authority, and they often issued contradictory orders, which it was im-

* Rymer Fœd. t. vii. p. 846; Walsingham, p. 353.

† Chron. MS. B. R. No. 10297.

possible to fulfil. The king, in his moments of convalescence, sometimes coincided with one, and sometimes with another. This misunderstanding occasioned divisions among the nobility, and men began to perceive that the disputes between the princes would end in the destruction of one of them, if not in the ruin of the state. The duke of Orleans, supported by the queen, endeavoured to destroy that influence which his uncle, the duke of Burgundy, had hitherto preserved. He procured the dismissal of Arnaud de Corbie, a dependant of that prince's, from the office of chancellor, which was bestowed on the bishop of Bayeux. Montagu, who had been disgraced at the commencement of the present reign, was recalled through the interest of the duke of Orleans, and appointed superintendant of the king's and of the queen's household.

A. D. 1399.] While these divisions prevailed in the French court, England exhibited a more turbulent scene. The weakness of Richard the Second nourished the ambition of his nobles; the duke of Hereford, son of the duke of Lancaster, and cousin of the king, was distinguished above the rest by courage, prudence, and address. Banished by the king for his intrigues, he had taken refuge at the court of France, and, was countenanced by the princes of the blood; he was, during his residence in France, maintained at the king's expence, who assigned him a weekly stipend of five hundred crowns of gold. During his absence from England, the title of Lancaster devolved on him by the death of his father. The profusion of the king rendered it necessary for him to replenish his coffers by means incompatible with justice; and he seized the inheritance of his exiled kinsman. Henry of Lancaster was connected with the principal nobility in blood, alliance, or friendship; these considered the injury as likely to affect them all; the common people were gained by his courteous manners; and the spirit of faction, which pervaded the kingdom rendered this a favourable conjuncture to effect a revolution in the government.

Richard had embarked for Ireland, to chastise the revolt of the natives; and left his kingdom open to his enemy; the duke of Lancaster landed at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, on the fourth of July, 1399, with sixty persons, among whom were the archbishop of Canterbury, and the earl of Arundel. He was immediately joined by the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland*. He took a solemn oath that his expedition was only to recover the duchy of Lancaster; and he invited all the friends to his family, to assist him in the execution of his plan. Multitudes flocked to his standard. In a few days he found himself at the head of sixty thousand men.

The duke of York had been left regent of the kingdom, during the absence of Richard; but his abilities were inadequate to direct government in the storm of rebellion. His connections, too, with Lancaster, rendered him unfit for the discharge of his office at so critical a juncture. The king, on the news of this invasion, hastened from Ireland. At Milford-Haven he disembarked an army

* Froissard, tom. iv. ch. 106; Walsingham, p. 358.

of twenty thousand men ; but these soon caught the general contagion, and deserted their sovereign. Richard surrendered himself to the earl of Northumberland, was conveyed to London, and deposed. Lancaster then, in violation of his oath, preferred his claim to the vacant throne ; and, though he had not even the shadow of a right, his claim was allowed by the same prostituted parliament ; and the usurper, by the assassination of his sovereign, quieted his apprehensions from the compassion of a fickle people.

About this time, died John, duke of Brittany. His death was ascribed to the malice of enchanters. The prior of Josselin and a priest of Nantes, were accused of having abridged his days by magic or poison. The people required they should be applied to the rack ; but the priest died in prison, and the prior was enlarged. The conduct of Clifton made the suspicions of the public fall upon him ; Montfort had no sooner breathed his last, than he dispatched a messenger to the duke of Orleans, advising him to enter Brittany with an army, in order to take possession of the duchy, and of the person of John the Fifth. That prince accordingly came to Pontorson, but the attachment of the Bretons, and the support of the duke of Burgundy, compelled him to forego his designs. Whatever unfavourable impressions the conduct of Clifton, on this occasion, was calculated to excite, were speedily removed by a subsequent trait of generosity. His daughter, the countess of Penthievre, on the death of the duke, proposed to her father to seize the favourable moment, and to restore the duchy to her husband, by privately putting to death the children of Montfort, before the arrival of the duke of Burgundy. Clifton, forgot, for a moment, the feelings of a parent, and, seizing a javelin, darted it at his daughter. The countess, in endeavouring to escape, fell down stairs ; her thigh was broken, and her lameness ever after attested her own disgrace, and the fidelity of her father.

On the accession of the fourth Henry to the throne of England, the court of France trusted the French ambassador at London to negotiate a confirmation of the truce concluded during the late reign, while they endeavoured to take advantage of the confusion inseparable from a revolution in the government, to get possession of that part of Aquitaine, which was still in the power of the English. The Gascons, affectionate to the memory of Richard, who was born among them, refused to swear allegiance to a prince, who had dethroned and murdered him. The French court, informed of their disposition, thought the time was arrived for the recovery of a province which they had long considered as a part of the monarchy. The duke of Bourbon accordingly repaired to Agen, where he held a conference with the deputies from the discontented towns, to whom he promised, in the king's name, a renewal and confirmation of all their privileges. The king of England, who was well acquainted with the spirit of the French government, did not seem alarmed at the plans of the court ; he relied on the divisions which prevailed among the princes and the nobles, and on the interest of the province to give a preference to the English government. The event justified his opinion ; on the return of the deputies to Bayonne, Dax, and

Bordeaux, such of the inhabitants as had evinced the strongest disposition to acknowledge the authority of Charles, suddenly changed their minds, and declared their resolution to remain as they were.

Henry was threatened with an attack from the Scots, who were secretly encouraged by the promise of assistance from France. The French, too, concluded a treaty* with Owen Glendour, who had excited an insurrection in Wales by which they agreed to furnish him with a supply of troops, ammunition, and money; while the channel was filled with French ships, which threatened the English coasts. When affairs were in this situation, Henry sent a strong body of troops into Guienne; and, at the same time, endeavoured to secure the attachment of the Gascon nobility, by a confirmation of the privileges formerly granted to the chiefs of the most illustrious families, and by fresh tokens of his liberality and favour. Gaillard de Durfort, lord of Duras, was created grand sénéchal of Aquitaine. Henry could not give a more unequivocal proof of the confidence he reposed in the fidelity of the inhabitants, than by the appointment of a native to a post on which the preservation of Guienne, in a great measure, depended. But, while the English monarch complied with the suggestions of prudence, he maintained an appearance of friendship with the French, and received their ambassadors with peculiar marks of attention. In a short time, plenipotentiaries were appointed, by either power, who confirmed the truce of twenty-five years. A negociation was entered into, at the same time, the object of which was the return of Isabella, widow of Richard, and the restitution of her dower and jewels. The answers which Henry made to the requisitions of the French court, on this subject, were evasive; and they were, at last, obliged to content themselves with the person of the queen, and to resign her fortune. Henry would fain have obtained her hand for his eldest son, but his proposals were rejected.

The credit of the duke of Orleans had daily increased since he had been admitted to a share in the government. Placed at the head of the finances, he exercised an independent jurisdiction, by means of which he brought into his own coffers that wealth destined to support the splendour of the throne. He dismissed the *Generals of the Finances*, and appointed officers to succeed them who were devoted to his service†. Notwithstanding the burdensome imposts levied on the people, the royal palaces wore an appearance of poverty; and the king himself was often in want of necessaries, while Orleans, master of the revenues of the crown, displayed a degree of pomp and magnificence, that rivalled the splendour of an eastern monarch. But, as the power of the duke of Orleans increased, his popularity diminished; the people had expected that as the kingdom was in tranquillity, some of the taxes would be repealed; and the disappointment they experienced in this respect, led them to prefer accusations

* Trésor des Chartres.

† Chambre des Comptes, Mém. F. fol. 64.

against those at the head of affairs, of paying a greater attention to their own private interest, than to the public welfare.

A. D. 1400, 1401.] At this period, Manuel Paleologus, emperor of Constantinople, came to Paris, again to animate the French to the encounter of Bajazet and the defence of the imperial city. But the rapid progress of that tyrant was checked by Tamerlane, the Mogul emperor, who, at the head of six hundred thousand horse, defeated his rival, on the plains of Angouri. Paleologus, therefore, was left at liberty to return and occupy Constantinople. After the victory, Tamerlane and his son Mirauxa wrote to the king of France, to propose a treaty of alliance against their common enemy, the Turk; and a plan for establishing a commercial intercourse between their subjects. These letters are still extant*; they were not answered by Charles till the conclusion of the year 1403, and the envoys, appointed to deliver his answer to Tamerlane, did not arrive at the place of their destination till a short time before the death of that emperor.

The contending parties of the two dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, were now growing apace into inveterate factions. The former took advantage of the absence of the latter, who had visited his Flemish dominions, to be present at the marriage of his eldest son, Anthony of Burgundy, with the daughter of the count of Saint Paul, to seize the absolute government of the kingdom. The duke of Burgundy, apprised by his emissaries of what was passing at court, returned as far as Senlis; but, having there learned that the king had had a fresh relapse, he proceeded no farther, contenting himself with writing to the parliament on the subject of his complaints, and exhorting them to correct the vices which had crept into the government.

The duke of Orleans, in the mean time, disdained to keep up those appearances of moderation which his interest had, hitherto, urged him to preserve. He imposed a new tax on the whole kingdom, from which not even ecclesiastics were exempted. The people expressed their indignation at this new instance of oppression; while the clergy refused to submit to it. By this imprudence, the duke of Orleans forfeited the esteem and protection of the greater part of the nation, and found himself obliged to suppress the impost. The duke of Burgundy, enraged at the assertion that he had consented to a measure so universally reprobated, justified himself by a public denial, protesting that he had refused his approbation, although he had been offered a hundred thousand livres to grant it. He wrote to the parliament, to the same effect, and prepared, by his presence, to thwart the efforts of his enemies. War was thus declared between the rival princes, and troops were levied on either side. The duke of Gueldres, having concluded a treaty with the duke of Orleans, marched to his assistance with eight hundred men at arms. The duke of Burgundy's forces

* Trésor des Chartres.

were still more numerous ; he was accompanied by John *the Pitiless*, bishop of Liege, who supplied him with seven thousand men. The environs of Paris were crowded with troops, while the two princes fortified themselves in the heart of the capital, and the nation seemed to be threatened with civil war. The queen, and the dukes of Berry and Bourbon, promoted an apparent reconciliation between the parties, and prevailed on them to dismiss their troops. As soon as the king recovered his senses, he convened the council, and submitted the rival claims of his brother and uncle to their decision. Though the duke of Orleans was supported by the friendship of Charles, and the interest of the queen, yet, the bad use he had made of the power entrusted to him, caused his pretensions to be rejected. The duke of Burgundy's age, his long experience, his reputation, and still more the extent of his possessions, and the number of forces he could raise, tended to justify the decision of the council in his favour ; it was, accordingly, determined that, whenever the king, from a return of his disorder, should be incapacitated from holding the reins of government, they should be confided to the hands of his uncle. The duke of Orleans was compelled to conform to this decree, but he secretly nourished a spirit of resentment at the preference given to the duke of Burgundy.

The internal commotions of the kingdom did not prevent the government from enforcing such measures as were best calculated to preserve that degree of respect which it had long been accustomed to command from its neighbours and vassals. Since the acquisition of the republic of Genoa, three governors had been compelled to quit their station, from their inability to effect the restoration of order. The count of Saint Paul, had forfeited the confidence of the Genoese, from his disposition to gallantry. He was succeeded by the bishop of Meaux, a wise and virtuous minister who had alternate recourse to indulgence and severity, but both proved alike ineffectual. The city was torn by the factions of Guelfs and Ghibelines, nobility and citizens. The bishop of Meaux, reduced, from inability, to the necessity of remaining a passive spectator of their quarrels, at length left this turbulent people to complete, without interruption, the ruin of their country. Soon after his departure, the rival parties appeared to be reconciled, and a short calm ensued ; though, on the arrival of Calville, the new governor, fresh disorders began to prevail. An exertion of severity, on his part, united the two factions, in opposition to his government ; and the office of Doge was restored in the person of John Baptista Boccanegra. The governor applied, but in vain, for protection to Galeazzo Visconti, duke of Milan ; Calville, therefore, was compelled to retire for safety to the citadel. The Genoese being once more left to themselves, their divisions were renewed, and their animosities revived. Every quarter of the city exhibited a scene of riot and confusion ; the effects of party-rage were visible in every street, in the plunder and demolition of houses, and the massacre of their inhabitants. Such was the state of Genoa, when the marechal de Boucicaut was sent thither, as governor,

with six thousand troops. His reputation, and his forces, procured him respect; he took possession of all the fortresses, disarmed the people, and put the doge, Boccanegra, with some of his associates, to death. A proposed reformation in the government met with no resistance; the dread of punishment produced a temporary calm; but the Genoese, though restrained for a while by Boucicaut, soon returned to their old habits of anarchy.

A. D. 1402 to 1404.] About this period, Henry the Fourth of England contracted a marriage with Jane, duchess of Brittany, to strengthen his interest in that important province; but the effects of this alliance, which might have proved highly prejudicial to France, by encreasing the power of her rival, were averted by the duke of Burgundy, who secured the sons of Montfort and conveyed them to Paris.

The king, in his short intervals of convalescence, had the mortification to see his people oppressed by his turbulent kinsmen. To prevent the dukes of Burgundy and Orleans from again abusing a power which it was dangerous to entrust, wholly, to either of them, he formed a new state-council, consisting of the queen, the princes of the blood, the constable, the chancellor, and all the members of the privy council. As it was settled that all matters of importance should be decided by a majority of votes, Charles was induced to flatter himself, that the public good would no longer be sacrificed to private interest.

In these different arrangements for the administration of the kingdom, the queen was not forgetful of her own interests. Apprehensive that the same influence which had excluded the duke of Orleans from the government, might operate still farther in favour of his rival, she thought to avert the blow she dreaded, by procuring a declaration from her husband, that, in case of his death, his son should be immediately proclaimed king, the regency should be abolished, and the sole care of the royal children entrusted to herself*: so that, in this case, she would have enjoyed all the authority of a regent, without assuming the title. The queen farther obtained from Charles, a new means of encreasing the number of her dependents; the monarch granted her the power of annulling, at her pleasure, any donations which he either had made or might, in future, make. Charles was incapable of foreseeing the consequences of this permission, which tended to his own degradation, and to deliver him wholly to the discretion of a wife who was unworthy his confidence. From this moment Isabella appears to have forgotten the duties of a wife and a mother. The king was abandoned to the care of attendants, who had no other stimulus than interest to incite their attention; and her own children were left destitute of every thing, while she dissipated the revenues of the crown, and the produce of the imposts levied on the people. Charles was reduced to such a state of depression as to be incapable of exertion. When apprised of the situation of his children, he sent for their

* Trésor des Chartres, ubi supra.

governor, who confessed, with tears, *that they had often neither food nor cloaths!* "*Alas!*" said the wretched monarch, "*I am no better treated myself!*"

But neither the queen's authority, nor the credit of the duke of Orleans, could prevent the conclusion of a projected alliance between the grand children of the duke of Burgundy, and the offspring of his royal nephew. The dauphin, who had completed his seventh year, and his brother the duke of Touraine, were betrothed to the two eldest daughters of the count of Nevers, while madame Michelle, the king's eldest daughter, was contracted to the count of Charolois. The youth of the parties, indeed, rendered the consummation of these marriages a matter of uncertainty; but they tended to strengthen the influence of the duke of Burgundy, who had already acquired the favour of the people, by his opposition to those imposts, which the avarice of Orleans had led him to exact.

Protected by the queen, the duke of Orleans proposed a new tax to the council to be levied, indiscriminately, on the whole kingdom. The prospect of a war with England, and the exhausted state of the treasury, were the pretexts on which this proposal was founded. Notwithstanding the opposition of the duke of Burgundy, the edict passed, and was rigidly enforced. The produce of the tax was estimated at eighteen hundred thousand livres, and, whoever evaded payment, was declared guilty of *lese-majesty*. This prodigious sum, as soon as collected, was deposited in the tower of the Louvre; but the duke of Orleans forced the gates, and seized all he could find.

At this period, the count of Saint Paul made a descent on the English coast, whence he was obliged to retreat with considerable loss; while the garrison of Calais, extended their incursions to the frontiers of Artois and Picardy, and ravaged the county of St. Paul. These attempts of the count, who was allied to the house of Burgundy, excited the resentment of the English against the duke. They, accordingly, attacked the Flemish vessels, and the hostilities which ensued between the two people, put a total stop to their commercial intercourse. The inhabitants of the principal towns of Flanders, murmured at an interruption, which ruined their manufactories. The duke of Burgundy left the court, with the view of stifling the first sparks of discontent. But, being suddenly attacked by a violent disorder, he was compelled to stop at Halle, where he soon expired, in the sixty-third year of his age. He died insolvent; his goods were instantly seized by his creditors, and exposed to public sale; while it was found necessary to have recourse to a loan, to defray the expences of his funeral. The duchess of Burgundy died soon after her husband.

On the death of the duke of Burgundy, every thing appeared to wear a new face. The duke of Orleans thought himself sure of holding the reins of government, in future, without contradiction; but he soon found that he had now a more formidable rival to encounter. Not less ambitious than his father, but more vain and enterprising; passionate and impetuous; implacable in his hatred;

hypocritical and perfidious; devoid of all scruples, exempt from all remorse, and making a jest of religion, in an age when incredulity was not yet in vogue; such was *John the Fearless*. He arrived at court, soon after the death of his father, to do homage for his dominions; and he was accompanied by his two brothers, Anthony duke of Limbourg and count of Bethel; and Philip count of Artois, who also did homage for their respective appanages*.

A. D. 1405.] Meanwhile the queen and the duke of Orleans exerted unlimited authority. Princes, generals, and ministers, yielded to their united power. The people, distinguished the queen by the appellation of *la grande gaure*. Such was the wretched state of the kingdom, when the new duke of Burgundy, demanded a seat in the council, a privilege to which he was entitled by his birth. He hastened to celebrate the marriage of his eldest daughter Margaret with the dauphin; and that of his son, the count of Charolois, with the princess Michelle. This double alliance encreased his influence: father-in-law to the presumptive heir to the throne, he found himself in a situation to dispute the government with Orleans, and divide with him the suffrages of the court.

The jealousy of these princes only waited for a fit opportunity to display itself; and it speedily occurred. The duke of Orleans proposed in the council to levy a general tax, such as had been imposed in the preceding year; the exhausted state of the treasury, and the prospect of a war with England, were again urged as motives for this burden. The members of the council, gave a tacit approbation; but the duke of Burgundy expatiated on the misery of the people, the vices of the present administration, and the misapplication of public money. He asked for an account of the immense sums which were daily levied; he offered his person, his troops, and his nobility, to defend the state against the attacks of the enemy; and protested, that, if the council should persist in their resolution to publish the edict, his dominions, at least, should be exempt from it. The young duke of Brittany made the same offers as the duke of Burgundy, and assured the ministers that he would willingly wait for the payment of the sum of one hundred thousand crowns that were due, as the portion of his wife. The edict, however, passed. The duke of Burgundy was careful to promulgate the remonstrances he had urged in favour of the people, whose idol he instantly became; and this advantage, which he had the art to maintain, gave him a real superiority.

While the kingdom was reduced to wretchedness, the queen and Orleans rioted in luxury. Most of the nobility followed this example, and, after a life of dissipation, died insolvent. The duke of Orleans seized for himself the government of Normandy; but the Normans refused to submit to his authority, and told him they would acknowledge no other sovereign than the king. The duke, however, applied to Charles, in a lucid interval, to confirm his appointment.

* Trésor des Ch. Burgund. Lay. viii. No. 4.

The affair was submitted to the council; some of the members ventured to object the opposition of the province, and the consequences to be dreaded from the discontent of the people; they told the king that the power of his brother was already too extensive, and that it would be highly imprudent to confer on him the government of the most important province in the kingdom. Charles seemed to open his eyes; he was moved at the description of the disorders which pervaded every part of the administration. The duke of Burgundy had partisans in the council, who only waited for this opportunity to declare themselves. The king acknowledged the necessity of a reform in the government; the princes of the blood were consulted; the duke of Burgundy was sent for to attend the conference; and the public were waiting with impatience for the effect of the projected change in the ministry; but all their hopes were suddenly frustrated; Charles had a relapse; and the queen and the duke of Orleans again seized the administration.

The duke of Burgundy was on the point of leaving Paris, and the king's illness had not made him alter his intentions. But, as he had resolved to appear in a situation to enforce respect, he assembled a body of troops, under pretence of repressing the incursions of the English, who had landed at Sluys, under the earl of Pembroke. To deceive the queen and the duke of Orleans, he made application to them for a supply of men and money, to enable him to undertake the siege of Calais. In the mean time he had collected eight hundred men at arms, and the bishop of Liege joined him with six thousand men. The rendezvous of the troops was appointed at Arras. The duke of Burgundy had advanced to within two days' march of the capital, before the court were apprised of his motions. His arrival astonished the duke of Orleans, who found himself at the mercy of his enemy. He had no troops to oppose him; he was conscious that a strong party was formed in his favour in the council, and that the princes of the blood were disposed to join him. The Parisians only waited for the appearance of his competitor to espouse his cause. In this emergency, the duke determined to seek for safety in flight: and, withdrawing from Paris, he hastened to Melun; the queen followed him. Before she left Paris, she ordered Lewis of Bavaria, her brother, to bring the dauphin to her. She went to Corbeil to wait their arrival, and was there joined by the duke of Orleans.

The duke of Burgundy had advanced as far as Louvres, before he heard of the hasty retreat of Isabella and Orleans; at the same time, he was informed of their intentions to carry off the dauphin. To prevent the accomplishment of this scheme, he hastened to the hotel de Saint Paul, where he learned that the young prince and his consort had, notwithstanding their own entreaties, been compelled, early in the morning, to get into a covered boat, which was to convey them to a certain distance, where a litter waited for them. The duke pursued the fugitives, whom he overtook at Juvisy. After saluting the dauphin,

he asked him whither he was going, and whether he would not return to Paris* ? The young prince having answered in the affirmative, the duke, conveyed him back to the city. When the duke of Orleans was informed of this circumstance, he fled, with the queen, from Corbeil to Melun : whence they issued orders to all the provinces to levy troops.

The dauphin was received at the entrance of Paris by the king of Navarre, the dukes of Berry and Bourbon, the count of la Marche, and most of the nobility. The people made the streets resound with acclamations. The duke of Burgundy was hailed as the deliverer of the royal family. He took up his abode in the Louvre, in an apartment over that in which the dauphin resided, that he might better preserve him from the attempts of his mother. He received the thanks of the city, and was entreated to continue his good offices. That same day the parliament received letters from the duke of Orleans, who represented the conduct of his rival as an insult to the king ; and prohibited the entrance of foreign troops into the metropolis. The magistrates were at a loss how to act. The registers of the court, which are still extant, demonstrate that the views of the rival princes were understood by the enlightened part of the public†.

Every necessary measure was adopted for the defence of the capital. The chains which had been taken from the Parisians, during the former commotions, were restored and placed at the end of the streets. The government of the Louvre was entrusted to Regnaut d'Angennes, and that of the Bastile to Montagu. The care of the dauphin the duke of Berry took upon himself. Fresh troops daily arrived at Paris, which soon contained a body of five-and-twenty thousand men, independent of the different corps which were posted in the neighbouring villages, where they committed dreadful disorders.

A council having been convened, the duke of Burgundy explained the motives of his conduct, and, protesting that he did not wish for a share in the government, offered his person, his fortune, and his friends, to assist in removing the calamities with which the kingdom was afflicted ; he declared, that he would never cease to insist on a reform in the government, till he had accomplished that object. This declaration proved the insincerity of his previous protestation, and shewed that he considered himself as arbiter of the state. The attachment of the Parisians gave him a decided advantage over his rival ; which the number of troops that he had introduced into the capital enabled him to maintain.

The duke of Orleans was employed in strengthening the fortifications of Melun, whither troops flocked to him from the different provinces, so that he soon found himself at the head of twenty thousand men. The king, in his short intervals of reason, endeavoured to allay the fury of either party ; but they were too much enraged to submit to constraint. The duke of Orleans ap-

* Registres du Parlement ; Monstrelet.

† Ibid. An. 1405.

proached Paris; a detachment of his army took possession of Charenton, and every preparation was made for a general action. The princes of the blood were aware of the danger, and spared no pains to prevent it. The dukes of Berry and Bourbon, with the kings of Sicily and Navarre, were accepted as mediators. After a delay of two months, passed in continual alarm, peace was, at last, concluded at Vincennes, where the queen was present. The two princes consented to dismiss their troops, and the duke of Burgundy was admitted to an equal participation, with the duke of Orleans, in the authority of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. This last prince reserved for himself the department of the finances, which was not the smallest object of his ambition.

Peace was proclaimed; and the people, tired of these disputes, rejoiced at the restoration of harmony. The duke of Berry invited his two nephews to meet at the hotel de Nesle, his usual residence, where they exchanged embraces, and promises of friendship. They carried their confidence so far, as to sleep in the same bed; a custom then in vogue, and regarded as the most infallible proof of esteem.

During these transactions, Charles was reduced to a situation the most deplorable, from the neglect of his attendants. The princes, busied in projects of ambition, had become callous to the common feelings of humanity. At length, his situation was such that his first physician apprised the council of his danger. Ashamed of their conduct, they prepared to remedy it. The care afterwards taken of him, by degrees, restored him to bodily health, though his mental faculties continued in the same derangement.

While the palace exhibited misery and want, the queen made her public entry into the capital, and displayed all the pomp and luxury which the age could afford. The arts of gallantry and magnificence had been exhausted in the dress of the profligate Isabella; on either side of whose carriage walked the dukes of Burgundy and Orleans, followed by the princes and nobles of the court. This proceeded, through immense crowds of people, to the cathedral, and from thence to the Louvre. The Parisians vainly flattered themselves that the accommodation which had taken place between the rival dukes must prove beneficial to the kingdom. They placed an implicit faith in the professions of the duke of Burgundy. By the new arrangement the government of Picardy was conferred on that prince, and he divided with the duke of Orleans the produce of the subsidies, which continued on the same footing as before.

At this period Oliver de Clifton breathed his last, in his castle of Joffelin, in Brittany; he left an immense fortune, to the acquisition of which he had sacrificed his honour; he had but few qualities to conciliate esteem, and many to extort reprobation; his intrepidity in the field gained him admirers in a martial age, when valour was an adequate substitute for virtue: but his avarice and cruelty enlarged the number of his enemies, and left an indelible stain on his memory,

A. D. 1407.] Though the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, veiled their mutual animosity, it was easy to perceive that their hatred was too violent to subsist in this state of constraint. We are now coming to a grand epoch in the history of France. The revolutions which ensued, effected a total change in the people, their manners and customs. Blot out forty years from the annals of the country, and the sudden alteration must excite astonishment. The civil and political administration; the government; the laws, the interests of the state, the customs, the spirit of the people, were no longer the same; in short, says Villaret*, it was no longer the same nation.

The duke of Burgundy, besides a vast domain, had the support of his two brothers, whose property was considerable, and whose power extensive. To one of them he had recently ensured the succession of the united duchy of Brabant and Limbourg. He was father-in-law to the heir-apparent, and had contracted his eldest son, the count of Charolois, to a daughter of the king; to strengthen his connection with the reigning family, he had concluded a marriage between the duke of Touraine, second son to Charles, and his own niece, Jaqueline of Bavaria. With the princes, and in the council, he enjoyed a degree of consideration which the vigour of his conduct had acquired. By his opposition to the projected imposts, at a time when he had no share in the administration, he had gained the favour of the people. His mind was unimproved by study, and, as he had an awkward delivery, forebore, as much as possible, to speak in public. The duke of Orleans possessed all the graces of person, with a mind embellished by wit, and adorned with all the literary knowledge of the age. His eloquence is spoken of in terms of admiration. Liberal, or prodigal; trifling, frivolous, and inconstant; he wished to unite business with pleasure. Born with the happiest disposition, but left to his own guidance, at an age when reason had scarcely begun to assert her empire over the mind, he indulged in the gratification of his passions, which soon corrupted his manners, and depraved his heart. He set an example of licentiousness to the whole court.

Opportunities of dispute could not be wanting between princes who were actuated by mutual hatred. The king, notwithstanding a determination to remove his brother from government, suffered affection to overcome his resentment. He granted to his eldest son, the count of Angouleme, who had just married the young queen of England, widow to Richard the Second, the duchy of Guienne. This grant displeased the duke of Burgundy, who openly expressed his discontent. Pope Benedict, too, who was a friend to the duke of Orleans, afforded him another subject of displeasure, by deposing, at the solicitation of the people, the bishop of Liege, a martial prelate, the friend and ally of the duke of Burgundy. Every day gave rise to some new complaint. Whenever they met at the council, it was for the purpose of contradiction; whatever was proposed by one being

* Tom. xii. p. 469.

disapproved by the other; their disputes became more and more violent, and it was every moment apprehended that some pointed insult would be offered.

The destruction of the duke of Orleans had long been resolved on. Six months before the present period, the duke of Burgundy had employed agents to seek a proper place for the execution of his design*: in November, 1407, he purchased the hotel de Notre Dame, which was situated in the *vicille Rue du Temple*. Here he stationed eighteen ruffians, under the conduct of Ralph d'Ostenville. The secret was so well kept, that the prince against whom these machinations were levelled, had not the smallest suspicion of danger.

The duke of Burgundy, in the mean time, continued his dissimulation; and affected to meet the advances of the duke of Berry, who again offered himself as a mediator between the rival princes. On Sunday, the twentieth of November, 1407, the duke conducted his two nephews to the church of the Augustines, where they confirmed their oaths of reconciliation. They attended a feast given at the hotel de Nesle, where they renewed their promises of friendship. They signed an act of confraternity, accepted the order of knighthood from each other, and, before they parted, made protestations of the strictest harmony and concord. Two days after, they again met at the council, and reiterated their professions. The duke of Orleans invited the duke of Burgundy to dinner on the Sunday following; the invitation was accepted; they embraced and parted.

The day after this last interview, the duke of Orleans, having passed part of the day at the hotel de St. Paul, went, in the afternoon, to the hotel Barbette, a house which the queen had purchased of Montagu, the grand maitre-d'hotel, and which was called the queen's private residence. Isabella had just given birth to a child, which died soon after. The duke supped with her; and, about eight in the evening, Schas de Courte-Heuse, one of the conspirators, came to tell him that his brother wanted to speak to him immediately, on business which would not admit of delay. The duke ordered his mule to be saddled, set out for the hotel de Saint Paul, followed only by two esquires, mounted on the same horse, and preceded by four or five footmen with torches. Such of his attendants as had accompanied him to the queen's, were in no haste to follow him. Though he seldom went out without an escort of six hundred gentlemen, he had that day, but a small retinue. The duke passed the conspirators, who were drawn up in the front of a house above the hotel de Notre-Dame. The horses, on which his two esquires were mounted, took fright, and run away with their riders. At that instant the duke was surrounded by the assassins, who exclaimed, "*Kill him! kill him!*" "*I am the duke of Orleans!*" said the prince. "*So much the better,*" replied one of the ruffians; "*you are the very man I want!*" and with the blow of a battle-axe, he cut off the duke's left hand, which rested

* Mém. de Litt. Regist. du Parlem,

on the pommel of the saddle. A repetition of blows brought him to the ground ; though weltering in blood, he had still sufficient strength to rise on his knees, and parry the blows with his arm ; but a blow from a club, filled with iron points, broke his arm above the elbow. At length he fell on the pavement ; when two fresh wounds put an end to his existence. As soon as he ceased to move, the assassins held a torch to his face to see if he was dead. At that moment, a man, whose face was concealed beneath a hood, issued from the hotel de Notre-Dame, and said to his associates, "*Put out the lights, and let us be off ; for he is dead.*" This, most probably, was the duke of Burgundy himself. The footmen who carried the torches had all fled on the first attack, except one, whose name was *Jacob*. This faithful domestic threw himself on the body, received many of the blows that were aimed at the prince, and fell a victim to his fidelity. Such are the chief circumstances of this murder, as extracted from the depositions of eye-witnesses, who underwent an immediate examination*.

The assassins set fire to the hotel, which had served them for a retreat, in the hope that the alarm of the conflagration, would favour their escape. In the mean time, the duke's two esquires returned ; and the attendants, who had been left at the hotel Barbette, having arrived, the prince's body was conveyed to a house, opposite to the place where the murder was committed. The news soon spread through the town. The queen was immediately carried to the hotel de Saint Paul. At break of day the princes assembled at the hotel d'Anjou, where the duke of Burgundy attended. The gates of the town were ordered to be shut, and corps-de-garde were placed in the streets. The body was conveyed to a neighbouring church, where the princes went to see it. Suspicions, at first, fell upon the lord of Cany, whose wife the duke of Orleans had seduced ; but on enquiry, he had been absent from Paris more than a year. The last duties were paid to the duke of Orleans, who was buried at the church belonging to the convent of the Celestines. The pall was supported by the king of Sicily, and the dukes of Berry, Bourbon, and *Burgundy* ; the last of whom appeared ; and he had reason to be so, more deeply afflicted than the rest. Lewis, duke of Orleans, left three sons by his wife, Valentina, of Milan. By his will, he left to his eldest son, Charles, the duchy of Orleans ; the counties of Valois, Blois, and Beaumont ; and the county of Ast and Luxembourg. In this deed, which contains a prodigious number of legacies and bequests for charitable uses, the duke styles himself, *Lewis, son to a king of France, unworthy duke of Orleans*.

Many enquiries had been made, and several persons examined, on the subject of this murder. The provost of Paris, at length, received information that one of the assassins had taken refuge in the duke of Burgundy's palace. He immediately reported this circumstance to the council, and applied for an order from the king, to authorise him to search a palace of a prince of the blood. The duke of Burgundy was confounded when he heard of the discovery which had been

* Villaret, tom. xii. p. 477, 478, 479, 480, 481.

made. Disconcerted by the provost's report, pale and trembling, he led the king of Sicily and the duke of Berry to one extremity of the council-chamber, where he confessed his crime, saying, *that the devil had taken him by surprise, and tempted him to it.* The duke of Berry burst into tears, and exclaimed, "Now have I lost both my nephews!"

The council assembled again the next day, when the duke of Burgundy presented himself at the door, but the duke of Berry refused him admission. The duke of Bourbon, who arrived soon after he was gone, complained loudly of the council's neglect in not having secured his person. On his return home his fears increased; and while the council were losing time in deliberating, he mounted his horse, and left Paris, accompanied only by six attendants. He was fortunate enough to find fresh horses on the road, which enabled him to reach Bapaumes in six hours.

The duke of Bourbon was the only one of the council who had the spirit to propose that he should be immediately pursued, and brought to justice; but the other members were too weak to follow this advice. The most faithful servants of the duke of Orleans, enraged at their timidity, assembled to the number of one hundred and twenty men at arms, to revenge the death of their prince. This troop had scarcely left the city, when they received peremptory orders from the king of Sicily to return. It is probable, their pursuit would have been fruitless, as the duke had so much the start of them. But it is astonishing that none of his accomplices should have been secured; and that, notwithstanding there were corps-de-garde placed in every part of the town, and all the gates were shut, they should have found means to leave the house in which they were known to have taken refuge, and to effect their escape. The Parisians, attached to the duke of Burgundy, openly rejoiced at the death of the duke of Orleans, and converted his murder into ridicule.

In other parts of the kingdom, this event was viewed in a proper light; it inspired with horror and alarm all those who still preserved in their hearts any sentiments of affection for their country. The duchess of Orleans was at Chateau-Thierry, when she received the news of her husband's death. Most of the nobility and gentry who were attached to her family hastened to join her; and, while the princess indulged the first transports of grief, they prudently provided for the safety of her children. Two of the princes were conducted to the castle of Blois; and the youngest, the count of Angoulême, was left to console his mother.

Valentina repaired to Paris, accompanied by the count of Angoulême, and the queen dowager of England, wife to her eldest son, Charles of Orleans. The king of Sicily, the dukes of Berry and Bourbon, met her without the walls of the city. The duchess and her attendants were dressed in black: her car was entirely covered with black cloth, and drawn by six white horses. She alighted at the hotel de St. Paul, where she had an audience of the king. When she

threw herself at his feet, Charles, who then enjoyed an interval of reason, raised her up, and promised her all the satisfaction which she was entitled to expect from his affection and equity. He swore to revenge the death of a brother whom he had never ceased to love. This oath was renewed, and these promises were confirmed, at a public audience which the dukes obtained some days after; and the time was fixed for instituting a criminal suit against the murderer of her husband.

The duke of Burgundy, in the mean time, was preparing to avert the gathering storm, by justifying the crime he could no longer deny. His first care was to assemble the states-general of Flanders, at Ghent, and to secure the forces of that province. He published a manifesto, in which, after explaining his motives for the assassination, he exhorted his vassals to afford him those succours which the urgency of the case required. The deputies of the different towns, promised to grant him effectual assistance against all persons, *except the king of France and his children*. He issued orders, at the same time, to levy troops, in the duchy of Burgundy, which were destined to join the Flemings.

The princes of the council, informed of these preparations, were thrown into embarrassment. They found themselves unprepared to oppose the smallest obstacle to the invasions with which he seemed to threaten them. They had no troops, and most of the towns, discontented with the present ministers, secretly favoured the duke of Burgundy, who had flattered them with the prospect of a happy change, in case he should get possession of the government; the capital avowed its partiality to that prince. It appeared necessary to negotiate with a criminal, whom they wanted the power to punish. The count of St. Paul undertook to make the first overtures for an accommodation thus humiliating. To preserve the king's honour, at least in appearance, the duke was required, by an open confession, to acknowledge a crime, which it was previously resolved to pardon; but even this satisfaction, he refused to grant. The king of Sicily and the duke of Berry held a second conference with him at Amiens, but were not more successful in their negotiations than the count of Saint-Paul: the duke of Burgundy remained inflexible, and refused to repair to court on any other condition than that of obtaining from the king an approbation of his conduct; the two princes delivered the duke's answer to the council, but were afraid of rendering it public, lest it should encrease the insolence of the Parisians.

The embarrassment of the court every moment encreased; and, to add to the confusion, Charles relapsed into insanity. But he had previously holden a bed of justice, in the grand chamber of the parliament. The principle object of this assembly was to provide for the government of the kingdom. In the present situation of affairs it appeared too dangerous to entrust the exercise of the sovereign authority to any one person. It was therefore decreed that, in case of the king's death or illness, the regency should be suppressed, and the kingdom be governed under the authority of the lawful heir, though a minor;

that all the public acts should be passed in his name ; and that all state affairs should be transacted by the queen, if alive, and by the princes of the blood, assisted by the constable, the chancellor, and the *wisest* member of the council. This ordinance, by multiplying governors, only served, to multiply pretensions and jealousies. Authority, thus divided, lost half its force.

The duke of Burgundy, had returned to Arras, where he assembled fresh troops, and advanced towards the capital. In vain did the king of Sicily and the duke of Berry renew their entreaty, that he would respect the laws of the kingdom, and duty to his sovereign ; in vain did they forbid him, in the king's name, to enter Paris ; he even rejected, with disdain, the proposal, that was made him, to appear at court with a small retinue. This assassin repaired to Saint-Denis, to *perform his devotions*. The duchess of Orleans, on the news of the duke of Burgundy's approach, retired from court. As the king was taken ill immediately after her departure, the enemies of her family ascribed his relapse to her : she, therefore, hastened to Blois, and caused the fortifications of that town to be repaired. Bourbon, justly enraged at the indignity of negotiating with an assassin, refused to attend the conferences, and retired to his appanage.

A. D. 1408.] The duke of Burgundy entered Paris, as if taking possession of a conquered town ; a thousand men at arms, in three bodies, attended his person, and the rest of his troops were dispersed in the environs of the capital. The inhabitants received him with joy. He marched through the town amid the acclamations of the populace, who hailed him as a prince that came to rescue them from oppression. The troops that accompanied him surrounded his palace, which he converted into a kind of citadel. This guard, and the fortifications which he raised, not appearing sufficient for his safety, he built, within his palace, a stone chamber, which had but one opening, where he always slept. The king, who, in some degree, recovered his senses for a few days, yielded to the necessity of the times, and gave him a more favourable reception than he had any right to expect. But the duke of Burgundy resolved to add to the triumph of crimes, a contempt and violation of the most sacred laws. He required the liberty of justifying the assassination of the duke of Orleans, which he had only committed, he said, for the good of the king and the welfare of the state. The princes and the council shuddered at the proposal ; but it was thought dangerous to irritate a ruffian, who was in a situation to give laws to his sovereign, and who might easily be provoked to the commission of still greater crimes.

The eighth of March was the day appointed for receiving this justification, at a public audience held, for the purpose, in the hotel de Saint-Paul. The dauphin represented the king, who had just had a dangerous relapse. The assembly was composed of the princes of the blood, the prelates, nobility, chief magistrates, the university, the provost of the merchants, and the principal citizens of Pa-

ris. The duke of Burgundy appeared armed, surrounded by a numerous guard, and followed by an immense croud of the lowest rabble. John Petit, a monk of Normandy, undertook his defence, to which, in his exordium, he said he was induced, by the pecuniary obligations he was under to the duke, who had raised him from penury to opulence.

He preferred many scandalous accusations against the duke of Orleans ; but all, as may be supposed, foreign from the purpose : that this prince, had merited the severest punishment, will not admit of dispute ; but the smallest palliation of his rival's infamy could not be collected, from any source whatever. As soon as the orator had finished, he turned to the duke of Burgundy, desiring his confirmation of what he had advanced, which the duke immediately gave ; adding, that he had facts of still greater importance to relate, which he reserved for the king's private ear ! silence prevailed throughout the assembly ; and the members immediately retired. The duke of Burgundy was now complete master of the capital, and his troops kept the royal family in a state of captivity. Every thing was to be apprehended from a prince, who had displayed a total contempt of all laws human and divine. The commission of one other crime would have crowned his aspiring hopes ; and, in the accommodating doctrines he had adopted, he could have found no difficulty in justifying any deed, to which his interest urged him.

The queen fled with precipitation to Melun, taking with her the dauphin and the rest of her children ; she was followed by the king of Sicily, and the dukes of Berry and Brittany. Charles, thus abandoned by his whole family, was left totally to the mercy of the duke of Burgundy, who extorted, from the feeble monarch, an approbation of his conduct. But it was requisite, for the duke's purpose, that this approbation should be made public ; and, though it could not be done without committing a most daring outrage on nature, religion, humanity, and the laws, yet, such an obstacle was insufficient to deter him from the accomplishment of his wish. When the wretched monarch signed this deed of approbation, he had sufficient presence of mind to tell the duke, that it might, probably, not preserve him from the resentment of the parties concerned : to which the duke replied, that, so long as he possessed the good graces of his majesty, he should fear no one.

The duke, seized the revenues, in imitation of his predecessors, and made no better use of them. The taxes were all continued, under the specious pretext of defraying the expences of the state, and of discharging the king's debts, which were never so ill-paid. The officers of the household continued to take corn, wine, and other necessaries for the king's use, on credit ; and the venders were never suffered to claim their debts.

The queen, in the mean time, continued to strengthen the fortifications of Melun ; while the duchess of Orleans assembled the friends of her house at Blois. The duke of Brittany, who had followed the queen to Melun, left her,

for a short time, in order to counteract the machinations of the countess of Pen-thievre; and, after restoring tranquillity to his dominions, he prepared to lead a formidable army to her assistance.

The duke of Burgundy, though master of the capital, had not troops sufficient to oppose the confederacy that was forming against him. His brother-in-law, John of Bavaria, bishop of Liege, having been just deposed by his subjects; and the city of Maestricht, whither he retired, being actually invested by the new bishop, the duke had an honourable pretext for leaving Paris. The queen's army daily increased; the troops from Brittany were advancing, by rapid marches, to join her; and these forces, united to those which the duchess of Orleans and her sons were raising, might render his situation dangerous. Resolved on retreating, he exhorted the Parisians to persist in their attachment; and assured them that he would speedily return, in a situation to give law to his enemies.

The duke of Burgundy had no sooner left the capital, than preparations were made for the return of the queen and her children. The speedy arrival of the duchess of Orleans was also announced, who had determined to apply to the king, to bring the murderer of her husband to justice. Isabella, accompanied by the princes, made her entry into the capital, under an escort of three thousand men at arms, most of which were the troops of the duke of Brittany. The Parisians murmured because they marched through the streets in order of battle, with colours flying, a privilege which none but their monarchs had ever assumed. Enraged at the duke of Brittany, they laid a plan for attacking him in the night, but their perfidy was detected, and that prince had time to assemble his troops, before the chains were placed across the streets. The provost of the merchants was then sent by the citizens to make excuses for their conduct, which the duke thought it prudent to accept; he was careful, however, to adopt such precautions as were necessary to prevent any future surprise. The queen, on her arrival, had caused the keys of the city to be delivered to her: she made the troops observe the strictest discipline. The next day arrived the duchess of Orleans; she was accompanied by the young dowager of England, wife to Charles of Orleans, her eldest son; and a long file of black waggons, containing the ladies of her retinue, closed the procession. The princes of Orleans repaired to Paris a few days after their mother, and their presence revived, for a few moments, the general pity.

The absence of the duke of Burgundy left the queen at liberty to re-assume the supreme power; but to render her authority more solid, her council deemed it prudent to procure the confirmation of it by a general assembly*. A meeting of that description, was, accordingly, convened at the Louvre, where the parliament were invited to attend. The king's advocate, John Juvenal des Ursins,

* Trésor des Chartres; du Tillet.

informed the assembly, *that the sovereign power, and the absolute government of the realm, were granted and committed to the queen, and to my lord of Guienne, during the king's absence or illness.* The first act of sovereignty performed by the queen and her son, was the convention of a bed of justice, consisting of the same persons as had composed the general assembly, to hear the justification of the memory of the duke of Orleans. The widow of the deceased duke attended with her son, the chancellor of Orleans, and their counsel. The abbot of Chesy made a long speech, in which he refuted all the calumnious accusations of John Petit; he was followed by Peter Cousinet, an advocate, who demanded that the duke of Burgundy should ask pardon of the duchess of Orleans and her children, in the presence of the king, the princes, the council, and the people, on his knees, and with his head bare; that this satisfaction should be repeated at the Louvre, in the court-yard of the palace, at the hotel de St. Paul, and on the spot where the murder was committed, that it should be published throughout the kingdom by sound of trumpet; that the different palaces of the duke, in the metropolis, should be levelled with the ground, and crosses raised on the site, with explanatory inscriptions; that the duke should found two collegiate churches, and two chapels, one at Rome, and the other at Jerusalem; that he should pay a fine of one million of gold; and that he should be banished beyond sea for twenty years at least, and be prohibited from ever approaching within a hundred leagues of the residence of the queen, or of the princes of Orleans. The dauphin, who represented the king, ordered the chancellor to assure the duchess, that she might rely on having all the justice done her which she was entitled to expect.

The court was loth to proceed to extremities against a powerful prince, who still, though absent, preserved his influence in the capital, by the number of his partisans, and whose emissaries even penetrated into the council; his wealth, and the extent and situation of his dominions, gave rise to apprehensions that he might join the enemies of the state, with whom, it was known, he maintained a secret intelligence*. The truce between France and England, though yearly renewed, was ill-observed, and nothing but a favourable opportunity appeared to be wanting for an open violation of it. It was evidently the interest of those in power to avoid a rupture, which would infallibly be imputed to them. These considerations, however, important as they were, yielded to the solicitations of the duchess of Orleans, and to the resentment of the queen.

The court and council were, indeed, more easily persuaded to pursue the assassin with vigour, from the intelligence they received, at this period, that the people of Liege were advancing against him with forces so greatly superior to his own, that it was thought they must inevitably crush him. The queen, under these circumstances, conceived herself at liberty to give full scope to her resent-

* Rymer's Fœdera,

ment; Guichard Dauphin, and Tignonville were sent to the duke of Burgundy's army, to inform that prince that the king reserved to himself the accommodation of the dispute which subsisted between the people of Liege and their bishop; and to give him notice of the proceedings commenced against himself. The duke replied, that in assisting John of Bavaria, his brother-in-law, he did but discharge the duties of a kinsman and ally; that, with regard to the suit instituted against him, he would not fail, as soon as he should have completed his present enterprise, to repair to Paris, and justify his conduct to the king.

While the court were at a loss how to act, intelligence was received that the duke of Burgundy had obtained a complete victory over the people of Liege. Thirty thousand of the Liegeois were left dead on the field, and John of Bavaria, being re-established in his principality, conducted himself—says *Le Gendre**—more like a tiger than a pastor; for he caused upwards of three thousand of his flock, among whom were many women, children, and ecclesiastics, to be either racked, hanged, or drowned. This unexpected event threw the court into a consternation. The Parisians, who idolized that prince, took no pains to conceal their sentiments; and any one would have imagined that the victory of Tongres had been achieved by themselves. The queen and her council had suffered the only opportunity of regaining their affections, by the abolition of the imposts, to escape; and the means which she now took of providing for her own safety, by the introduction of troops into the town, increased their enmity and rage. A report was industriously propagated, by her enemies, that she meant to take from them the chains which they were accustomed, in times of danger, to place across the streets, and which the duke of Burgundy had recently restored to them.

In vain had orders the most positive been repeatedly sent to the duke of Burgundy, to prohibit him from approaching the metropolis, unless he came attended only by his usual retinue; in vain, too, were injunctions issued to all the towns on his road to shut their gates against him; they were alike disregarded; the duke no longer owned any authority superior to his own: supported by a numerous army, flushed with victory, and by the wishes of the Parisians, he resolved to obey the dictates of ambition. The court, convinced he would despise the threats they were unable to execute, resolved to save themselves, by a precipitate flight, from the necessity of submitting to the domination of a victorious rebel.

The queen had resolved to take her husband with her; for although, from the state of his mind, he was reduced to a mere phantom, yet he was still king; and that title sufficed to justify the proceedings of a party, who acted under his name. Isabella exerted her utmost address to conceal her intentions from the Parisians; and while she amused them with exhortations and promises, she had

* *Histoire de France en fol. tom. ii. p. 521.*

the king conveyed on board a covered boat, where she speedily joined him, with the dauphin and the rest of the royal family. The duke of Brittany escorted the royal fugitives with fifteen hundred men at arms, a body sufficiently numerous to keep the populace in awe; and they arrived safe at Gien, a town upon the Loire above Orleans.

The duke of Burgundy, in the mean time, advanced, by rapid marches, towards the capital, though the king's evasion disconcerted his projects. The count of Haynaut, his brother-in-law, who accompanied him, advised him to open a negotiation, and offered to go to Tours, where the king then was, and make the first overtures himself. He accordingly repaired thither, while the duke pursued his road to the metropolis, where he was received by the populace as a titular deity. The troops that were quartered in that city still observed some degree of discipline; but the open country, over-run by a licentious soldiery, from the frontiers of Flanders to the banks of the Loire, experienced the complicated horrors of violence, pillage, and murder. The king enjoyed an interval of reason, when the count of Haynaut arrived at Tours. A design had long been entertained of uniting the second son of Charles to a daughter of this prince, and the marriage had only been delayed on account of the tender years of the parties. The proposals which the count now made, in the name of the duke of Burgundy, were favourably received; and Lewis of Bavaria, brother to the queen, and Montagu, were ordered to accompany him to Paris, to settle with the duke the preliminaries of the treaty, the particulars of which had been agreed on at Tours.

The death of the duchess-dowager of Orleans, at this period, tended greatly to facilitate the conclusion of the treaty. Valentina terminated, at Blois, a life whose latter end had been empoisoned by excess of grief, and an impotent desire of revenge. A short time before she resigned her breath, she sent for her children, whom she embraced with all the warmth of maternal affection; and, casting her eyes on John, the natural son of her late husband, afterward so celebrated under the title of count of Dunois*, she told him that, of all the duke's children, there was not one so well calculated to revenge the death of his father as himself. The young princes of Orleans, the eldest of whom had scarcely completed his fifteenth year, experienced the ill-effects of their mother's death, in the diminution of the zeal and number of their partisans.

The inhabitants of Paris had sent deputies to the king, to invite him to return to the metropolis. Charles received them with kindness, accepted the invitation they brought, and sent word to the Parisians that he would speedily relieve them from the destructive incursions of the troops who infested the environs of Paris, and ravaged the neighbouring provinces. In fact, one of the first condi-

* This nobleman was the illegitimate offspring of an adulterous commerce between the duke of Orleans and Mariette d'Enghien, wife to Aubert de Cany.

tions of the accommodation concluded at Tours, imposed on the duke of Burgundy the necessity of withdrawing his forces, and of retiring to his Flemish dominions, till the final consummation of the treaty, which was postponed till the month of March in the ensuing year. It was agreed, by this treaty, that the duke should ask pardon of the king, and of the princes of Orleans; and that, in order to confirm the reconciliation, the count of Vertus, the youngest of those princes, should marry a daughter of the duke of Burgundy's, with a dower of one hundred and fifty thousand livres, besides an annual income of four thousand.

A. D. 1409.] The ceremony of asking pardon, for the murder committed, took place at Chartres, in the presence of the king and queen, and of the whole court. When it was over, the duke of Burgundy repaired to Paris, whither he was soon followed by the king. The people, eager to enjoy the presence of their sovereign, ran in crowds to meet him: Monstrelet tells us, that upwards of two hundred thousand persons issued from the gates of Paris, on this occasion. His return was celebrated by extraordinary rejoicings; the Parisians flattered themselves that the restoration of tranquillity would, at length, procure them the long-expected abolition of the taxes, which the duke of Burgundy had given them reason to look for.

Soon after the king's return, the queen went to Melun, and took the dauphin with her, who had just entered into his fourteenth year. She appeared but seldom at court, while the king was in possession of his reason; by which means the duke of Burgundy was left at liberty to extend his influence and his power. By a successful exertion of his talents, he recovered the confidence of his uncle, the duke of Berry, and of the kings of Sicily and Navarre. The duke of Bourbon was the only prince whose virtue led him to reject all offers of friendship, and forced him to consider the murderer of the duke of Orleans as the enemy of his country. These sentiments might have proved prejudicial to any one but himself; but his safety consisted in the consideration he enjoyed, more from his personal merit than from birth. The duke of Burgundy was careful, notwithstanding, to pay those external attentions which it would have been dangerous to refuse to a prince who was an object of esteem to his equals, and of respect to the public.

The ill success of an enterprise, which appears to have been hazarded with a view to sound the disposition of the people, on this subject, impressed, with still greater force, on the mind of the duke of Burgundy, the necessity of placing a restraint on his conduct to that prince. Ame, lord of Viry, a captain in the service of the duke of Burgundy, having retired to his estate, on the borders of the Beaujolois, had the insolence to send a challenge to the duke of Bourbon, and to ravage his domains. The duke immediately assembled a body of troops, and, accompanied by the counts of la Marche and Vendôme, the constable, and Montagu, hastened to repress the incursions of this marauder. The preparations

he made were evidently more than sufficient for this purpose, had he not expected that Ame would be supported. The lord of Viry did not stay to be overtaken by the storm which threatened him, but, as soon as the troops approached, fled for refuge to the dominions of the count of Savoy, who immediately surrendered him to the duke, exacting only a promise that no corporal punishment should be inflicted on him. He was imprisoned for a short time, and then released. The duke of Burgundy did not appear to have any concern in this affair, though, by the general opinion, it was undertaken at his instigation and request. The minister, Montagu, by taking a part in this expedition, increased the rage of the duke of Burgundy against him, which had been before excited by his steady attachment to the queen, and the concern he had in the evasion of the king and dauphin. The duke, therefore, bent on his destruction, took advantage of the disorders that prevailed in the finances, of which Montagu was superintendant, to have him seized and thrown into prison. His immense riches were considered as proofs of his maleversation in office; and commissioners, appointed by the duke of Burgundy, condemned him to die, after extorting, by the means of torture, a confession of such crimes as they wished to establish against him: he was beheaded, and the duke of Burgundy is said to have feasted his eyes with the last struggles of his victim.

The king was in a state of insanity at the time of Montagu's execution; on his recovery the news of his minister's death both grieved and astonished him, but he was easily persuaded that the good of the state had rendered such a sacrifice necessary. Montagu's disgrace was followed by a strict investigation into the other departments of the finances, when many of the officers were thrown into prison, and exorbitant sums extorted as the price of their release. The next objects of the duke of Burgundy's vengeance, were those who had taken advantage of the king's easy disposition, to obtain grants of money and land: on the registers of the chamber of accounts at Paris, these grants were specified—and opposite to them, is written—"He has had too much, let him make restitution." These investigations, or rather *persecutions*, were carried on with the utmost rigour. All the officers of the chamber of accounts were suspended. The duke of Burgundy, anxious to court the favour of the Parisians, deposed the treasurers of France, and appointed some of the principal citizens to perform the duties of their offices. All the franchises and immunities which had been taken from the city, during the former commotions, were now restored. It was settled, that, in future, the provost of the merchants, and all the municipal officers, should be elected by suffrages, according to ancient custom. The inhabitants were allowed the privilege of bearing arms, not only for the king's service, but for the defence of the city; and the power of possessing *noble fiefs* was confirmed to the citizens of Paris. The Parisians sent the provost of the merchants and the al-

dermen to the king, with assurances of gratitude and fidelity, accompanied by a promise never to take up arms, but in obedience to the orders of their sovereign.

About this time, the Genoese revolted, and renounced their allegiance to the French crown; marshal Boucicaut, the governor, was, therefore, compelled to return to France with his troops; as was the duke of Anjou, titular king of Sicily, after an unsuccessful attempt to recover the dominions bequeathed him by his father.

The duke of Burgundy, ever attentive to the promotion of the projects he had in view, spared no pains to gain the confidence of the queen*. He affected to withhold his approbation from all measures of consequence which were proposed in the council, until he had previously made her acquainted with their deliberations; and it was, principally, through his means that a marriage was now concluded between her brother, Lewis of Bavaria, and a daughter of the king of Navarre.

The king, anxious to profit by an interval of health, much longer than he usually enjoyed, in order to settle the government†, held a bed of justice, at which the queen, the dauphin, and the princes of the blood were present. The count of Tancarville addressed the assembly, by the king's command, and recalled to their minds every circumstance which had occurred since the assassination of Richard the Second; the frequent violations of the subsisting truce, committed by the English, as well against France, as against her allies, in Scotland and Wales; he represented the necessity and the justice of retaliation; and concluded his speech by observing, that the king had convened the assembly for the purpose of consultation on the measures necessary to be pursued, in revenging such a repetition of insults, which were equally injurious to the dignity of the throne, and the honour of the nation. Such a proposal, at such a period, might excite reasonable apprehensions that the king's interval of reason was only imaginary. To involve the kingdom in a foreign war, at a time when the treasury was exhausted, when the people were oppressed with taxes, and discord on the point of bursting into a flame, was surely an act that bore the features of insanity.

As soon as Tancarville sat down, the duke of Berry arose, and renounced, for himself and the other princes of the blood, all profit or emolument whatever, as ministers and members of the council. The count of Tancarville then declared, that the king revoked all pensions and salaries whatever, and to whomsoever granted. These retrenchments proved of no real advantage to the king; they only became a source of patronage to the princes who, being entrusted with the reins of government, sought to arrogate to themselves the distribution of favours. The last measure adopted by the assembly was a resolution that,

* Montfret; Chron. de France; Juvenal des Ursins. † Ibid, Trésor des Char.; Du Tillet.

during the king's illness, the administration of the kingdom should be vested in the queen, and dauphin.

The dauphin, who had but just completed his thirteenth year, had neither experience nor talents sufficient to guide, with honour to himself or advantage to the nation, the helm of the state. By appointing a council to assist him, it was imagined, that a competition for that enviable distinction would give rise to jealousies, cabals, and intrigues; it was, therefore, determined, that one of the princes of the blood should be chosen to direct his conduct.

It appeared natural that the duke of Berry should be selected for this purpose; his age, experience, and rank, seemed to give him a decided preference over the other princes. He flattered himself with the idea that these pretensions would be deemed valid; but, when the majority of votes in the council appeared to favour his wishes, by a ridiculous affectation of modesty, he urged his inability to fill the important station they wished to allot him, and advised them to chuse the duke of Burgundy, whose eulogy he pronounced, though he was neither the object of his regard nor esteem. He did not expect that the council would take him at his word, and his astonishment could only be equalled by his disappointment, when he found they accepted his proposal. In vain did he attempt to recall what he had said; his offer of himself was now unanimously rejected; and he had the mortification to see the duke of Burgundy appointed, by the king, superintendant of the dauphin's education; and the young prince himself, having been previously gained over by the duke, who was his father-in-law, expressed satisfaction at the choice which the council had made. The queen and the partisans of the house of Orleans were the more deeply chagrined at the disappointment produced by the misconduct of the duke of Berry, as a fault so essential could not admit of reparation.

A. D. 1410.] The duke of Burgundy, having removed every obstacle which stood in his way, no longer thought it necessary to keep up those appearances which he had hitherto preserved; and Isabella, by her absence from court, gave him an ample scope for the display of his ambition. He presided at the council, in the dauphin's name, and no measure was adopted but by his orders. Every person in office, who was suspected of disaffection to his party, had been dismissed; the king's household, as well as the dauphin's, was filled with his creatures; he drew immense sums from the treasury; the revenue of the state was entirely in his power; and the war which had been determined on with England supplied him with a plausible pretext for disposing of the public money.

With a view to keep up this pretext, he renewed the ancient project of laying siege to Calais. A small body of troops were accordingly sent into Picardy, but they soon returned without achieving any other exploit, than that of plundering the inhabitants and laying waste the province. The truce between the two crowns, was soon after prolonged, and all pretence for hostility, by that means, removed.

It was not possible that the duke of Burgundy could long enjoy this excessive authority without exciting the jealousy of the princes who had an equal right with himself to a participation of the sovereign power. The duke of Berry perceived his influence daily diminish. He therefore retired to his appanage, and his example was followed by the duke of Bourbon; though he soon after returned to court, for a short time, on account of the disputes which arose in Brittany between the rival houses of Montfort and Blois.

At the town of Gyen, on the fifteenth of April, 1410, the first of those confederacies which, in the sequel, proved so fatal to the kingdom, was signed, by the dukes of Bourbon, Brittany, and Orleans, and the counts of Alençon, Clermont, and Armagnac. The object of this league was to rescue the king and the nation from the hands of the duke of Burgundy. Each of the confederated princes was to supply his quota of troops towards the support of the common cause. Their forces amounted to five thousand men at arms, and six thousand infantry. To oppose the designs of his enemies, the duke of Burgundy assembled an army; engaged the king of Navarre, and the counts of la Marche and Vendôme, to espouse his cause; formed an alliance with the king of Sicily, by giving to the eldest son of that monarch his daughter, the princess Catherine, who, by the treaty of Chartres, had been promised to the count of Vertus; called his brother-in-law, the count of Haynaut, to his assistance; and, in short, took every precaution which prudence could suggest, for maintaining the power he had acquired by treachery and murder. With the view to detach the duke of Brittany from the league, he settled his disputes with the house of Penthievre, by the conclusion of a treaty advantageous to Montfort. This conduct had the desired effect.

A marriage was concluded between the duke of Orleans, who had recently buried his wife, and Bonne, daughter to the count of Armagnac. Of all the princes and nobility united in opposition to the duke of Burgundy, no one evinced greater zeal than the count. He soon became the soul of the party, and had even the honour to give his name to it. He was, after the royal family, the most opulent and powerful subject of France. Sprung from the blood of Clovis, his family might be traced to the earliest period of the monarchy; from the princes of the blood to the least distinguished among the nobility, every one deemed it an honour to be united to it. Son-in-law to the duke of Berry, father-in-law to the duke of Orleans, he possessed the experience which was wanting to the latter, and the vigour which the former had lost. Intelligent, active, and brave, he had every qualification requisite to form the head of a party. But his virtues were tarnished by cruelty; in his hatred he was implacable; and in the pursuit of revenge he was neither restrained by scruples nor remorse.

The storm which threatened the duke of Burgundy was on the point of bursting on his head, when the duke of Berry, who had hitherto preserved an apparent neutrality, suddenly withdrew from court, and repaired to Angers,

where all the leaders of the Armagnac party had assembled*. Never was insurrection more prompt, nor more general. From the foot of the Pyrenees to the banks of the Scheld, the kingdom was in arms in less than a month. The troops of the confederated princes hastened from the southern provinces to the borders of the Loire, ravaging the intermediate country; for pillage always formed a considerable part of their pay. During the first fermentation, occasioned by these commotions, the kingdom in general, and the confederated princes in particular, sustained a heavy loss, by the death of the duke of Bourbon. He deserved the appellation of *Good*, which had been conferred on him by the unanimous voice of the nation. It was this prince who made the memorable reply to a *state-informer*, who presented him with a list of the faults committed by some of his subjects, "*Have you kept a register of the services they have done me?*" He died at Mount-Lucon, in the seventy-third year of his age. The duke left one legitimate child, who succeeded to the title, under the appellation of John the First.

Paris was soon surrounded by the Armagnacs, and the neighbouring villages were plundered by the troops. But, after a short time passed in mutual depredations, both parties seemed equally disposed to peace, though their wishes for an accommodation proceeded from different motives. Their forces were said to amount to two hundred thousand men.

The conditions of the treaty, dictated by the inability to injure, and the mutual desire of deceiving each other, were these—that Peter of Naverre, count of Mortaing, should, alone, of all the princes of the blood, be permitted to reside at court; that the leaders of either party should immediately retire, compelling their troops to observe the strictest discipline; that no one of them should return to Paris without the king's express permission; that the dukes of Berry and Burgundy should never be sent for separately; and that all the chiefs should bind themselves by oath, not to take the field again till after Easter, 1412. The treaty was signed by all the princes, who swore to observe it. The troops were dismissed, and, on their return, completed the desolation of the provinces through which they passed.

[A. D. 1411.] The people flattered themselves that the tranquillity thus restored would be durable: but the prospect was delusive. The animosity which prevailed between the contending factions was too fierce to admit of a sincere reconciliation. The duke of Orleans, still eager to revenge the death of his father, again applied to the council to bring his assassin to justice. This application being treated with neglect, he declared that he would have recourse to arms, and would reject all offers of accommodation, so long as the king should continue to be influenced by men, who were attached to the duke of Burgundy.

The duke farther complained that the late treaty had been violated by the

* Monstrelet; Reg. du Parlement.

conduct observed towards des Essarts, who, immediately after his dismissal, had received letters-patent from the king, restoring him to his office. Immediately after this declaration the duke flew to arms, and engaged some of the nobility, who had not yet declared themselves, to espouse his cause. The duke of Burgundy also assembled his troops, and, previous to the commencement of hostilities, manifestos were issued by either party, filled with the severest reproaches, and the most bitter invectives. The princes of Orleans reproached their rival with the murder of their father; while the duke of Burgundy openly exulted in the assassination of a man whom he represented as a *false, disloyal, and cruel felon and traitor, who was unworthy to live*; and intimated that his sons, as possessed of the same sentiments, should incur a similar punishment. The prevalence of the Burgundian faction in the metropolis superinduced the proscription of the Armagnacs, and the bestowal of the government of Paris on the count of Saint Paul. But this last expedient proved highly detrimental to the peace of the city. From the different classes of the people he selected those who appeared best calculated to support his newly established tyranny; and he formed them into a company of five hundred men, on which he bestowed the appellation of *the royal militia*. This corps was composed chiefly of butchers. They soon became the terror of the metropolis; long accustomed to shed the blood of animals, in the immolation of human victims, they only appeared to be exercising their daily occupation. All, who were so unfortunate as to incur their displeasure, or to excite their avarice, felt the fatal effects of their rage. Under pretence of prosecuting the partisans of the Armagnac party, they made no scruple to gratify their own private revenge. To bestow on any man the appellation of *Armagnac* was to pronounce his sentence of death. The municipal body, the magistrates, the council, and even the court, were intimidated by their conduct; they daily besieged the palace of their sovereign, and surrounded the courts of justice; not an edict could be issued, an ordonnance published, a law promulgated, nor a regulation enforced, without the previous approbation of these ruffians. The king's person not being deemed in safety at his customary residence, he was removed to the Louvre. Most of the great towns in the kingdom, influenced by the example of the capital, and oppressed by the tyranny of the prevailing faction, exhibited a scene of violence and confusion almost equally dreadful.

To complete the desolation of this devoted country, the chiefs of the opposite factions resolved to call in the assistance of her ancient enemy. The duke of Burgundy, was the first who obtained the degrading advantage of a promise from the English court to supply him with six thousand archers.

The king of England had made repeated applications to the French court for the conclusion of a marriage between a daughter of Charles, and his son, the prince of Wales, which had been constantly rejected. By an alteration in his system of policy, he was now induced to lend a favourable ear to the proposals

of the duke of Burgundy, who offered him one of his daughters for the prince; not that either of them, probably, was sincere in his wishes for this alliance, which could only promote their mutual interest, so long as the union between them subsisted, and that could be no longer than the want of reciprocal assistance continued. When the duke of Burgundy should have once rendered himself master of the government through the means of his ally, he would naturally become the enemy of that monarch to whose assistance he had been indebted for his superiority over the opposite faction, which would then be led to apply for aid to the same source. Henry had resolved to afford alternate protection to either party, always favouring the weakest side, by that means to destroy them both, and to involve the nation in their ruin.

The dukes of Orleans and Burgundy having assembled their troops, the two armies came in sight of each other, not far from the town of Mondidier. That of the Burgundians was infinitely superior in numbers; it consisted of three thousand knights, eighteen hundred men at arms, five thousand archers, four thousand pioneers, and, at least, sixty thousand militia, from Flanders, Picardy, and Artois; whereas the Armagnacs had only twelve thousand men at arms, their infantry having previously left them; but these were all chosen troops.

This grand quarrel now appeared on the point of being settled by one decisive action, when the time prescribed for the service of the Flemish militia being expired, those troops insisted on being immediately dismissed*. By the desertion of so considerable a part of his army, the duke found himself reduced to the necessity of retreating while his rival, instead of seeking to profit by the confusion into which the Burgundians were necessarily thrown by this unexpected occurrence, proceeded to the isle of France, and invested the capital.

The populace, in the mean time, complained of being confined within Paris, while the Armagnacs were suffered to triumph at their very gates. Their solicitations to be led against the enemy were urged with such vehemence, that the count de Saint Paul deemed it prudent to comply; he accordingly made a sally, accompanied by des Effarts, the provost of Paris, with a strong body of citizens, by the gate of Saint Denis; but, though more numerous than the party they attacked, in the proportion of six to one, they sustained a total defeat, and fled with the utmost precipitation.

At length the capital was relieved by the duke of Burgundy, whose army had been strengthened by the junction of the English troops. On his arrival at Paris, he published a new declaration, more express and severe than any which had hitherto appeared, containing an *irrevocable* proscription of the confederated princes and their adherents, and an injunction from the king to his subjects to take up arms against them and to pursue them as enemies of the state and invaders of the dignity of the throne. This edict had a sensible effect on the Ar-

* Monstrelet. Chron. de Flandres.

magnacs, many of whom only waited for a pretext to withdraw themselves from the confederacy ; and the duke of Orleans, finding his army diminish, and winter approaching, decamped in the night, and eluded the pursuit of his rival. The Burgundians, now masters of the field, over-ran all the environs of Paris ; committed the most dreadful disorders ; and displayed the most flagrant inhumanity in the treatment of their prisoners. The streets were strewed with dead bodies to which the rights of sepulture were denied, because they were Armagnacs, and lay under a sentence of excommunication.

The Parisians had flattered themselves with the hopes of obtaining from the duke of Burgundy the suppression of the imposts, but, instead of gratifying their wishes, he imposed a fresh tax upon the city, from which no person was exempt. He likewise seized the money which was destined for the payment of the officers of the different courts of justice, and which amounted to four thousand crowns. Soon after this period, the earl of Arundel was recalled, with the forces under his command, which deprived the duke of Burgundy of six thousand of his best troops, and reduced him to the necessity of suspending hostilities till the ensuing spring.

A. D. 1412.] During these transactions, the Armagnacs had assembled at Bourges, and determined, as the best means of counteracting the projects of their enemies, to detach the king of England from the Burgundian interest, which they effected by an agreement to restore all the places in Guienne, which had been taken from the English, since the treaty of Brittany. On these conditions Henry agreed to send one thousand men at arms, and three thousand archers, to their assistance.

The duke of Burgundy, anxious to prevent the junction of the English troops with the Armagnacs, opened the campaign early in the spring ; and, in order to ensure success to his operations, he placed the king at the head of his army. After he had reduced several places of little importance, he invested the town of Bourges, which was so vigorously defended by the duke of Berry, that, after the siege had continued a month, not the smallest impression was made on the place. But a want of provisions, at length, induced that prince to propose terms of accommodation, which were rejected by the duke of Burgundy, who insisted, that he should surrender at discretion. Some of the chiefs of the party intimated to the dauphin, that the duke of Burgundy, to gratify his rage and ambition, sacrificed the welfare of the state, exposed the king's person, and ruined the finest provinces in the kingdom ; that the province of Berry, which was now the theatre of war, must soon revert to the crown, by the death of the duke, who was advanced in years ; and that, therefore, it might justly be said, the king was laying waste his own territories : that the army was daily diminishing from a dearth of provisions ; and that the displeasure of heaven, at an unjust and barbarous war, appeared to be manifested in the prevalence of an

epidemic distemper, of which several noblemen, and upwards of twelve hundred knights, had already died.

These representations made a deep impression on the young prince, who began to open his eyes to the conduct of his father-in-law. The first effect of this change in his sentiments was a prohibition to the artillery-men to damage the buildings of the town, under pain of death. The duke of Burgundy, surprised at such an order, attempted to remonstrate with the dauphin; but that prince frankly told him, that he was resolved to put an end to a war which tended to ruin and depopulate the kingdom. The duke, thus reduced to the necessity of dissembling, acknowledged the justice of his remarks, and immediately renewed the negotiations. After some altercation, the principal articles were settled. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy had an interview, at which they were both armed, though separated by a barrier. "*Fair nephew,*" said the former, *when your father was alive there was no necessity for a barrier between us!*" The latter replied, "*It is not placed here, my lord, on my account!*" As their attendants stood at some distance, the particulars of the conference did not transpire. The treaty was signed soon after, and Auxerre was the place appointed for a meeting of the princes in order to ratify it.

The treaty was no sooner completed, than the promised succours from England arrived at la Hogue, in Normandy. Some days elapsed before the English were apprised of the pacification of Bourges; but, as soon as they heard of it, they spread desolation over the whole country, till induced to desist, by an offer from the duke of Orleans, who promised, on their retiring into Guienne, to pay them two hundred and twenty thousand crowns*; and he delivered his brother, the count of Angoulême, as an hostage for the performance of his promise. One half of the money was to be paid by the king.

Most of the princes, and the principal nobility of the kingdom, assembled at Auxerre, for the purpose of ratifying, by their oaths, the conditions of the treaty signed at Bourges. The duke of Orleans was accompanied by two thousand men at arms: the necessity of so numerous a retinue is thus explained by contemporary historians†.

The duke of Burgundy, at a private conference with des Essarts and Jaqueville, had told those ministers, that he had fixed upon Auxerre for his interview with the princes, as a place well calculated for the accomplishment of a scheme which he had formed for massacring the dukes of Berry, Orleans, and Bourbon, and the count of Vertus, in order to get rid of all his enemies at a single blow. Des Essarts, was unable to conceal the horror he experienced at such a proposal. He ventured to represent to the prince the eternal disgrace he must inevitably incur, if, after sacrificing the father to his rage, he should extend the fatal effects

* Villaret, t. xiii. p. 221—but the English historians differ as to the sum, which they make amount to three hundred and twenty thousand crowns. See Walsingham, p. 382, and Otterbourne, f. 271, 272.

† Juvenal des Ursins; Chron. de France; Chron. de St. Denis.

of his indignation to the children, and to the other princes of the blood. The duke was thus forced to abandon his design, and his resentment against des Effarts was the more violent, as, by entrusting him with a secret of this nature, he had reduced himself to the necessity of being circumspect in his conduct towards him. The provost, who knew him too well to be deceived by an appearance of cordiality, resolved to be constantly on his guard against the machinations of a prince whose hatred was implacable, and he secretly apprised the duke of Orleans, and the other princes of the blood, of the danger that threatened them.

The congress of Auxerre, at which the dauphin presided, was numerously attended. The conditions of the late treaty were read, and all the parties took a solemn oath to enforce their observance. The project of a marriage between the count of Vertus and one of the daughters of the duke of Burgundy, which had been settled by the treaty of Chartres, was now renewed; a mutual promise to bury in oblivion all past animosities was made; and both parties renounced all alliance or connection with England.

The duke of Burgundy had now become absolute master of the government. But we have already observed, that the dauphin was discontented with his conduct, during the siege of Bourges. He was aware, that all those measures which tended to affect the stability of the throne were aimed at himself. The duke of Burgundy, too, took no pains to conceal the natural pride and severity of his temper since the success of his plans had apparently established his authority on a solid foundation.

These first symptoms of coolness were perceived by the public soon after the reconciliation of the princes. The dauphin restored young Montagu to the office of chamberlain, and to a part of his father's property. The memory of that minister was, at the same time, cleared from the infamy which the laws extended to his posterity. The dauphin publicly declared that the execution of Montagu had greatly displeased him.

Since the death of the duke of Orleans, no less than three treaties had been signed for the purpose of terminating those fatal dissensions which caused the desolation of the kingdom; but these attempts all proved fruitless. The treaty of Bourges was no sooner signed, than a thousand difficulties occurred to impede its execution. The Armagnacs claimed, agreeably to the terms of the treaty, all the offices of which they had been deprived, and all the property of which they had been robbed; but those who were in possession of their places and estates refused to resign them. A thousand pretences were invented to elude demands that were founded in justice. Even the king's orders were disobeyed; and the claimants, tired out with fruitless applications and unsuccessful pursuits, were, at length, constrained to give up those advantages which they had expected to reap from the treaty. The king, at the solicitation of the duke of Burgundy convened a general assembly, for applying a remedy to the disorders which prevailed in the administration. Every body agreed as to the necessity of a reform;

but those who were loudest in calling for it, were not the most sincere in their wishes to obtain it. The assembly was opened by a speech from the chancellor of Guienne, in which he explained the actual situation of France. After dwelling, for some time, on the evils occasioned by the civil war, he pointed out the necessity of an union between the princes and nobility, to repel the attacks of the English, who had recently ravaged the Boulenois, and extended their incursions to the frontiers of Picardy. The chancellor concluded by calling upon the three orders to unite in defence of the kingdom by a general contribution.

A monk, named Eustache de Pavilly, a doctor of divinity, was ordered to draw up a circumstantial account of the vices in the administration, and of the means of removing them. The assembly was then adjourned to a future day, when the monk's memorial was publicly read. The exordium contained some indirect complaints against the absent princes; but the chief object of the work was, to arraign, in the severest terms, the present administration, and to offer a new plan of economy, to be observed in future. To prove the truth of what he asserted, Pavilly required that a strict investigation might take place; that an enquiry should be made as to what property the generals and the sovereign master of the finances possessed, when they entered into office; what salaries they had received, what they had expended, what they were now worth; what estates they had purchased, and what houses they had built.

Of all the ministers who were noticed in this memorial, none were so highly censured as des Essarts; his name was mentioned in every page, and every species of peculation was imputed to him. A deficiency of four millions of livres appeared in his accounts, but it was generally believed that he had given the money to the duke of Burgundy, and that the dread of incurring the indignation of that prince prevented him from justifying himself. From this memorial it appeared, that the expences of the king's household, which, under the preceding reign, had never exceeded ninety-four thousand livres, amounted, under Charles the Sixth, to four hundred and fifty thousand. The fact is, that the nation was so dreadfully oppressed by the multiplication of imposts, that the people were reduced to a state of wretchedness the most abject, while the king was kept almost without the necessaries of life; the collectors of the revenue, and the ministers of the finances presented false accounts, and contrived to swell the expences of the household, paying nobody, and appropriating the money they received to their own use. The memorial finished with a pompous eulogy on the zeal and services of the duke of Burgundy.

Many of those who were concerned in the administration of the finances were seized and thrown into prison; some fled for refuge to the churches; but most of them agreed to purchase the forgiveness of their crimes, and the money they advanced for that purpose was seized by those who procured their pardon. Des Essarts was compelled to quit Paris in disgrace, and to repair to Cherbourg

of which he was governor. Le Baudran de la Heufe was appointed to succeed him in the office of provost of Paris.

The dauphin, in the mean time, began to show his displeasure at the excessive authority assumed by the duke of Burgundy. John de Neele, chancellor to the dauphin, who had been promoted to that dignity by the duke, had a violent dispute in the council with the king's chancellor, whom he insulted very grossly. The dauphin, happy in an opportunity of mortifying the duke, seized his chancellor by the shoulders and forced him out of the room, telling him he had no farther occasion for the services of a man who had dared to insult the king's chancellor, in his presence. The duke of Burgundy in vain endeavoured to restore John de Neele to his former dignity. The dauphin remained inexorable, and totally dismissed him from his service. The young prince's desire of taking the government into his own hands daily encreased; and those who were about his person, aware of his inclination, were careful to encourage it. The object of his attempts was generally the mortification of his father-in-law. The motives of his conduct were too evident to escape the penetration of the duke of Burgundy, but, more politic than the dauphin, he disguised his sentiments, and secretly adopted measures for maintaining that power which the prince was anxious to wrest from his hands.

A. D. 1413.] During these transactions, des Effarts, secure in the protection of the dauphin, had returned to Paris, and taken possession of the Bastille*. A report was spread through the city, that a design was formed to carry off the dauphin, with his own consent; that des Effarts had orders to wait for him, with six hundred men at arms, at Vincennes, whither he was to repair under pretence of assisting at a tournament; that the princes of Orleans had troops in readiness to ensure success to the enterprise, and to bring back the prince to Paris in a situation that would enable him to give law to his enemies. The duke of Burgundy, thinking dissimulation no longer necessary, threw off the mask, assembled his partisans, while the corps of butchers and other *men of blood* excited an insurrection of the people, and, hastening to the Bastille, compelled des Effarts to surrender himself to the duke of Burgundy, who pledged his word that no insult nor injury should be offered him.

Inflated by the success of their first attempt, this rabble next repaired to the dauphin's palace, and, breaking open the doors, forced a way into his apartment. The leaders of the rebels insisted that the traitors who surrounded the prince should immediately be delivered into their hands; and they threatened, in case of a refusal, to seize and massacre them in his presence. The duke of Burgundy came in the midst of the tumult, accompanied by the duke of Lorraine, to enjoy his triumph. Notwithstanding the threats and resistance of the prince,

* Monstrelet; Juvenal des Ursins; Chron. de Saint Denis; Chron. MS.; Histoire de la Ville de Paris; Regist. du Parlement.

this imperious rebel, and his profligate associates, seized the duke of Bar ; John de Vailly, his new chancellor ; the lords of la Riviere, Marcoignet, Boissay, and Rambouillet, and several other officers of his household, who were immediately conveyed to the duke of Burgundy's palace, and confined : some of them, indeed, were massacred on the road. The rebels next summoned the duke of Burgundy to give up des Effarts ; and that minister was transferred to the Chatelet.

From this moment, the dauphin was kept a close prisoner in the hotel de Saint Paul, and, such was the vigilance of the mob, that it was not possible for him to effect his escape. In a few days after the first insurrection, the insurgents, under the conduct of their leaders, repaired to the palace, where the princes were assembled ; and, after pointing out the numerous abuses in the government, the immediate correction of which they demanded, in a tone of authority, they presented a list of proscription, which they compelled the dauphin to receive. This list contained the names of sixty persons, twenty of whom, being present, were instantly arrested, and conveyed to prison. Those who were absent were cited to appear by sound of trumpet, and, in the mean time, the gates of the city were shut, and corps-de-garde posted in every street.

They returned, soon after, in great numbers, and, having secured the three towers of the palace, compelled the king to give them an audience. Pavilly pronounced a studied harrangue, taking for his text—*Nisi Dominus custodierit civitatem, frustra vigilat qui custodit eam.*—When he had finished his speech, the chancellor asked him, by whose orders he had dared to bring his representations to the foot of the throne. The orator immediately turned to the provost of the merchants and the aldermen, whom the people had forced to accompany them, as if to ask their approbation of his conduct ; but these municipal officers, equally fearful of offending their sovereign, and of becoming victims of popular fury, spoke so low as to be wholly unintelligible. Some of the rebels then went down to the palace yard, which was filled with the mob, and desired their confirmation of all that Pavilly had advanced. A party of them immediately rushed into the royal presence, and told the king, that the monk had explained the real sentiments of the people, who were resolved not to disperse till a certain number of persons, whose names they presented in a new list, were delivered up to them.

The duke of Burgundy, affected to remonstrate with the people on the impropriety of their conduct. He represented to them that the king, having but lately recovered his health, the agitation of his mind, on such an occasion as the present, might, probably, cause a relapse. They replied, that they only came for the good of the king and his kingdom, and protested that nothing should induce them to change their resolution. The duke returned with this answer, and desired that the list which the insurgents had presented, might be read. At the head of it was Lewis of Bavaria, the queen's brother ; with the archbishop of

Bordeaux; the chancellor; the treasurer of Aquitaine; the queen's confessor; several other noblemen and officers, and about twenty ladies in the service of the queen and the dauphiness. The objects of their proscription were seized, and, without distinction of rank or sex, chained two by two, and conducted to prison. Most of these captives were conveyed to the *Conciergerie*; and the king was obliged not only to name twelve commissioners to try them, but to issue letters under the great seal, expressing his approbation of the rebellious conduct of the mob.

It is impossible for the human imagination to conceive disorders more dreadful, and cruelties more horrid, than those which were now daily committed in the metropolis of France. Numbers of men and women were hourly committed to prison, under pretence of entertaining sentiments inimical to the prevailing faction. No man's life was in safety, many of those who had been seized by the mob, at the palace, were thrown into the river during the night, or else privately massacred in their dungeons.

The duke of Burgundy, the chief promoter of these troubles, was not himself exempt from inquietude. In the tumult and confusion which prevailed in the city, every thing was to be feared from the mob; a blind monster, capable of sacrificing, in the height of its insensate rage, the man who lets it loose and excites it to action. Having once set the machine in motion, he was soon convinced of his inability to direct it at his pleasure. Every day the insurgents compelled the council to assent to the abolition of old laws, or the adoption of new ones. Des Effarts was still kept in confinement, though, he flattered himself with the hopes of a speedy release*. He suffered decapitation; his head was stuck on a lance.

The dauphin, reduced to despair, had applied to the leaders of the Armagnacs to release him from the perilous situation in which he was now placed. He had made several fruitless attempts to elude the vigilance of his guards, who never lost sight of him for a moment. The duke of Orleans and the leaders of his party received regular information of the proceedings at Paris, as well by letters from the dauphin, as by the means of the duke of Berry, who still remained at court. After several conferences between themselves, and after several messages received from the king and the dauphin, it was at length agreed, that ambassadors should be appointed by either party, to terminate, by a definitive treaty, the objects of contestation which had occurred since the peace of Auxerre.

The plenipotentiaries accordingly met at Pontoise, and the duke of Burgundy was even obliged to send deputies in his own name, being unwilling to complete his dishonour by openly opposing a reconciliation, which was meant to restore tranquillity to the kingdom; perhaps, too, he flattered himself with the hopes that the seditious populace of Paris would prevent the king and the dauphin

* Montfretet; Juneval des Ursins; Chron.; MS. Reg. du Parlement; Antiquités de Paris; Histoire de la Ville de Paris,

from accepting the proposals, and by that means raise up an invincible obstacle to the projected accommodation: in a few days the treaty was reduced into form, and contained, in substance, a promise, on the part of the princes, confirmed by their oaths, to preserve a strict harmony and good understanding with each other, and to live, in future, *like true relations and friends*; to put a stop to all hostilities; to dismiss their troops; to restore such as had been deprived of their places; and to consign to oblivion all past injuries.

This plan of accommodation was sent by the king to the parliament, who were ordered to deliberate on the propriety of accepting it. The rebel chiefs now made a last effort, by repairing to the hôtel de Saint-Paul, and insisting, in a tone of insolence, that the articles of the treaty should be submitted to their inspection. Meeting with a refusal, they re-assembled on the following day, and seized the town-house. But although they were formidable from their numbers, and had come to an unanimous determination, that the treaty should be immediately discussed by *themselves*, in order to frustrate every attempt at accommodation, yet they could not prevent the adoption of a more just and eligible mode of decision by a plurality of suffrages, to be collected by the officers of the different districts. This was a fatal blow to the Burgundian faction. Three thousand Burgundians had indeed assembled for the purpose of seizing the palace, but the prudence of the duke of Burgundy, who was conscious that they must be soon overpowered, repressed their zeal; and peace was publicly proclaimed, at the town-house, amidst the acclamations of the multitude. The government of Paris was restored to the duke of Berry; the dauphin reserved the command of the Bastille for himself, having appointed the duke of Bavaria his lieutenant; and the duke of Bar was made captain of the Louvre. It was publicly reported, and generally believed, that these two noblemen were to have been brought to the scaffold, the very next day. The brother of John de Troye, an active and dangerous rebel, was seized and executed. In his house was found a list of proscriptions*, by which no less than fourteen hundred persons, with their families were doomed to die.

Previous to the ratification of the treaty of Pontoise, it had been agreed, that none of the princes should enter the metropolis; but the duke of Burgundy had no sooner retired than the king of Sicily, the dukes of Orleans, Bourbon, and Alençon, and the count of Auxerre, arrived at Paris. We must observe, however, that the recent conduct of the duke of Burgundy was such, as fully authorized this apparent violation of the agreement. All the officers and ministers,

+ This sanguinary list was divided into three parts. Such as were destined to be massacred, were designated by a T, (for *Tués*, killed) placed opposite to their names; those who were to be banished were marked with a B; while an R pointed out such persons as were to be suffered to escape on paying a ransom. Juvenal des Ursins.

who had been indebted for their promotion to the protection of the duke of Burgundy, were now deprived of their places.

Charles d'Albret, on his return to Paris, was restored to the dignity of constable, though the count of Saint-Paul, by the advice of the duke of Burgundy, refused to give up the sword of office. Clagnent de Brebant was also reinstated in his post of admiral of France. The duke of Burgundy, in the mean time, was preparing to repair the disgrace he had recently sustained. He had written several letters to the king, assuring him that his precipitate retreat was solely influenced by the situation of his domestic affairs, which required his immediate presence in Flanders: he renewed his protestations of attachment to the monarch, and of zeal for the welfare of the state; and farther expressed his fixed resolution rigidly to abide by the conditions of the late treaty. But while he made these professions, he was engaged in assembling all his forces, both in Burgundy and the Low Countries. The states of Artois voted him a supply similar to that which the king annually levied on his subjects; he had opened a negociation with the English court; and still carried on a secret correspondence with his partizans at Paris, many of whom, by disguising their sentiments, had eluded the vigilance of the opposite party. The court of France could not be ignorant of his intentions; indeed he took no pains to conceal them, for ambassadors having been sent to him by the king, to demand the restitution of Cherbourg, Caen, and Crottoy, which he still kept in violation of the late treaty, and to forbid him to form an alliance with England, he dismissed them in a disdainful manner; when they obtained an audience at Lisle, where the duke then was, he did not deign to give them an answer, but calling for his boots, immediately mounted his horse, and set out for Oudenarde. Some time after, he sent a herald to justify his conduct, but the king's ministers very properly interfered, and prevented him from submitting to the degradation of a reply.

A. D. 1414.] During these transactions, the dauphin evinced a strong desire to take the reins of government into his own hands; forgetful of the injuries he had sustained and the insults he had experienced from the duke of Burgundy and his adherents, he wrote to that prince in terms of affection, urging him to repair to Paris, with a sufficient guard to secure his person from insult. This letter was dated in the month of December, 1413. In the following month the queen, accompanied by the king of Sicily, the dukes of Berry and Orleans, and other princes of the blood, went to the Louvre, where the dauphin then was, and, in his presence, seized four noblemen belonging to his court*. The dauphin highly resented this exertion of authority, and even attempted to call the people to his assistance, but he was prevented by the princes. Of the four captives, three, the lords of Moi, Brimeu, and Montauban, were released, after a confinement of 2

* Chron. MS. Juvenal des Ursins. Monstrelet. Histoire de Paris.

few days, on a promise never more to approach the person of the dauphin. John de Croi, the fourth, was rescued from his guards.

The dauphin enraged at this detection of his duplicity, sent letter after letter to the duke of Burgundy, requesting he would hasten to release him from the captivity in which he was holden. The duke speedily collected a formidable body of troops; and advancing as far as Dammartin, extended his incursions to the gates of the metropolis.

As soon as the princes and the council were apprized of his approach, they reviewed their troops, which consisted of eleven thousand men, and divided them into three bodies. All the gates of the town, except two, were kept constantly shut. The duke of Burgundy, in the mean time, continued his march to Saint-Denis, where he was received, on a promise, which he immediately broke, to do no injury to the inhabitants. His forces consisted of two thousand men at arms, and three thousand archers, a number wholly insufficient to attempt the reduction of the capital; but he had greater dependence on the attachment of the Parisians, than on his own strength. He sent a herald with letters to the king, the dauphin, and the citizens, who was immediately dismissed by the count of Armagnac. The duke then advanced to the gate of Saint-Eustache, where he drew up his men in order of battle, hoping the populace would make some diversion in his favour; but the vigilance of the constable frustrated his plans. The duke still persisted in his design: he found means, through his emissaries, to stick up a manifesto on the cathedral, the palace, and other public edifices, containing protestations of his zeal for the welfare of the state. He expressed his surprise that the citizens of Paris, and other loyal subjects, should suffer their sovereign to be treated with such severity. Under any other circumstances these reproaches might have excited an insurrection, but the princes had taken their precautions, with so much prudence and care, that not a single individual durst avow his sentiments. Corps-de-garde were posted in every part of the city, as well as on the ramparts. Day and night, bodies of armed men were continually marching through the streets with colours flying. The duke of Berry, as governor of Paris, issued a prohibition to all tradesmen, and artizans, to quit their shops and approach the ramparts, under pain of death. At length the duke of Burgundy, having made a last attempt to stimulate the zeal of his partizans, and finding the vigilance of his adversaries not to be eluded, retired to his own dominions.

Lewis of Bavaria, the queen's brother, and the lord of Gaucourt, being informed of the duke's retreat, left Paris with a strong detachment of the garrison, in the hope of coming up with the rear of his army; but when they arrived at Senlis, they learned that he had fled with such precipitation, that he had not even allowed his troops the usual time for rest.

Paris still continued to preserve the appearance of a town that was closely invested by a powerful enemy; the ramparts were covered with soldiers; corps-de-garde were posted at all the gates, and the streets filled with armed men, drawn up in order of battle, ready to act on the first signal of revolt. Heavy contributions were levied for the paying these troops. The chains were taken from the inhabitants, and deposited in the Bastille. All the citizens, without exception, had orders to deliver up their arms, and a general prohibition to wear a sword, or any other offensive weapon, was published; and death was proclaimed as the consequence of disobedience.

War having been resolved on by the council, a general assembly was convened at the hôtel de Saint Paul, at which the queen, the princes of the blood, the chief nobility, the prelates, and the members of the council attended. The dauphin presided in the absence of the king, who was, at this time, indisposed. All the subjects of complaint against the duke of Burgundy, were here detailed with precision and energy. Early in the spring the army, consisting of two hundred thousand men, took the field, under the immediate command of the king, who had by this time recovered his health sufficiently for that purpose. From the prince to the private soldier, every man wore the Armagnac sash; which greatly displeased those, whose attachment was confined to their sovereign, independent of all party. It appeared strange, indeed, that so powerful a prince as the king of France, should, in his own dominions, and in a war undertaken for the purpose of enforcing respect to his authority, submit to use the standard of his vassal. The defence of the capital, during the king's absence, was entrusted to the duke of Berry, with a body of twelve hundred men at arms.

The campaign was opened by the siege of Compiègne, which, after a short resistance, surrendered by capitulation. Noyon opened its gates on the first summons, but Soissons made a more obstinate defence. The attack, however, was conducted with such vigor and success, that the garrison, in a short time, found themselves reduced to extremities. A courier dispatched by the governor, to the duke of Burgundy, being intercepted by the besiegers, they became acquainted with the desperate situation of the place. The offer to capitulate, therefore, was rejected, and the town taken by assault, the governor suffered decapitation; such of the garrison as had escaped the general massacre experienced a similar fate.

While the royal army was in the Vermandois, intelligence was received that a body of Burgundians were on their march to join the duke. The duke of Bourbon, and the constable d'Albret, with a detachment of troops, immediately set out to meet them, and coming up with them near the banks of the Sambre, obtained a complete victory. The countess of Hainaut attempted to promote an accommodation, for which purpose she waited on the king at Perronne, accompanied by the duke of Brabant, and by deputies from the different towns of Flanders. Charles replied, That, "if his cousin, the duke of Burgundy,

" would come to him, he should experience such treatment as would give him content ; if he wished for justice, justice should he have, and if mercy was his object, he should obtain as much of it as would answer his purpose*." This was the only answer they could procure. The army advanced to Bapaumes, which immediately surrendered ; in this town several of the Burgundian faction were taken, and among the rest *Caboche*, the butcher, who was immediately executed.

Arras was next invested. Being a place of importance, every precaution had been taken for enabling it to sustain a long siege. It was divided into two parts, the *town* and the *city*, and had two governors. The garrison amounted to twelve hundred men at arms, and six hundred cross-bowmen. All the old men, women, and children, were sent away ; the suburbs were burned ; new fortifications and fresh batteries were erected ; and the walls and towers were supplied with cannon.

Notwithstanding the number of troops employed in the siege, such was the ignorance or infidelity of those who conducted it, that two of the gates were left free of access, by which means the garrison had an opportunity of receiving supplies, and of making sallies to advantage. A general mistrust prevailed in the royal army. Several private combats were fought before the walls ; mines and counter-mines were sprung ; and the bravest knights signalized their valour, in various encounters.

The artillery was badly served, through the treachery of the person to whose care it was entrusted ; a dearth of provisions and forage began to be felt by the royal army, as well as by the garrison ; the season was far advanced ; and the troops were attacked by an epidemic disorder, which proved fatal to numbers. The counts of Hainaut and the duke of Brabant, seized the opportunity to renew their proposals for an accommodation. The king was disposed to lend them a favourable ear, as well from inclination, as from the secret instigations of the dauphin, who was displeased with the ascendancy which the duke of Orleans daily acquired, and with the imperious conduct of the count of Armagnac. This disposition of Charles to terminate the war was, it seems, well known to the confederated princes, who, of course, took great pains to effect a change in his sentiments. Before the treaty could be finally settled, he had a relapse ; but the dauphin, on whom the command then devolved, hastened its conclusion. It was agreed, That the keys of Arras should be delivered to the king, and the standard of France hoisted on the walls of the town ; that the duke of Burgundy should surrender Crotoi, and dismiss from his court such persons as had incurred the indignation of the king and dauphin ; that whatever had been taken by either side, during the war, should be restored ; that all offensive declarations which had been published to the prejudice of the duke's

* Villaret, t. xiii. p. 309.

honour should be revoked, and that letters of justification should be granted him; that he should never go to Paris without permission from the king and dauphin; and that he should renounce his alliance with England. Peace was, accordingly, proclaimed; the troops were disbanded; and the badges of party, for a while, disappeared.

But this interval of tranquillity was short: the duke of Burgundy put his troops into cantonments in the Cambresis, where they lived at discretion. The count of Tonnere, one his vassals, having espoused the opposite party, he marched into Burgundy, pillaged Tonnere, and raised the citadel. The Armagnacs, on the other hand, surprised, a party of Burgundians, and put to death two hundred. The count of Saint-Paul entered the province of Luxembourg, while the companies who had been dismissed by their chiefs made war on their own account, and completed the general desolation.

The duke of Burgundy had still a powerful party at court. The dauphin, by the treaty of Arras which he had concluded in contradiction to the count of Armagnac, and the confederated princes*, evinced the preference which he gave him over the opposite party.

The dauphin intent on taking the government of the kingdom into his own hands, had recourse to a stratagem for his purpose. He invited his mother and all the confederated princes to give him the meeting at Corbeil, on a day specified in his letters; and while the whole court repaired to the appointed place, he made the best of his way to Paris; ordered the draw-bridge at Charenton to be drawn up the moment he had passed it; arrived at the Louvre at five in the afternoon, and commanded the gates of the town to be shut. Master of the capital, he sent orders to the princes to retire to their estates; the duke of Berry only received permission to return.

His first exertion of power was the seizure of his mother's treasures, which Isabella had placed in the hands of different citizens of Paris; he next compelled his wife to retire to the convent of St. Germain, that he might be at liberty to indulge his appetites, surrounded by courtiers, who studied his passions at the expence of his honour, he repaid their treacherous services with money appropriated to the service of the state. He undertook the management of the finances himself, the command of which was essential to support his prodigality; he called an assembly of the citizens and municipal officers of Paris, whom he informed of his resolution no longer to submit to the authority of ministers. About this time an ambassador arrived from the duke of Burgundy, the object of whose embassy was to request that the dauphin would again take his wife to his bed, and dismiss a mistress whom he had chosen to occupy her place. In case of a refusal, he was ordered to tell the prince, that the duke would consider the treaty of Arras as vir-

* Trésor de Chartres, Regist. des Anciennes Ordonnances, fol. 29.

tually annulled, and that in case of a war with England, neither he nor his subjects would take up arms in defence of the kingdom. To this demand the dauphin returned an evasive answer, rather calculated to soothe, than to satisfy the duke.

A. D. 1415.] While the kingdom was torn by intestine commotions, an enemy, not less powerful than ambitious, was secretly preparing to profit by this complication of misfortunes. Henry the Fifth had succeeded his father in the throne of England, and, he had long determined to profit by the dissensions which prevailed in France for the gratification of his ambition, by the total subjection of the kingdom. The claim which he had to advance to France, was, absurd; whether its validity be tried by the French or the English doctrine of succession. By the former, which excluded all females from the crown, and denied their power of transmitting a title to their male posterity, Henry could not claim a right; by the latter, as advanced by the third Edward, which admitted the exclusion of females, but established their right of transmitting a title to their male posterity, his pretensions were not less absurd; because any right to be derived from thence was vested in the earl of Marche, transmitted from queen Isabella to her son, Edward the Third, and from him to that nobleman, by Phillippa, only child of Lionel duke of Clarence, the elder brother of John, duke of Lancaster, from whom all the pretended rights of Henry were derived. It was not, however, an age in which princes were to be restrained from pursuing the projects of ambition by motives drawn from the sources of reason and justice. Henry determined to enforce his pretensions though he concealed his designs till they were ripe for execution. He had on his accession opened negotiations with the French ministry, confirming the truce concluded by the second Richard; but he rendered them fruitless, by perpetually varying in his demands, according to the situation of the kingdom.

When it was determined to take up arms against the duke of Burgundy, Henry thought the national confusion favourable for his attempts. He sent ambassadors to make a formal demand of the French crown, in virtue of the rights which he derived from the third Edward; this strange proposal had such an effect on the council that they remained silent for a time, as much from surprise as indignation. The ambassadors then declared that their master had authorized them to declare that he would content himself with the provinces which had been ceded by the treaty of Bretigny, adding only the immediate possession and full sovereignty of Normandy, Anjou and Maine, and superiority of Brittany and Flanders. This last proposal was, probably, the consequence of a projected alliance, which Henry was then negotiating with the duke of Burgundy, but which the treaty of Arras, for the present suspended. The English ambassadors again varied in their proposals; their last demand was that the treaty of Bretigny should be strictly fulfilled, one half of Provence, with the counties of Nogent and Beaufort, be ceded

to England; and the princess Catharine be given to Henry, with a portion of two millions of crowns. The duke of Berry, who presided at the conferences, offered to restore a part of Guienne. The powers of the English envoys being limited, they left Paris without a decision. Neither Charles nor his council could believe that Henry was seriously bent on war. In the mean time he was occupied in preparations for his intended expedition. He obtained from parliament a supply of two-tenths and two fifteenths, and a grant of the lands of all the alien priories in the kingdom; he also received a free gift, from the clergy, of considerable amount*; after borrowing all the money he could, he pawned his jewels, and even his crown, to make up the necessary sum†. Having assembled a great fleet, and a powerful army, he repaired to Southampton, in order to embark for France; but before he had got his troops on board the transports that were destined to receive them, he discovered a dangerous conspiracy formed to deprive him of the throne. This was speedily quelled, and having inflicted an exemplary punishment on the principal conspirators, and appointed his brother, John duke of Bedford, regent of the kingdom, he sailed from Southampton, on the 13th of August 1415, with six thousand men at arms, and twenty-four thousand archers, and landed safe on the coast of Normandy, about nine miles from Harfleur. He immediately invested that city.

The garrison of Harfleur consisted only of four hundred men at arms. They made a vigorous resistance, but so little precaution had been taken to put the fortified towns in a state of defence, that when the place had been besieged about a fortnight, the garrison had expended all their powder, and a supply having been intercepted by the enemy, they were reduced to extremity. They opened the gates to the enemy on the twenty-second of September. The garrison were suffered to depart, without their arms, on a promise to surrender themselves prisoners at Calais, unless the king of England should be brought to action, and sustain a defeat, previous to his arrival at that city. The opulent citizens were thrown into prison, and confined till they paid their ransom: such as refused to abjure their country, and take an oath of fidelity to the conqueror, were sent to England; and the rest of the inhabitants, men, women, and children, were all expelled the town; at the gate of which, a part of their cloaths were delivered to them, with five sols to each person to defray the expences of their journey‡. Henry was led to the adoption of these rigorous measures by the design which he entertained of peopling the town entirely with English.

But though the acquisition of Harfleur was an object of importance to the king of England, the great loss which he sustained made it a dear conquest. This loss proceeded less from the siege, than from an epidemic disorder which prevailed in the army. In this dilemma, the necessity of returning to England was mani-

* Parliament Hist. vol. ii. p. 137, &c. † Fym. Fœd. tom. ix. p. 257, 263, 271, 284, 285, 286. ‡ Villaret, t. xiii. p. 347.

fest to every one; the king summoned a council to deliberate on the subject. The duke of Clarence gave his opinion for an embarkation at Harfleur; but the English monarch refused to adopt it—as wearing the appearance of flight; and declared that he would rather make his way by land to Calais.”* The latter mode was adopted, and every thing prepared for this expedition.†

While the English were thus engaged in settling the mode of retreat, it became a question, at the court of France, whether the defence of the kingdom should be entrusted to the Armagnacs or to the Burgundians. Had the dauphin followed his own inclinations, he, probably, would have delegated that trust to the latter; but the change in the ministry made him give his voice in favour of the opposite party. The bishop of Chartres, the new chancellor of Aquitaine, being an enemy to the duke of Burgundy, and strongly attached to the duke of Berry, engaged the dauphin to send for the duke of Orleans and his principal adherents.

The constable d’Albret having received intelligence of Henry’s design to proceed to Calais, formed a junction with the troops under the command of marechal de Boucicaut, and hastened to Abbeville, to guard the passes on the Somme, which Henry was obliged to pass. Orders had been dispatched to the different provinces for all who were able to bear arms, to repair to the royal standard without delay. The duke of Burgundy offered to join the army in person, attended by all his forces. This offer, it was not thought prudent to accept.

Henry leaving Harfleur, advanced by slow marches, to the banks of the Somme, which he intended to cross at the same place where Edward the Third, before the battle of Crecy, had escaped from Philip of Valois; but he found the passage stopped up by piles stuck in the bottom of the river, and defended by the nobles of Picardy, who were drawn up on the opposite bank. At Pont Remi

* Elmham, c. 42. p. 49.

† To rescue Henry from the charge of imprudence in this particular, Mr. Hume has asserted, that having dismissed his transports, “he lay under a necessity of marching by land to Calais, before he could reach a place of safety.” But this assertion is evidently absurd: for, admitting that the transports had actually departed, it certainly would have been more advisable, in point of expedition, to send over to England for transports—the distance by sea not exceeding thirty leagues—and wait their arrival; than to attempt a passage over a tract of country near two hundred miles in extent, unprovided with guides, unsupplied with provisions, and pursued and harassed by an army which most historians make amount to ten times, and none to less than four times the number of his own. It will not be urged that there was no vessel in the port to send over to England; as subsequent to the adoption of Henry’s proposal, the duke of Clarence, with the earl of Marche, and many other noblemen, who had suffered extremely from the disorder which had proved so fatal to the English troops, embarked at Harfleur for England, where they went for the recovery of their health; nor will it scarcely be contended that Harfleur could not be deemed a place of safety, since, with so small a garrison, as four hundred men at arms, it had sustained a long and vigorous siege; and, after its reduction, Henry had been careful to repair the damage which the fortifications had sustained in the different attacks. This perilous enterprize, therefore, was not the result of necessity, but of enthusiastic ambition and obstinate temerity.

and several other places, where Henry attempted to cross the river, he was equally unsuccessful; every pass was guarded, and every bridge was broken down. His difficulties hourly increased, and his situation daily became more desperate. His troops were incessantly harrassed by bodies of horse which scoured the country, and prevented them from foraging; exhausted by a toilsome march, by sickness, and a dearth of provisions, their spirits were only supported by the fortitude of their sovereign. At length the English, after having passed three weeks on the banks of the Somme, discovered a pass between Peronne and Saint Quentin, which the inhabitants had neglected either to guard or to render impracticable. Henry, after crossing, pursued his march with celerity. He wished to avoid an action, and necessity alone could have induced him to risk one.

The different bodies of French troops had, by this time, formed a junction with each other; and amounted, by the best accounts, to fourteen thousand men at arms, and forty thousand infantry; the English did not exceed a fourth of that number. The two armies came in sight of each other, in the county of Saint-Paul, not far from the village of Azincourt, where the English arrived on the twenty-fourth of October. The French generals had repeatedly offered them battle, but Henry contented himself with replying that, since he had begun his march to Calais, he had never refused to engage. On the twenty-second of October a herald at arms was dispatched to the English camp, to tell the king that in three days he might expect to be attacked. Henry accepted the challenge without hesitation.

The night before the battle, the English took up their quarters in the villages of Azincourt, Maisonnelles, and the adjoining hamlets; when the brightness of the moon gave Henry an opportunity of examining the ground with attention, and of fixing on a spot for the ensuing engagement, which possessed local advantages to enable a handful of men to resist a numerous army. This was a gentle declivity, on the summit of which stood the village of Azincourt, and which was flanked, on either side, by a wood. Having taken these precautions, he retired to rest. With the French, all was riot and confusion; the whole army passed the night in the open air, and both men and horses were numbed with the cold rain which fell from the close of the day to the ensuing morn.

On the morning of Friday, the twenty-fifth of October, 1415, both armies were drawn up in order of battle. The constable d'Albret was guilty of an error which nothing could palliate, by occupying the ground chosen for him by the enemy. This prevented him from profiting by that advantage which the superiority of his numbers afforded. In the narrow plains, flanked by the woods, he could neither extend his front so as to encircle the enemy, nor employ his numerous cavalry. He drew up his army in three lines; the first was commanded by himself, and, consisted of a chosen band of eight thousand men at arms, dismounted, and four thousand archers; the space they occupied was

scarcely large enough to contain them; on each wing of this division were posted five hundred men at arms, who had orders to direct their efforts against the English archers.

Henry had also drawn up his army in three lines; the first, which was commanded by the duke of York, consisted wholly of archers, four deep; each of whom, besides his bow and arrows, had a battle-axe, a sword, and a stake pointed with iron at both ends, which he fixed before him in the ground, with the point inclining outwards, to protect him from the charge of the enemy's cavalry. The king himself headed the second line, accompanied by his youngest brother, Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, the earl marshal, and the earls of Oxford and Suffolk. The third line was commanded by the duke of Exeter, uncle to Henry.

The English monarch rode along the lines, mounted on a white courser, with a golden crown, affixed to his helmet. Four royal banners were displayed before him: he was followed by several horses, richly caparisoned, and surrounded by the chief officers of his court and army. He strove to encourage his troops. He told them, that the French had determined to cut off three fingers of the right hand of every prisoner whom they should make*; and he declared that every soldier in his army, who should, on that day, conduct himself with gallantry, should thenceforth be deemed a gentleman, and enjoy the privilege of wearing coat-armour†.

Before the battle began, the two armies stood gazing at each other, for a considerable time; but Henry, fearing that the French might discover the danger of their situation, gave the signal of attack about ten in the morning. The English archers let fly a shower of arrows among the crowded ranks of the enemy, which did infinite execution; and the French cavalry hemmed in by their own troops, and incommoded by the clayey soil, moistened by recent showers, were unable to exert their force. A second flight of arrows threw the first line of the French into some confusion, which was increased by a discharge from the bows of two hundred archers, whom Henry, before the battle, had placed in ambush in their flank. The battle now became general; when the archers had expended their arrows, they slung their bows, and, rushing onwards, attacked the enemy with their swords and battle-axes. In vain did the French men at arms attempt to advance; they were effectually stopped by the pointed stakes which, piercing their horses brought them to the ground, while the men, instead of retiring to the wings, pressed back on the first line of the army, and, by that means, contributed to augment the disorder which already prevailed in the front. The English, after an obstinate resistance, completely broke the first line, and forced it off the field.

* Thomas de Elmham p. 61.

† Id. ib. Villaret, t. xiii. p. 364.

While the first line of the English were retiring to recover their breath, behind their second line, where Henry commanded in person, the duke of Alençon advanced with the second division of the French, in hopes of restoring the battle. This second shock was more bloody than the first; and victory long remained doubtful. Eighteen French knights, who had entered into a solemn compact to take the English monarch, either dead or alive, forced their way through the ranks, and approached his person. One of them aimed a blow at his head with a battle-axe, which, though it did not pierce his helmet, for a while deprived him of his senses. He must probably have fallen a victim to these associates, but for the generous spirit of David Gam, and two other Welch officers, who rushing between him and his assailants, sacrificed their lives to the safety of Henry. When he recovered from the blow, perceiving the three gallant soldiers, to whom he was indebted for his preservation, expiring at his feet, he knighted them as they lay on the field of battle. The French knights were all killed; and the English king, rushed into the midst of the enemy, attended by his brother Gloucester, who fought by his side. They continued to advance with rapidity, and were soon separated from their troops. The duke of Gloucester was felled to the ground by the stroke of a mace, and Henry, covering him with his shield, sustained the shock of his numerous assailants, until the duke of York arrived to his relief. Gloucester being conveyed from the field, the king renewed the attack, and his troops, bore down all before them.

The duke of Alençon, followed by a few faithful adherents, rushed into the midst of the foe, and cutting his way through the ranks, arrived at the spot where Henry was fighting. He called out to the king of England to let him know that he was the duke Alençon; at the same instant he aimed a blow at his head, which cleft the crown on his helmet; he was on the point of repeating it—his arm was already uplifted, when a stroke from the battle-axe of Henry laid him at the feet of his adversary; the king interposed to save his life, but in vain, the rage of the English troops rendered his interposition ineffectual. Discouraged by the loss of their leader, the second line made no farther resistance; the third fled without striking a blow.

While the king of England was receiving the congratulations of his nobles, news was brought him that his camp was attacked. He immediately ascended an eminence whence he could plainly distinguish the cause of this alarm, which proceeded from a small party of troops, who, under the command of Robert de Bournonville, had left the army in the heat of action, to plunder the baggage which the English had left in Azincourt. The king piqued at this insult, ordered all his prisoners to be instantly put to death, except the princes of the blood and the nobility. The English troops, evincing a disinclination to fulfil

these orders, Henry selected two hundred archers, who, running through the ranks, dispatched the victims.*

The French never lost, in any battle, so many persons of distinction, as in that of Azincourt. Ten thousand men were left dead on the field, besides nine thousand knights or gentlemen, and one hundred and twenty knights-bannerets.

There were scarcely a family in France of any distinction, that did not lose some of its members. The prisoners, including those who were massacred during the attack on the English camp, amounted to fourteen thousand men, among whom were the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon. The loss of the English was inconsiderable; Villaret makes it amount to sixteen hundred men. The only persons of rank, who fell on their side, were the duke of York and the earl of Suffolk.

The want of a sufficient number of troops, and the advanced season of the year, prevented the English monarch from reaping any immediate advantage from his victory, except that of being enabled to pursue, his march to Calais, whither he conducted his spoils and prisoners. He embarked for England on the sixteenth of November, and arrived at Dover the same evening.

The duke of Brittany was advancing to join the army, at the head of six thousand men, when he received intelligence of the defeat at Azincourt. To increase the general consternation, the duke of Burgundy entered the province of Champagne, with a numerous army.

In the present critical situation of affairs, it appeared necessary to entrust the government to some person of rank and experience, who possessed sufficient influence and power to prop, by his own strength, the falling fabric of the state. The duke of Berry was too old, and the duke of Brittany too young, to bear so heavy a burden. It was resolved to call the count of Armagnac to the defence of the kingdom. Two noblemen were accordingly deputed to offer him the dignity of constable, and the post of prime minister. He immediately settled a dispute in which he was engaged with the count Foix, and set out for Paris, with a strong body of troops. Meanwhile, the duke of Burgundy sent ambassadors to Paris, with instructions to wait on the king and dauphin, and to make them a tender of

* Such is Villaret's account of this transaction; but the English historians relate it in a different manner. They acknowledge the order to massacre the prisoners, but affirm that Henry believed the attack on his camp to be more formidable than it really was; that his order was influenced by serious apprehensions of danger from the number of his prisoners; and that, as soon as he found his mistake, he countermanded it, and put an immediate stop to the slaughter it had occasioned. Between these different accounts, the reader must decide for himself. But candour compels us to observe, that Villaret attempts to obviate the difficulty with regard to the prisoners, by remarking that Henry might have released them on their parole, with an injunction to join him at Calais. This mode of treating prisoners, he tells us, was very common in those times, when any man who broke his parole was deemed infamous; and he adds, that Henry himself had actually released all the prisoners he had brought with him from Harfleur, on the same condition, immediately before the battle.

of his services. At the same time, he demanded permission to repair to court, and to employ all his forces for the preservation of the kingdom; the council forbade him to appear at court, unless he chose to come with his usual retinue; and all the towns on his road had orders to refuse him admittance; but, that he might have no cause to complain of this prohibition, it was extended to all the other princes; the government of Picardy was also offered to this turbulent prince, on condition that he should wage war against the English. But the government of a province was too trifling an object to a man who aspired to the sovereignty of a kingdom: the duke of Burgundy had determined to profit by the public calamities, to gratify his own private ambition; and this gratification he thought might be best promoted by a temporary alliance with England, in the formation of which he was actually engaged at the very time that he made offers of assistance to the king. If he had founded any hopes of a change in his favour, on the disposition of the dauphin, those hopes were not destroyed by the death of that prince, who expired at the Louvre, on the fifteenth of December, 1415. The Duke of Burgundy, soon after, sent to demand his daughter, who was restored to him.

During this time, the count of Armagnac arrived at Paris, and received the constable's sword from the king. Every thing now wore a new face. He was no sooner in possession of power, than he infused into every part of the government that inflexibility with which his own character was marked. The capital was kept in a state of continual alarm; every one became an object of suspicion, and the throne was inaccessible to all but spies and informers. Threats and punishments, the dismissal of placemen, and the imprisonment of citizens announced the severity of the new administration. The isle of France was over-run with troops, who completed the desolation which the Burgundians had begun. The count confined the envoys of the duke of Burgundy, who, in return, imprisoned those of the count.

The duke of Burgundy insisted on being received into Paris with his troops; while his proximity roused the zeal of his partisans. Some of his spies were seized and executed, for having sent him word that, in the metropolis, there were five thousand men, ready to take up arms in his favour. All whose fidelity was suspected were banished the city; many, too, submitted to a voluntarily exile, rather than encounter the dangers inseparable from a revolution produced by violence; for it was universally believed that the duke of Burgundy would lay siege to Paris. This, however, does not appear to have been his intention, either because he deemed his forces insufficient for such an enterprize, or because he wished before he made his attack, to see the effect of his negotiations with England, and of the conspiracies which his friends were secretly forming in the capital.

Ambassadors had been sent to Hainaut to invite the new dauphin, who was

then at the court of his father-in-law, to return to the capital; and envoys from the duke of Burgundy arrived there at the same time to congratulate him on his accession. The king's ambassadors could only obtain a public audience, at which the Burgundian envoys were present; while these last had several private conferences both with the dauphin and the count of Hainaut. The French ministers had received orders, from the constable, to sound the dauphin's inclinations, to convince him it was his interest to declare against the duke of Burgundy, and to intimate that his influence at the court would depend on the preference he should give to the prevailing party. The count of Hainaut dismissed the ambassadors without any positive answer; while the constable immediately began to strengthen his party against the new dauphin, by opposing to him the count of Ponthieu, the king's next son, who was created governor of Paris, and duke of Touraine.

The duke of Burgundy still remained with his army in Brie, but, convinced of his inability to make any effectual attempt on the capital, he only waited for an honourable pretext for withdrawing his troops: at his instigation, therefore, the dauphin sent orders to both parties to disarm without delay; the commands were of course obeyed by the duke of Burgundy, who returned to Artois, where he put his troops into cantonments.

The constable, who had recently obtained the office of superintendant of the finances, and of governor-general of all the fortresses in the kingdom, enjoyed the authority of an absolute monarch. The exhausted state of the finances, an inevitable consequence of the confusion which prevailed in every department of the government, required fresh resources on every change in the ministry. A general impost was now established from which no class of people were exempted. It was specified in the edict, issued for this purpose, "That the king had, of his own good will, hitherto exempted the clergy from the payment of all subsidies or taxes; but that now it was his pleasure, in consequence of the important objects he had in view, that no such exemption should obtain, and that no complaints on the subject should be allowed." All assemblies, for the purpose of remonstrating against this edict, were forbidden. This prohibition was deemed necessary, as the prelates had a meeting at Bourges, just before the battle of Azincourt, when they remonstrated with the king on the impropriety of taxing the church. The tax which gave rise to this clamorous opposition was a duty of forty sols on *every barrel of wine!*

A. D. 1416.] The emperor Sigismund, paid a visit to the court of France, where he was received with a degree of magnificence that but ill accorded with the poverty of the state; in return for which he undertook to mediate a peace with England. During his residence in the capital, a conspiracy was discovered, so sanguinary in its nature, so comprehensively wicked in its extent, as none but such a mind as the duke of Burgundy's could plan, and none but such a heart as

his could execute. The partisans of that prince were still numerous in the metropolis, where they had several private meetings; and the duke, by means of his emissaries, continually incited them to adopt some decisive measure. Different bodies of troops, dispersed about the Isle of France, had orders to assemble, on the first signal. The conjuncture was favorable, for the constable was then absent in Normandy, employed in repressing the incursions of the garrison of Harfleur, while the court were lulled in security. The design of the conspirators was to murder all the partisans of the Armagnacs; to seize the king, the queen, and the chancellor; to load the duke of Berry and the king of Sicily with irons, to shave their heads, and, after leading them through the different streets of the city, mounted on bulls, and exposed to the derision of the populace, to massacre them, together with all the princes of the blood, and all the noblemen of the party; the scene was to be closed with the murder of the king. The duke of Burgundy had not only given a verbal approbation to the scheme, but had confirmed it by letters, under his own hand, to the leaders of the conspiracy. After killing the chancellor, it was intended to give the seals to William d'Orgemont, who was, next to the duke of Burgundy, the soul of the conspiracy.

This tragedy was to have been exhibited on the night of Easter-Sunday; every thing was prepared, and the conspirators already exulted, by anticipation, in the success of their schemes, when the hopes of the faction were suddenly blasted, by the wife to a citizen of Paris, who discovered the plot. The queen, the princes, and the chancellor hastened to the Louvre, the only one of the loyal palaces which was then in a state of defence. Tannegui du Chastel, provost of Paris, immediately collected what troops he could find, and taking possession of the market place and the neighbouring streets, where the sedition was destined to begin, burst open the doors of several houses, in which he seized the leaders of the conspiracy, who were ready armed, and waiting for the appointed signal; having secured these villains, he visited every part of the city, and examined with care all suspected places. While the soldiers were employed in conveying to prison such criminals as they had seized, the rest fled. Some were executed publicly, others were drowned in the night; but d'Orgemont, the most criminal of them all, escaped with the slightest punishment; as an ecclesiastic, he was claimed by the spiritual judge, who imposed a fine of eighty thousand crowns, and sentenced him to perpetual imprisonment. He died in the fourth year of his confinement.

During these commotions, the constable had defeated a detachment of the garrison of Harfleur, but the news which he received from Paris induced him to conclude a truce with the enemy, that he might hasten his return to court. His presence inspired the Parisians with terror; the citizens were ordered to deposit their arms at the Bastille; all meetings of the people were forbidden under the

severest penalties; and the grand Butchery, which was considered as the cradle of sedition, was levelled with the ground. Four new butcheries were established in the different quarters of the town. As soon as the constable had restored tranquillity to the capital, he returned to Normandy, to renew the siege of Harfleur. He had engaged a number of Genoese vessels, and a body of Genoese cross-bow-men; the king of Castile likewise supplied him with another squadron; so that when these ships were added to the French they formed a powerful fleet, which, after scouring the English coasts, returned to block up the port of Harfleur, while the army besieged it by land. The news of this enterprize, which France, in her present situation, was supposed to be incapable of forming, astonished Henry, and rendered him less difficult with regard to the terms of the accommodation which the emperor had undertaken to negotiate. He even consented to a truce for three years, during which time the foundations of a solid peace might be laid; and offered to deliver the town of Harfleur into the hands of the emperor and the count of Hainaut.

But these proposals were rejected by the constable, who thought himself sure of succeeding in his attempt upon Harfleur. The siege was carried on with incredible ardour, and the place must have been reduced but for the valour of the earl of Dorset. The king of England, finding his negotiations ineffectual hastily assembled all the vessels he could collect from the different ports in his dominions, and formed a fleet, which he intrusted to the care of his brother, the duke of Bedford. That prince immediately sailed to Harfleur, where he attacked the French fleet under the command of the viscount of Narbonne. After a long and bloody action, he obtained a complete victory, threw a supply of troops and ammunition into the town, reinforced the garrison, and returned in triumph to Dover. A second victory obtained, some time after, by the earl of Huntington, over a French fleet compelled the constable to raise the siege of Harfleur. During these transactions, the duke of Berry died at Paris, in the seventy-sixth year of his age.

The emperor Sigismund still continued to support, in public, the character of a mediator, though he only used it as a veil to conceal his real designs. The advantages which the king of England had just obtained, and the animosity of the rival factions, made him consider the ruin of the monarchy as inevitable. He also flattered himself with obtaining some provinces, which formed a part of the ancient kingdom of Arles, and to which the emperors of the West had preferred some obsolete claims. These were his inducements to conclude an alliance with Henry, previous to his departure from London.

Notwithstanding this alliance Sigismund repaired to Paris, where he delivered to the court of France an account of his mediation, with the affected candour of an impartial umpire. After a short stay, he returned to Calais, where the English monarch was shortly expected.

The duke of Burgundy, still maintained a correspondence with Henry. He had forbore to form immediate connections with England, but he now adopted a different conduct; and an interview with Henry was appointed to take place at Calais, about the end of September. The court of France dispatched ambassadors to Calais, to discover the object of the interview; and to propose a cessation of hostilities till February following, which was accepted by Henry. With regard to the duke of Burgundy, he privately signed a treaty of alliance with Henry, by which he acknowledged the validity of that monarch's claim to crown of France, engaged to assist him in obtaining the kingdom, and to do homage to him as his vassal*.

Sigismund, during the conferences at Calais, took every precaution for concealing from the French ambassadors his treaty with England; by which he had engaged to assist Henry, with all his forces, in the conquest of France, on condition of obtaining the restitution of those provinces which had formed a part of the ancient kingdom of Arles. He then returned to Paris, where he again received the thanks of the court for his interposition; as soon as he had reached his own dominions, he published a declaration of war against France.

The imperious conduct of the constable excited discontents throughout the kingdom; and the presence of the dauphin, then at Valenciennes, was earnestly wished for, to counterbalance his authority†. The queen, forced to conceal the hatred which she bore to the count of Armagnac, depended wholly, for the establishment of her power, on the return of her son. The count of Hainaut was solicited to bring the young prince to court, but the negotiations for this purpose had always failed, because it was required, as a preliminary condition, that he should renounce all alliance with the duke of Burgundy. At length the count was prevailed on to attend the dauphin to Compiègne, where he had several conferences with the queen. In the mean time, an order was published, in the dauphin's name, to compel the different leaders to disband their troops; but no attention was paid to it.

From Compiègne the count of Hainaut went to Paris, where, he declared, that the dauphin should either repair to court accompanied by the duke of Burgundy, or return to Hainaut. This alternative destroying all hopes of a reconciliation, it was resolved by the council to arrest the count, but being apprized of their design he left the city with precipitation, and returned to Compiègne, where he found the dauphin expiring; some authors affirm that his death was occasioned by an abscess in the head, while others ascribe it to poison. Accusations were re-torted by all parties, but the real author is unknown.

A. D. 1417.] Every event which occurred, during this disastrous reign, seemed to augment the calamities of the kingdom. The nobility, jealous of the

* Rymer. Fœdera, tom. ix. p. 304.

† Juvenal des Ursins. Monstrelet.

authority enjoyed by the constable, obeyed him with reluctance. The people, burdened with taxes, held him in detestation. He was aware of the danger of his situation, and conscious that he occupied a post surrounded by foes. His most formidable enemy was the queen, who had retired from the metropolis. Vincennes was the usual place of her residence; her court was chiefly frequented by men of pleasure.

Charles was almost the only person in the kingdom ignorant of the depravity of his wife; the constable at length resolved to undeceive the monarch. He had placed spies on the conduct of Isabella, and their observations he communicated to the king. Charles hastened to Vincennes, as he approached her residence he met her chief paramour, Lewis Bourdon. This nobleman had just left Isabella, when he met the king, whom he hastily saluted, while his looks betrayed confusion, and a desire of avoiding him. The provost of Paris conducted him to prison. Charles instantly returned to Paris, without seeing the queen. That same evening Bourdon was put to the torture, confessed more than the king wished to know, was enclosed in a leathern sack, and thrown into the Seine. All the queen's officers were dismissed, and she herself was sent to Tours, under the care of persons who were made responsible for her conduct. All the treasure she had amassed, and deposited in different convents, and in the hands of private citizens, were seized by a joint order from the dauphin and the constable, and appropriated to the public use.

New declarations were daily published against the duke of Burgundy and his adherents, in which they were represented as public enemies. The duke also caused manifestos to be stuck up in all the great towns, in which he threatened to pursue with fire and sword all such as should support the Armagnacs. The parliament ordered these publications to be publicly burnt; the sentence was executed, but the mischief was already done. Most of the towns in Ponthieu, Picardy, Vermandois, and the Beauvoisis opened their gates to the Burgundian troops; many other places revolted, and expelled the collectors of the revenue. At Rouen, the populace massacred the lord of Gaucourt, the king's bailiff, and his lieutenant, and compelled the other officers to take refuge in the castle. The dauphin hastened to Rouen with a body of troops. He was obliged to negotiate with the rebels. The inhabitants admitted the dauphin into the town, and returned to their duty.

The court daily received intelligence of the defection of some town, whose inhabitants had been seduced by the intrigues of the Burgundian emissaries. Rheims, Châlons, Troyes and Auxerre opened their gates, and pillaged the offices belonging to the public-receivers, all of whom they massacred, without distinction or mercy.

While such was the state of France, the king of England landed, on the first

of August, 1417, near Touques, in Normandy, with twenty-five thousand men*, while the duke of Burgundy advanced from another quarter, with sixty thousand troops. Henry must have been well assured that his ally would fulfil the terms of the treaty between them, or he never would have ventured to attempt the reduction of such a powerful kingdom, with a force so inadequate. Nor was he deceived by the event: his expedition had less the air of a conquest than of a peaceable excursion. Tonque capitulated on the fourth day of the siege. From thence Henry sent a manifesto to the king, advancing his claims to the crown of France, and demanding the kingdom. After he had subdued the country between Harfleur and Caen, he laid siege to the latter, which was taken on the ninth of September.

The lord of Cany had been sent, in the mean time, to Amiens, with an order from the king to the duke of Burgundy, immediately to retire from his dominions. The duke, gave him a written answer, in which he disavowed his alliance with the English; and observed, that a command to disarm, at a time when France was attacked, proved "*the damnable disposition of the traitors who besieged the throne,*" who were unable, of themselves, to resist the enemy. The constable had recalled the few troops that were stationed in Normandy, as if he wished to accelerate the loss of that province. Plenipotentiaries had met at Bernouville, but the demands of the English were so exorbitant, that they were rejected. Henry required the hand of the princess Catharine, with the kingdom of France for her dower; though he was willing that Charles should enjoy the title and authority of King during his life, on condition that, he should be acknowledged as regent.

Meanwhile the Burgundian army approached the metropolis; all the intermediate towns, either bribed or intimidated, had made no attempt to impede their progress. The troops, passing the Seine, sacked pillaged, and burned every place where they met with the smallest resistance. At length the capital itself was invested; the duke of Burgundy established his quarters first at Montrouge, and then at Meudon. Hoping to get possession of the capital, by means of the secret correspondence which he maintained with his partisans, he did not press the siege. Content to confine the attention of the constable to the defence of the town, he took the opportunity to cut off all communication between Paris and the provinces.

During these transactions, the queen was intent on recovering that freedom which she had so justly forfeited.† Her hatred to the duke of Burgundy had appeared irreconcilable; but it now sunk beneath the transports of an indignation more recent in its date, and not less violent. She made no scruple to employ the

* Elmham, p. 92, 96, 97. Otterbourne, p. 278. † Reg du Par. Trésor des Chartres.

assassin of the duke of Orleans as the instrument of her vengeance. She dispatched a servant to the duke, with a letter, inviting him to release her from captivity. He knew too well his own interest to neglect this opportunity; quitting the siege of Corbeil, he hastened to Touraine with eight hundred men. On the duke of Burgundy's arrival, Isabella, accompanied by her deliverer, took the road to Chartres. In that city she performed the first acts of her new administration, by creating a parliament, which she appointed to sit at Amiens.

Having formed a plan for getting possession of the capital, the duke thought it necessary to encourage his partisans by advancing nearer to the scene of action. The conspirators had engaged to secure one of the gates of the city; a furrier, who was privy to the scheme, revealed it to the provost of Paris. The conspirators were seized, thrown into prison, and executed.

The duke of Burgundy was within half a league of Paris, when he received the news of this affair. As the season was too far advanced to permit him to keep the field with so numerous an army, he placed strong garrisons in the towns he had reduced, disbanded the militia of Artois and Picardy, and led the remainder of his troops to Troyes.

The king of England, in the mean time, continued his victorious progress; he soon became master of Lower Normandy, as far as the banks of the Sartre, which separates that province from Maine, whither his troops extended their depredations. The people fled before them; upwards of twenty five thousand families retired to Brittany, where they introduced the art of combing wool, and making cloth. The towns were equally deserted with the villages. When the English took possession of Lizieux, they found but one man and one old woman in the place, who were unable, through illness, to follow the rest of the inhabitants. The duke of Brittany and the queen of Sicily, as guardian to her son, the duke of Anjou and count of Maine, concluded a truce with the enemy, in order to defend their dominions from insult. While the English were thus advancing into the heart of the kingdom, the prince of Orange was sent into Languedoc, where he reduced most of the towns, and having assembled the states compelled them to acknowledge the authority of the queen and the duke of Burgundy. But the count of Foix, having been appointed, by the dauphin, to the government of that province, expelled the Burgundians.

A. D. 1418.] At Rouen the inhabitants again revolted, expelled the king's officers, and, corrupted by the Burgundian emissaries, hoisted the signal of faction. The count of Aumale, governor of the town, took refuge in the castle, where the rebels compelled him to capitulate. Henry, having received a reinforcement of troops from England during the winter, almost completed the reduction of Normandy. Of the whole province, the only towns which remained to be subdued were Rouen and Cherbourg.

The news of such repeated losses filled with consternation all such as had the real interest of their country at heart. The only means of preventing the total ruin of the kingdom appeared to be the union of the court with the queen and the duke of Burgundy. For effecting this desirable purpose deputies from either party met at the village of La Tombe. The project of a pacification was drawn up, to which the queen and the duke of Burgundy consented. It was also approved by the dauphin and the council. By this it was agreed that the queen should repair to court, and that the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy should be associated in the government of the kingdom.

During these negotiations the constable was engaged in the siege of Senlis, which he pressed with such vigor that the governor had agreed to surrender the place, unless relieved within a limited time. Having apprized the count of Charolois of his situation, that prince sent John of Luxembourg, to his relief, who arrived within a league of Senlis, the night before the day appointed for the surrender of the place. On the ensuing morn, the constable summoned the governor to fulfil the terms of the capitulation, and on meeting with a refusal, put to death six of the hostages who had been delivered to him to ensure its performance. The governor immediately massacred six-and-forty prisoners, whose heads he threw over the walls. The constable raised the siege, and hastened to the capital, where his presence had become necessary.

On his return, all hopes of accommodation vanished; he persuaded the dauphin of the impropriety of consenting to a treaty which placed the duke of Burgundy on the same footing with himself. The treaty was rejected. He declared, that those who could advise the dauphin to sign such an act, ought to be considered as traitors and enemies to the state.

Perrinet le Clerc, the son of an ironmonger at Paris, resolved to make the Burgundians master of the capital. He communicated his intentions to Lisle-Adam, who was then at Pontoise. This conspiracy escaped the vigilance of the government. The father of Perrinet, being a municipal officer, was entrusted with the care of the gate Saint-Germain. In the night of the twenty eighth of May, Lisle-Adam arrived before the walls of Paris, with eight hundred men at arms; he was admitted into the city by le Clerc, who had taken the keys of the gate from under his father's pillow, while he was asleep. As soon as Lisle-Adam had entered with his troops, he threw the keys over the ramparts, that none might escape his vengeance. He then advanced, in silence, to the Châtelet, where he was joined by five hundred citizens, who exclaimed—"Peace, peace! Long live Burgundy!"

The Burgundians spread over the different parts of the city. The populace following the troops, joined in the acclamations of—"Peace, peace! Long live Burgundy!"—Lisle-Adam repaired to the palace, and having burst open the gates,

forced way into the king's apartment, and compelled Charles to mount on horse-back, in order to be exhibited to the people; while the other leaders of the rebels, seconded by the populace, ran to the houses of the chancellor, the ministers, and principal officers, all of whom were loaded with chains and thrown into prison. Tanneguy du Chastel, provost of Paris, roused by the clamours of the mob, arose with precipitation, and putting on his armour, flew to the dauphin's residence; seizing that prince, who was scarcely awake, in his arms; he had the good fortune to reach the Bastille, with his burden. During this time the constable had taken refuge in the house of a mason, where, disguised in the dress of a beggar, he had leisure to reflect on the vicissitudes of fortune.

When the day appeared, the streets were filled with an immense crowd of people, bearing on their cloaths, the red cross of Saint Andrew. The houses were broken open, and exposed to depredations. Guy de Bar, the new provost of Paris, at the head of an armed troop, authorized these proceedings. While some of the rabble were laden with the spoils of their fellow-citizens, others were conducting to prison, the devoted victims of their malice or revenge. The strictest search was made after the constable; the mason was induced to give him up; he was instantly conveyed to the Châtelet, and from thence to the prison of the Conciergerie.

The marshal de Rieux, Tanneguy du Châtel, Barbazan, and the other noblemen who had, at first, fled for shelter to the Bastille, conveyed the dauphin from thence to Melun. Two days after their escape they returned to Paris with sixteen hundred men, in the hope of taking the Burgundians by surprise and releasing the constable. When they came to the Hotel de Saint-Paul they learnt that the king had been removed to the Louvre; a desperate action, however, took place in the Rue Saint-Antoine, in which the Burgundian troops being joined by the seditious rabble, overpowered the Armagnacs, and compelled them to retire, after killing four hundred, and taking several prisoners, who were immediately massacred. A deputation was then sent by the rebels to the dauphin to engage him to return to the capital, but he had left Melun before the messenger arrived there. The Bastille was surrendered by capitulation.

The noblemen attached to the dauphin, collected a small body of troops, and again appeared before Paris. At this time, a strong party of the Paris militia, consisting chiefly of butchers, who had long been absent on predatory excursions, returned to the capital. They reported that the friends of the dauphin only waited for an opportunity to surprize the town, exterminate the Burgundians, and release the constable with all the other prisoners. These rumours, were encouraged by Lisle-Adam, and other leaders of the Burgundian faction. The queen, and the duke of Burgundy, who were then at Troyes, being informed of the success of their plans, sent a message to their confidential friends, intimating

that the annihilation of the opposite party would be the only effectual method of establishing their own authority ; and that, without that, they durst not venture to come to Paris.

On the twelfth of June, the populace, forced open the doors of the prisons, murdered the goalers and guards, made the prisoners walk out one by one, and massacred them as they passed, Armagnacs, *Burgundians*,* criminals, debtors, all were butchered without distinction of rank, age, or sex. Not a prison nor dungeon escaped the malignity of these ruffians. The grand Châtelet made a vigorous resistance ; its inhabitants ascended the towers, and attempted to repel the attacks of the mob ; for some time they exhibited the sight of prisoners sustaining a siege ; at length, however, the building having been fired in different parts, they were compelled to surrender. The rabble then forced these victims to precipitate themselves from the tops of the towers into the streets below, on pikes which they held to receive them. In the court-yard of the palace, and in the environs of the gates of Paris, the mob stood “ *up to their ancles in human blood !*”† When the barbarians had cleared the prisons, they spread over the different parts of the town ; not a street but was the scene of numerous murders ; whoever wished to get rid of an enemy, a rival, or a creditor, had only to point him out as an *Armagnac*, and he was instantly dispatched. The constable, the chancellor, and his son, the bishop of Coutances, were fastened together with a cord, and dragged round the city on three successive days, exposed to the insults and derision of an insolent rabble ; leaders of the *Burgundians*, at the head of two thousand men at arms, attended these executions, and encouraged the rabble. Revenge was sharpened by interest ; every chief of the faction gained more than an hundred thousand crowns, by this revolution. Three thousand five hundred men were massacred during the three first days of the tumult ; among whom were the constable, the chancellor, seven prelates, a great number of the nobility, and many of the judges of the parliament. When all the mischief was done, a prohibition to pillage was issued ; the mob, however, paid little attention to an order, which they knew was given only to preserve appearances.

The queen and the duke now made their triumphant entry into the capital. The streets, still stained with blood, shed in their quarrel and by their orders, were strewed with flowers ; and re-echoed with the sounds of musical instruments. Isabella appeared in a car richly decorated. She alighted at the Hôtel de Saint-Paul, where her husband awaited her arrival. The senseless monarch received his consort as a beloved wife, and his treacherous kinsman as an affectionate friend.

The object of the tumult being accomplished, it, at length, became necessary

* Villaret, tom. xiii. p. 467. † Villaret, ubi supra.

to restore order. Since the commencement of the revolution, the parliament, and other superior courts, had discontinued their functions. Most of the judges had been massacred or compelled to fly the capital. By an order of the council, the different jurisdictions were suppressed, and the power of appointing new ones was vested in the king. All the officers of the king's household were changed. The queen and the duke were resolved not to leave one of the opposite party in possession of any place or power.

All persons suspected of entertaining sentiments hostile to the prevailing faction were apprehended, so that the prisons, in a short time, again overflowed with victims of party-rage. The troops who were stationed in the vicinity of the metropolis, by intercepting the provisions, occasioned a scarcity that revived the fury of the people. Means were found to persuade the multitude that the Armagnacs were the authors of the famine. The massacres were renewed, and the prisons were once more made to flow with blood. The ferocious rabble now headed by *Capeluche*, hangman of the town. He ordered and superintended the executions; dictated laws, and compelled obedience. Having forced an entrance into the palace, the duke of Burgundy advanced to meet him, and after shaking hands, these worthy associates conferred together for some time. The people having cleared the prisons, insisted that all the captives who were confined in the castle of Vincennes should be delivered to them; and their request was no sooner complied with, than they put them all to death. In this second massacre, fourteen thousand persons (of which five thousand were women) were supposed to be slain.

The Parisians had, by this time, become so ungovernable, that the duke of Burgundy began to be alarmed. His safety depended on putting a stop to disorders which might finally be turned against himself. For this purpose he drew up his troops, and seized the principal leaders, who were publicly executed; even his friend *Capeluche* was not spared. He embodied six thousand of the most turbulent, and sent them to lay siege to Montlhery and Marcouffy, whose garisons extended their incursions to the very gates of Paris. Captains were appointed to command them; but on the approach of Tanneguy du Châtel, with a body of regular troops, they fled with precipitation. When they attempted to return to Paris, the gates were shut against them.

The kingdom of France was now reduced to such a situation that every change proved a new source of calamities.* Most of the principal towns opened their gates to the Burgundians. The chains were replaced at the ends of the streets of Paris. The arms taken from the citizens by the count of Armagnac were restored. In short, the duke of Burgundy spared no pains to conciliate the af-

* Monstrelet. Juvenal des Ursins.

fection of the Parisians. He was seconded by the pope's legates, who had considerable influence as well over the parliament as over the university, from the favours which those bodies hoped to obtain from the court of Rome. During these transactions, the dauphin had left Melun, and repaired to Bourges, where he was joined by a number of the nobility, who had resolv'd to devote their lives and fortunes to his service. Besides those officers who were personally attached to him, all such as were uninfected by the spirit of party acknowledged in him the sole heir to the crown, the rights of which were vested in his person during the incapacity of the monarch. The dauphin now assumed the title of Regent. He appointed a chancellor and instituted a parliament, which was chiefly composed of the magistrates who had escaped the massacre of Paris. This court was soon after transferred to Poitiers. The chamber of accounts, established at Bourges, at the same time, continued to sit there, till some years after the accession of Charles the Seventh. The queen and the duke of Burgundy were earnest in their solicitations to the dauphin to return to Paris; and it was proposed to send his consort to him, in the hopes of inducing him by that mark of attention, to accept the invitation; but these attempts to promote a reconciliation occasioned no cessation of hostilities; the war still continued, though on very unequal terms, since the duke of Burgundy had exercised the sovereign authority. Melun and Meaux were almost the only places of consequence, near the isle of France, which still remained true to the dauphin. The Burgundians gained possession of Coucy, through the treachery of a girl, who was kept by the governor. The garrison being compelled to leave the place, put themselves under the command of Stephen Vignolles, surnamed la Hire, and Poton de Xaintrilles. These two warriors, at the head of forty lances, attacked and defeated four hundred men at arms, commanded by the lord of Longueval. Some days after this heroic achievement, they obtained a similar advantage over two thousand men led by Saveuse. Soissons and Compiègne were taken and sacked.

The duke of Brittany had made a journey to Paris, to mediate a peace between the contending parties; and his exertions, determined the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy to appoint plenipotentiaries for regulating terms of accommodation*. The plan of a treaty was drawn up, to which the queen and the duke assented; to induce the dauphin to sign it, the duke of Brittany went to Angers, where the prince then was, and took with him the dauphiness, who, since the last commotions, had been detained at Paris. But most of the nobles who were attached to the dauphin rejected with disdain a treaty which authorized the duke of Burgundy to share the supreme authority with the lawful heir to the throne. The duke of Brittany, disappointed at the failure of his scheme for pro-

* D'Argentre. Nouvelle Histoire de Bretagne.

moting a peace, returned to Paris with the news, and then hastened back to his own dominions.

The English, during this time, met with no obstacles to impede the progress of their arms. An English officer, with only sixty men, crossed the Seine, in the middle of the day, in sight of Gravelle, who was posted on the opposite bank, with eight hundred men at arms, and twelve thousand militia, who fled at the approach of the enemy. This cowardice, or treachery, occasioned the loss of Pont de l'Arche. Cherbourg, after a siege of three months, surrendered to the duke of Lancaster.

Henry now hastened to complete the reduction of Normandy, by investing the capital. The inhabitants determined to make the most vigorous resistance; not doubting, but that the duke of Burgundy, who had already sent some troops to their assistance, would exert the whole force of the kingdom, to save a place of so much importance. Messengers were sent to inform that prince of the approach of the enemy, and the duke assured them that they might rely on speedy relief.

The siege of Rouen filled with consternation the inhabitants of Paris. The parliament held a meeting on the occasion, which was attended by the members of the university, and the principal citizens†, when a deputation of magistrates was sent to the king to entreat him to provide effectual means for the relief of Rouen and the safety of the metropolis. The answer they received was, that the king and the duke of Burgundy were about to leave Paris for that purpose; in fact, the court did remove to Pontoise, but rather from the dread of the contagious disorder, which had not yet left the capital, and with the view of getting rid of the importunate remonstrances to which they were hourly exposed, than with any design of accomplishing the grand objects, to which the magistrates had endeavoured to call their attention.

The Duke, who, a short time before, when his attacks were directed against his king and country, had appeared at the head of sixty thousand men, now that he had become absolute master of the government, and had the sole and entire disposal of the revenue and the forces of the state, could not muster an army, sufficiently strong to retard the operations of the king of England, who had besieged Rouen with less than twenty thousand men. Entrusted with the defence of the kingdom, he seems to have confined his attention to the preservation of the metropolis, and of such other places as resisted the efforts and intrigues of the dauphin's party. His troops, instead of promoting any object of public utility, increased the dearth of provisions in the capital, by incursions into the country. The Duke's conduct was the consequence of the position into which he was thrown by his insidious policy. Since the late revolution had delivered the king and the govern-

† Registres du Parlement.

ment into his hands, he was no longer interested in the success of Henry. The conquest of Normandy seemed but as a prelude to the total reduction of the kingdom; and the duke of Burgundy, having every thing to fear from the king of England, had powerful motives for wishing to impede the progress of his arms. On the other side, the dauphin, who was wholly influenced by the house of Orleans, gave him no less subject for inquietude and alarm. He could not act against the enemies of the kingdom, without leaving his own personal enemies at full liberty to act against himself; and to preserve the advantages he had obtained over these last, he must abandon the defence of his country. With a man of his principles the choice scarcely admitted of a doubt; besides, he was influenced by a motive still more powerful than any we have yet noticed; this was the apprehension that the king of England might render him an object of public indignation, by publishing the secret treaty which he had concluded with that prince at Calais. Thus was the duke of Burgundy, caught in his own snares.

Henry concerted all his measures with prudence and circumspection. While he listened to every proposal for an accommodation, he pursued his conquests with ardour. Convinced that he was only indebted to the duke of Burgundy's fears, for his forbearance to oppose him, he took care to encrease them, by pretending to lend a favourable ear to the offers of a separate alliance with the dauphin. He appointed fourteen persons to confer with the deputies of that prince. The conference took place at Alençon; but the dauphin's ambassadors could never extort from the English ministers a fair explanation of their master's pretensions. The conferences were terminated; but the dauphin wrote to the king of England, desiring an interview. Henry, who was then engaged in the siege of Rouen, replied, that as soon as the town was reduced, he would appoint a place for that purpose.

The city of Rouen which had sustained a siege of four months, was, by this time, reduced to the last extremity. The inhabitants had signalized their courage and fidelity; and had they not been betrayed by the ministry, all the efforts of Henry to reduce them would have proved unsuccessful. Before the enemy's approach they had burned the suburbs; but at the commencement of the siege, the English took the fort of Saint-Catharine; and soon after the reduction of Caudebec rendered them masters of all the passes on the Seine, the passage whereof they completely closed by a triple row of iron chains; the first of which was sunk in the river, the second was placed on a level with the surface, and the third raised two feet above the water. The navigation was no sooner interrupted than a dearth of provisions was felt in the town. Though the enemy had not invested Rouen till the end of August, all the provisions were consumed by the month of October. Guy Bouteiller, the governor, who had been appointed by the Burgundian party, had totally neglected the necessary precautions as well for supplying the town with provisions, as for defending it from the attacks of the

enemy. Every part of his conduct proved him a traitor who had long since sold himself to the king of England, to whom he transmitted a regular account of the proceedings of the inhabitants:

Henry, enraged at the obstinacy of their defence, threatened them with extermination, unless they speedily surrendered. He ordered gibbets to be erected, round the walls of the city, to which were suspended all the prisoners he had taken.* But such barbarous conduct, far from intimidating the inhabitants, only served to excite their indignation, and to render more frequent those impetuous sallies which often carried destruction even to the royal tent. A breach was no sooner made than repaired; and the brave Normans evinced a resolution to bury themselves beneath the walls of their capital, sooner than surrender it to the enemy.

At the end of November the siege was no farther advanced than on the first day. The king of England informed of the situation of the inhabitants, resolved no longer to press the attacks with so much vigour, from a conviction that the place must soon be reduced, by famine: *fifty thousand* of the inhabitants perished during the siege. Twelve thousand persons of both sexes were dismissed the town, as useless mouths; but the besiegers refused them a passage through their camp, and drove them back into the ditches, at the foot of the ramparts, where they remained exposed to the weather, to hunger and thirst, and to the balls and arrows of the enemy, as well as to those of their own countrymen. Baskets were let down by the inhabitants from the top of the walls, to receive several new-born infants, of which the women were delivered in the ditch; as soon as baptism had been administered to the innocent victims, they were returned to their expiring parents†, lest their stay might encrease the dearth of provisions which prevailed in the city.

Six deputies, having eluded the vigilance of the besiegers, repaired to Paris, where they represented the horrors of their situation in such strong terms, that the Parliament appointed a number of magistrates to second their remonstrances to the king and the duke of Burgundy. The duke gave them his word of honour that he would immediately march, in person, against the English. The *Arriere-ban* had been published; the orders to take up arms were repeated in the provinces, and the court advanced to Beuvais, which had been fixed on as the rendezvous of the troops. But all this vain pomp of preparation ended in an impotent attack on the English army, by a detachment of eighteen hundred men, who were repulsed with considerable loss.

Still the inhabitants of Rouen did not lose courage. They were chiefly excited to this spirited resistance by Alain Blanchard. Under his conduct, ten

* Villaret, tom. xiv. p. 20. † Villaret, tom. xiv. 22.

thousand of the citizens agreed to make a desperate sally; a part of them had already reached the enemy's camp, when the bridge suddenly gave way, (the perfidious governor having previously caused the wood by which it was supported to be sawed nearly through) and let all those who were upon it fall into the river; the rest were obliged to return to the city. At length the inhabitants, wholly unable to hold out any longer, sent, for the last time, to summon the king either to relieve them, or else to absolve them from their oaths of fealty and allegiance. The duke of Burgundy positively promised, that the French army should appear before the walls of Rouen, the day after Christmas-day; but when the time came, he sent them word that it was impossible to afford them any assistance, and that, therefore, they had only to make the best terms they could with the king of England.

A. D. 1419.] Henry, at first, insisted that they should surrender at discretion; but the inhabitants unanimously declared, that sooner than submit to such a degradation, they would all meet death in one general sally, after setting fire to the city in various places. The king, informed by the governor of this desperate resolution, granted them more favourable terms. The articles of capitulation were accordingly drawn up, by which it was agreed that the garrison should march out of the town without arms; that the inhabitants should pay, at two installments, the sum of three hundred thousand crowns, by way of ransom; and that they should take an oath of allegiance to Henry, as their lawful sovereign; that they should enjoy all the privileges which had been granted them as well by such kings of England as had been dukes of Normandy, as by the kings of France, to the time of Philip of Valois; and that a certain number of citizens, among whom was Alain Blanchard, should be delivered to the king*. Henry, dreading this courageous demagogue, ordered him to be immediately executed†: in his last moments he displayed a degree of firmness and intrepidity, which ought to have made the king blush for his cruelty.

The reduction of the capital was followed by the surrender of the few places in Normandy which had not yet submitted; Château-Gaillard, a fortress situated upon the Seine, near Andely, was the only place which still ventured to resist. It sustained a siege of sixteen months; nor would the governor, Mauny, consent to yield, till all the cords for drawing water were entirely worn out, when the garrison had nothing to drink. Meanwhile the approach of the English alarmed the capital, where famine had succeeded the horrors of assassination and pestilence. The course of the Seine, both above and below Paris, being commanded by the enemy and by the garrison of Melun, who had declared in favor of the dauphin, all communications with the provinces was stopped. The dau-

* Rym. Fœd. tom. ix. p. 664, 674, 677, 678, 679, 682, 683, &c. † Villaret, tom. xiv. p. 26.

phin opened a negociation, with the English, at Alençon, and with the Burgundians at Montereau; while the Burgundians themselves were also negotiating with him and with Henry.

Whether the duke of Burgundy still entertained hopes of procuring a reconciliation with the dauphin, or whether he only wished to intimidate him, he renewed the negotiations with the English, whose plenipotentiaries repaired to Troyes, with fresh proposals from their sovereign. It was resolved that the two kings should have an interview between Meulan and Pontoise; and this resolution was communicated to the dauphin, who was invited either to attend in person, or else to send plenipotentiaries who might, in his name, accede to the treaty meant to be concluded. The French court repaired to Pontoise, while Henry advanced to Mantes. The king, having had a fresh relapse, was left at Paris. The princess Catharine accompanied the queen. A field, enclosed with a double pallisade, was chosen for the interview. An equal number of English and French troops had orders to post themselves at an equal distance from the spot.

When the necessary precautions for their mutual safety had been taken, Isabella, the princess, and their retinue, accompanied by the duke of Burgundy and the ministers, entered a magnificent pavillion which had been erected for their reception, where they found Henry. This first interview passed in mere compliments. The queen perceived the impression which her daughter had made on his heart; and thinking that absence might tend to irritate his desires, she resolved not to let Catharine attend the conferences in future. Henry though he had conceived an affection for the princess, made love subservient to ambition. "*Fair cousin,*" said he, to the duke of Burgundy, "*we wish you to know that we will have the girl, and the dower we demand with her, or else we will expel your king and you from this kingdom.**" The duke suffering his interest to subdue his spirit, contented himself with observing, that before Henry could accomplish that object he would be tired of the war.

But while the king of England was dictating the terms of peace, the dauphin, who foresaw the inevitable ruin of the country from the projected accommodation, dispatched Tanneguy du Châtel to Pontoise, with orders, at all events, to break off the conferences. He bribed all the confidential friends of the duke of Burgundy, and engaged the lady of Giac, of whom that prince was enamoured, to second his endeavors. All the obstacles which had hitherto prevented a reconciliation with the dauphin were suddenly removed; and the duke consented to a treaty, and left the prince master of the conditions. All that remained to be done was to deceive the enemy, to amuse them some time longer, and then to

* Le Fevre.

start some pretext for a rupture. The conferences were, accordingly, continued, during which the duke concluded his secret treaty. Every thing being settled, he left Pontoise, and went to Corbeil, between which place and Melun, he had an interview with the dauphin.

The treaty, signed by the two princes and the principal noblemen of either party, was carried to Paris, and presented to the parliament by the archbishop of Sens. It contained a general amnesty for all past transactions; and stipulated that the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy should jointly govern the state, and unite their forces for the expulsion of the English from France: the Parisians testified their satisfaction on the occasion by public rejoicings; and their example was followed, by all the principal towns in the kingdom.

Henry had not conceived it possible that a reconciliation could take place between the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy; but the late treaty destroyed those hopes which he had founded on the dissensions prevailing between the rival parties. Far from being in a situation to oppose the undivided forces of France, his army, which did not exceed twenty-five thousand men, was scarcely sufficient to defend all the places he had reduced. His own dominions, too, were threatened with an attack from the Scotch; while the kings of Castile and Arragon, intent on assisting their ancient ally, had sent an army into Béarn, for the purpose of investing Bayonne, and equipping a fleet, to convey a body of auxiliaries to France. Courage and dissimulation were the arms which Henry opposed to this combination of difficulties. Willing to gain time, he proposed new terms, and by lengthening out the negotiations, procured leisure for settling his plans. On the twenty-ninth of July the truce expired, and in the night of the thirtieth the duke of Clarence took Pontoise by assault. Lisle-Adam, the governor, escaped in his shirt. As the court had resided for some time in this town, and had but just left it, the English found the greater part of the baggage of the princes and nobility. The booty is said to have amounted to upwards of two millions of crowns.* The enemy being masters of this post, spread themselves over the Isle of France, and insulted the suburbs of Paris. The queen and the duke of Burgundy conducted the king to Troyes, leaving the capital, which was but scantily supplied with provisions, and ill-disciplined troops, under the government of the young count of Saint-Paul.

But notwithstanding these calamities, the most flattering hopes were conceived from the recent union of the royal family; all eyes were fixed on the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy: the fate of France depended on their conduct. It is impossible to say, whether their reconciliation was sincere; but they did not long persist in the sentiments professed on signing the treaty. The duke of Burgundy

* Juvenal des Ursins. Mopstrelst. Titus Livius. Elmharn.

appeared loth to fulfil the principal condition, by which he had engaged to employ all his forces against the English. This inactivity, the conduct of Henry, with whom he had just entered into a fresh negotiation; the reduction of Pontoise, and the retreat of the court at Troyes, formed a combination of circumstances that exposed him to suspicions of treachery.

The two princes had agreed to meet, on the eighteenth of August, at Montereau; but when the time approached they both evinced repugnance to the interview.* The dauphin's friends represented to him, that he risked the safety of the state by exposing his person to the faith of a prince, already stained with the guilt of murder, committed in violation of the most solemn oaths; of a prince, who, for the long space of twelve years, had rendered France a scene of horrors and of crimes. The irresolution of the duke of Burgundy proceeded from different motives; fear and mistrust were familiar to a mind, goaded by the stings of conscience: he delayed, as long as possible, this fatal interview, which was, first, put off to the twenty-sixth of August, and, afterward, to the tenth of September. The dauphin, meanwhile, incessantly solicited the duke no longer to defer a meeting on which the safety of the state depended. Tannequy du Châtel went several times to Troyes for the purpose of removing every obstacle. Sometimes he evinced a disposition to yield to their solicitations, but his fears soon returned: it is said that a Jew, named *Mousque*, who was versed in judicial astrology assured him, "*that if he went to Montereau, he would never return.*"—Whatever it was that made an impression on his mind, that impression was so strong that he determined not to leave Troyes, and desired the dauphin to let the interview take place in that city.

New expedients were employed to induce him to change his resolution. Du Châtel, who knew his fondness for the lady of Giac, had again recourse to her; and her influence again prevailed. The dauphin had arrived at Montereau a fortnight before; barriers had been erected for their mutual safety, on the bridge where the conference was to be holden; and the duke's officers repaired to the spot to examine them, and declared they were perfectly safe. The princes were to be accompanied by an equal number of noblemen; and every caution which mistrust or sagacity could suggest was adopted. One end of the bridge was guarded by the dauphin's troops, the other by the duke's. A wooden apartment was constructed in the centre of the bridge, and in the middle of that apartment another barrier was fixed about the height of a chair. The dauphin entered first, attended by Du Châtel, and nine others. After waiting some time, he sent to the duke to hasten his arrival. At length he appeared, followed by Charles of Bourbon, Noailles, and eight other persons. As soon as he came on the bridge the barrier was locked; he then approached the dauphin, and after

* Juvenal des Ursins.

they had exchanged a few words the duke was massacred, with Noailles, who attempted to defend him. The dauphin was carried into the town half-distracted, and almost senseless. These are the only circumstances of this event on which all authors agree. Whatever they have added bears strong marks of their respective prejudices.

This event was productive of the most fatal consequences to the kingdom. In vain did the dauphin publish manifestos, in which he asserted that the duke of Burgundy had drawn his sword against him, and made an attempt on his person, with a view to deprive him of his liberty: nobody believed him. The news of the murder was received at Paris with indignation and horror. The nobility, clergy, magistrates, and citizens took an oath to revenge the duke's death, and immediately resumed the badges of faction. The funeral obsequies were celebrated in the cathedral, and in the churches with as much pomp as was ever observed on the death of a king. Not content with paying these marks of honour, *to the basest of mankind*, the Parisians presumed, in the effervescence of their zeal, to question the right of the dauphin to the throne of his ancestors.

The neglect of the dauphin and his adherents to profit by the death of the duke of Burgundy, affords an argument in favour of the supposition that the murder was not premeditated. They ought to have hastened to Troyes, before the death of the duke could have reached that city, and secured the king's person, thereby giving to their subsequent conduct an appearance of lawful authority. Had they done this, the court, the ministers, the council, all which still represented a phantom of government would, as usual, have yielded to the most powerful party; the dreadful effects of the queen's resentment would have been averted; and that princess would have been prevented from plunging into fresh crimes. Twice had Isabella seen the public object of her affections perish by an assassin. She had long deplored the loss of the duke of Orleans, but the desire of revenging a more recent insult had induced her to forget the subject of her regret, and to court a reconciliation with his murderer. The death of that murderer now filled her mind with a spirit of indignation, in which all her other passions were thenceforth absorbed. She caused a violent declaration to be sent, in the king's name, to all the towns in the kingdom, denouncing vengeance against the dauphin, and *his accomplices, murderers of the duke of Burgundy**. She implored the alliance of England; and, at the same time, solicited the duke's son to join his resentment to hers, and to make the revenge of his father's murder a common cause.

Philip, count of Charolois, was at Ghent, when he received the news of his father's end. He wanted that experience necessary in the situation in which he

* Trésor des Chartres.

was now placed; his mind being solely occupied by the blind passion of revenge, he overlooked every consideration of policy. Even his council, and the principal nobility who were attached to the house of Burgundy, were not influenced by more rational principles. On the first invitation, the marshal of Burgundy had conducted a body of troops to Troyes, to quiet the fears of the queen, the court and the ministry. The Parisians had deputed Morvilliers, the first president of the parliament, to wait on the new duke, with offers of service. The other towns were equally forward in their professions; so that the Burgundian faction became more powerful than ever. Every part of the monarchy which still reminded entire was at the disposal of Philip; he had the same authority, the same resources, the same domains as his father, and he enjoyed a reputation exempt from reproach.

Any exertion, on the part of Henry, became superfluous; he had only to suffer his enemies to pursue their own course; and their passions proved more serviceable to his ambitious schemes, than his own valour and policy. The queen and the duke of Burgundy conducted themselves with so much passion and precipitation, that even the crown of France now courted his acceptance. So early as the twenty fourth of September, only a fortnight after the death of the late duke, the king of England had appointed commissioners to receive their proposals, and to regulate the conditions of the treaty; the fundamental principles of which were not openly explained through fear of disgusting the nation. The queen and the duke of Burgundy had already taken their resolution so far, that they gave to all the towns, which acknowledged their authority, assurances of a peace.

The dauphin, meanwhile, and his ministers, had retired into Berry, whence they advanced to the frontiers of Anjou, for the purpose of engaging the duke of Brittany to espouse their cause*. Charles had an interview with that prince, who came attended by a numerous retinue, having, previous to his departure, appointed a certain number of gentlemen, to whom he entrusted the care of his person. Although the duke, had hitherto suffered his subjects to engage in the service of the dauphin, the two princes now parted with mutual dissatisfaction.

The remainder of this year was employed by the dauphin, in overrunning Touraine, Poitou and Languedoc. The government of this last province he took from the count of Foix, and gave it to the count of Clermont†. He also re-established the parliament of Toulouse. In the following year he completed the expulsion of the prince of Orange, the Burgundian governor, by the reduction of Nîmes and Pont Saint-Espirit, the only places which still adhered to the Burgundian faction in that part of France. Ambassadors were sent by the

* Argentré, Hist. de Bret. Chron. MS. BR.

† Histoire du Languedoc. Hist. Généalogique des Grands Offic.

dauphin, to solicit the assistance of the kings of Arragon and Castile, and of the regent of Scotland.

In the mean time the French, English, and Burgundian plenipotentiaries completed the misfortunes of the kingdom at Arras. Deputies from the principal towns had repaired to that city; and Saint-Paul, governor of Paris, attended the conferences, on the part of the king of France. The dauphin proposed to Henry a negociation; but his proposal was rejected. Henry no longer made any secret of his designs; as the time for accomplishing his projects approached, his precautions for the removal of every obstacle encreased. He sent orders to England to keep a strict watch over the prisoners taken at Azincourt: in his letter to the chancellor, he observed that if any of them escaped, and particularly the duke of Orleans, it would be a most unfortunate circumstance. This anxiety sufficiently announced his dread of that prince, who by his personal qualities and extensive possessions, might have raised an impediment not easy to be surmounted.

The king of England conceived that, to convey to him a powerful kingdom, the consent of the nation was requisite. With the view of obtaining that consent, he formed private treaties with the principal towns. Paris concluded a truce with him from November the twentieth, till December the twelfth. He promised the inhabitants that, if declared heir to France, he would preserve all the privileges they enjoyed under their ancient sovereigns. These manœuvres, made the people insensibly lose sight of the laws of the monarchy. They sighed for a more tranquil state, and believed that any treaty which would put an end to this scene of misery must be lawful.

A. D. 1420.] The preliminary conditions of this important treaty were signed at Arras, in January. It was there agreed that Charles, during life, should enjoy the title of king of France; that Henry should marry the princess Catharine, be declared heir to the kingdom, and immediately entrusted with the government; the kingdom to pass to his heirs-general; that France and England should for ever be united under one king, but should still retain their several usages, and privileges; that all the princes, peers, vassals and communities of France should swear that they would adhere to the future succession of Henry, and pay him obedience as regent; that this prince should unite his arms to those of king Charles and the duke of Burgundy, to subdue the adherents of the dauphin; and that these three princes should make no peace nor truce with him but by common agreement.

Immediately after this convention, the duke of Burgundy entered into a confederacy with Henry; by which the two princes swore and engaged to assist each other in pursuing the dauphin and his accomplices, till they had inflicted on them "that punishment which they deserved." By the same treaty, the king

of England agreed, as soon as he should be declared king of France, to settle on the duke and duchess an annuity of twenty thousand livres. It was farther agreed that one of the brothers of the king of England should marry the duke of Burgundy's sister.

While measures were preparing for placing a foreign family on the throne; while arms and policy were at once employed to sap the foundations of the monarchy, that tranquillity which the province of Brittany had hitherto contrived to preserve amidst the general commotion, was disturbed by an event which at any other period would have appeared incredible*. John duke of Brittany, had, by his virtues, completely confirmed the rights of his house to the sovereignty of that province. He reigned in the hearts of his subjects; while the house of Blois-Penthièvre, which had so long been the rival of his family, content with the second rank in the duchy, appeared to have forgotten their pretensions.

Oliver, count of Penthièvre, with his brothers, Charles and John, lived in habits of intimacy with the duke, who admitted them into his councils, suffered them to partake of all his pleasures and amusements, and even, sometimes, of his bed. He had resolved to appoint them guardians to his children, in case of his death. Yet, they were plotting his destruction. Margaret de Clifson, their mother, incessantly excited them to this enterprize.

Every thing being ready for the execution of the plot, the count of Penthièvre went to Nantes, and invited the duke to pass a few days with him at Chantoceaux. The prince, accepted the invitation; and, left Nantes, accompanied by Oliver. He had no sooner passed the small river Troubarde, than the conspirators took up the planks of the bridge, which had been previously loosened, in order to prevent his attendants, who were at some distance, from following him. Charles de Penthièvre immediately appeared at the head of forty armed men, who attacked the few noblemen that were near the duke's person, wounded some of them, loaded them all with chains, and then binding the duke himself, conveyed him to a neighbouring fortress. He was kept for five months in a state of captivity the most rigorous, continually removing from one place to another. During that period, his rebellious vassals made him submit to every kind of indignity, incessantly placing before his eyes the instruments of torture and death. The count repeatedly insulted him in the most indecent manner, held his clenched hand to his face, and threatened to cut him in pieces; in short, by deferring his death, they appeared to have no other view than that of prolonging his punishment. Margaret, refused the consolation of relieving him from a state of uncertainty, more insupportable than death itself.

* Argentrè. Nouvelle Histoire de Bretagne.

The nobles of Brittany, enraged at this daring attempt on the person of their sovereign, assembled; flew to arms, levied troops, and pursued the Penthièvres, who fled before them, from one retreat to another, without finding any asylum that could secure them from their rage. They invested Chantoceaux, whither the old countess of Penthièvre had retired with a part of her family. A breach was soon made in the walls, when Margaret, trembling for her life, persuaded her sons to release the duke. But Oliver first exacted from his noble captive a promise to give him his daughter in marriage, and to restore the places which had been taken. After this convention he was conducted to the camp of his friends, before the walls of Chantoceaux, where he was surrendered, by Charles of Penthièvre, to the Breton nobility, who then suffered Margaret to depart. The duke took possession of Chantoceaux that same day, and ordered the place to be levelled with the ground.

The pope having absolved him from the oaths which had been extorted from him during his captivity, Margaret de Clifton and her three sons were cited to answer for the attempt committed on their sovereign. Not complying with this citation, they were declared infamous, and sentence of death was pronounced upon them by the parliament of Brittany; their towns and fortresses were demolished; their property became the reward of those who had contributed to bring them to punishment. Some time after they formed a second plan for assassinating the duke, but it was attended with no better success than the first. They were compelled to leave their country, and finished the remainder of their lives in disgrace. By this means did Margaret de Clifton verify the prediction of her father, the constable, who had foretold that she would one day occasion the ruin of her family.

The term now approached for the conclusion of that treaty, the preliminary conditions whereof had been signed at Arras. The duke of Burgundy, having assembled his army, took the road to Champagne, accompanied by the English ambassador, the earl of Warwick*. Having reduced such towns on his road as were in possession of the dauphin, he arrived at Troyes on the twenty-ninth of April. The public entry of the duke into that city, was distinguished by all the magnificence of regal splendour. Charles, gave him such a reception as Isabella had told him was proper and just. The clauses of the treaty were discussed with the English ministers, who carried a copy of the convention to their sovereign. On the receipt of it, Henry, at the head of sixteen hundred men repaired to Provins, whence he sent a messenger to announce his arrival to the court of France. The king had just had a violent relapse, and in this state of imbecility he was made to transfer a full power to the queen, and the duke of Burgundy, to repre-

* Monstrelet. Juvenal des Ursins. Chron. MS.

sent him, and to dispose of the kingdom. It had been settled that the first interview with the English monarch should take place at a short distance from Troyes; but Henry, entered that city on the twentieth of May. Next day the treaty was signed, and he was declared regent during the incapacity of Charles.

The day after the treaty was signed, Catharine was affianced to the king of England. Henry devoted but a very short space of time to those pleasures which the state into which he had just entered was calculated to afford; on the third day after his marriage, he marched to Sens, which surrendered to his arms. From Sens the combined armies of England and Burgundy proceeded to Montereau, which was taken by assault; a part of the garrison retired to the castle. Henry hanged his prisoners before the walls of the castle, which in a few days was reduced to the necessity of capitulating. The king of England next directed his attacks against Melun, which was defended by a strong garrison, under the command of Barbazan, who sustained the attacks of the enemy with a degree of intrepidity that astonished Henry: although the artillery had levelled a part of the walls with the ditch that surrounded the town, he did not dare to risk an assault. A scarcity of provisions compelled the garrison to surrender. By the terms of the capitulation it was agreed that the lives of the troops should be safe, and that they should be released without paying any ransom. From these conditions were excepted all such as had been concerned in the murder of the late duke of Burgundy; the greater part of the garrison, with Barbazan, their commander, were thrown into prison at Paris, where several perished through want.

After the reduction of Melun, the two monarchs, repaired to the capital. They were received with every demonstration of joy. An assembly of the three estates of the kingdom was held in Charles's palace, in which the treaty of Troyes was declared to be an irrevocable law of the realm. The dauphin and his accomplices, as the assassins of the duke of Burgundy, were formally pronounced guilty of *lese majesty*, deprived of their right of succession to all honors and dignities; and their subjects and vassals absolved from their oaths of fealty.

Henry, who had now attained to the summit of his ambition, is accused by the French historians, of having exercised his authority with cruelty and despotism that rendered it insupportable*. After imposing a heavy tax on the Parisians, and subjecting the Normans—to imposts upon salt, and other articles of consumption, he dismissed all officers and placemen whose fidelity he suspected. Of the king's household he left but a few superannuated officers. The court of Charles was almost forsaken, while that of Henry displayed all the pomp and luxury of the age. That monarch had secured Paris by a formidable garrison,

* Villaret, t. xiv. p. 106, & suiv.

and by taking possession of the Louvre, the Bastile, and the castle of Vincennes. The duke of Clarence was appointed governor of Paris, in room of Saint Paul.

The Parisians, at this time, experienced a complication of wretchedness. The winter was extremely severe, and joined to a dearth of provisions, reduced the people to the last extremity. Paris, which had already lost more than one half of its inhabitants, was daily deserted by numbers, who hastened to join the lawful heir to the throne. This extensive city soon became one vast desert, in many parts whereof, the wolves nightly prowled for prey. Such was the state, not only of the capital, but of many of the principal towns; a more horrid situation than that of France, can scarcely be conceived.

The dauphin unable to resist his enemies confined his efforts to fortifying himself in the countries beyond the Loire. In his capacity of regent, he removed the parliament and university of Paris to the city of Poitiers. Thus were there seen in France, at the same time, two kings, two queens, two regents, two parliaments, and two universities of Paris. The dauphin had the misfortune to lose two of his best friends; the first was the count of Vertus, younger brother to the duke of Orleans, who died in the bloom of youth; the second was Lewis of Anjou, who went to Italy, on the invitation of Sforza, to the conquest of Naples. To counterbalance these disadvantages, he obtained from Scotland, seven thousand men, under lord Buchan.

A. D. 1421.] Henry, after appointing the duke of Clarence, lieutenant-general of Normandy, and leaving him ten thousand men to support his authority, left Paris, and repaired to Rouen, where he obtained a supply of money from the clergy. He then conducted his young consort to England, where she was crowned on the twenty-second of February, 1421*.

During the absence of the English monarch, his brother, the duke of Clarence, assembled his troops, and proceeded to the city of Angers, which he invested. The reduction of this place would have opened for the English a free entrance into Poitou, Touraine, and the Orleanois, and have compelled the dauphin to retire to the very extremity of the kingdom. To raise the siege, therefore, became an object of importance; and, for this purpose, the troops formed a junction with the Scottish forces, under the earl of Buchan. Advancing as far as the small town of Bauge, they thence sent a defiance to the duke of Clarence, which was immediately accepted. That prince, instantaneously decamped, and by a forced march arrived about noon the next day, in sight of the French army.

The English fought with valour; but they had not Henry to command them.

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. x. p. 49. T. Elmham, c. 112.

The duke of Clarence possessed the courage of his brother, but he wanted his genius and military skill. He scarcely allowed himself time to draw up his troops in order of battle; nor would he wait the arrival of the earl of Salisbury, who was hastening to join him with a corps-de-reserve, lest that nobleman should partake with him in the glory of the day. The signal being given, and the battle begun, the duke, neglecting the first duties of a general, pressed forward into the thickest of the fight, and, at the very commencement of the action was thrown on the ground. Bouteiller immediately attempted to secure him, in the hope of procuring, by that means, the release of the duke of Orleans, whom Henry must have consented to exchange for his brother; but all his efforts proved fruitless. The English rushed onwards in crowds to rescue their general; and the French being equally anxious to retain a prize so valuable, prodigies of valour were performed on both sides. In this dreadful encounter the duke of Clarence was slain by the earl of Buchan. The English at last fled, leaving two thousand five hundred men at arms on the field of battle. The action was over when the earl of Salisbury appeared with his corps-de-reserve; and the French generals deeming it imprudent to renew the fight retired with their prisoners.

The dauphin, to evince his gratitude for the essential assistance afforded him by the Scots, promoted the earl of Buchan to the office of constable of France, which had been vacant ever since the murder of the count of Armagnac.

Henry, was at Beverley when he received intelligence of his brother's defeat. he hastened to London, and applied himself with ardour to collect a powerful army, and a sufficient supply of money to defray the expences of a vigorous campaign. The parliament which assembled on the second of May, granted him money; and, at the same time, ratified the treaty of Troyes. The English monarch having embarked at Dover on the tenth of June, landed the next day at Calais, with twenty-four thousand archers, and four thousand horse. During his absence in England, the dauphin's party had acquired considerable strength. La Hire defeated a body of troops, in Campagne, under the command of the Count de Vaudemont, who was taken prisoner. James de Harcourt ravaged the frontiers of Artois and Picardy, took Pont de Remi, and reduced several fortresses in Ponthieu and Vimeu. The dauphin, accompanied by the duke of Alençon, and the new constable, besieged and took Montmorail; thence extending their incursions into the Chartrain, they reduced Gaillardon, and put the governor, to death.

But a negotiation, more advantageous than these successes, had procured the dauphin an important ally, in the duke of Britany. Although that prince had concluded a separate truce with England, he had hitherto refused to subscribe the treaty of Troyes. His subjects detested the English; and he had reasons for

being displeased with their conduct. While kept in confinement by the Penthièvres, his dukes and the states of the province had applied for assistance to the king of England, but in vain; the nobles of Brittany who had taken up arms in defence of their sovereign, had entreated Henry to permit the count of Richemont, then a prisoner at London, to come and command them, offering to restore him at the end of the campaign, or to pay for him any ransom which the king might chuse to exact. The English monarch deferred his answer, resisting the solicitations of the count, who could not obtain permission to return to his native country, till a fortnight after his brother had been restored to liberty. By granting a conditional release to Richemont, Henry flattered himself, that, the duke of Brittany would be deterred from contracting any alliance with the dauphin. The count, exerted all his influence for that purpose; but his efforts proved ineffectual.

This alliance was an additional motive to Henry to hasten his exertions. On his arrival in France, he was met by the duke of Burgundy at Montreuil. After settling their plan of operations the two princes parted; the duke went to assemble his troops, and the king repaired to Paris, where he made preparations for carrying on the war with vigour. He was joined by the duke of Burgundy, at the head of three thousand men. As their united forces were too numerous to find subsistence in a country already laid waste; it was agreed that they should separate, and that the king should march against the dauphin, while the duke employed his troops in reducing the few towns in Ponthieu and Picardy which still held out for that prince.

On the approach of the English army, the dauphin retired towards Orleans. Henry invested Dreux, which surrendered at discretion, and Tillieres the governor of the place, having been found in arms, after swearing to observe the treaty of Troyes, was hanged. The English monarch had, in his former expedition, carried over the king of Scots, whom he persuaded to send orders to his countrymen, who had joined the dauphin, to leave the French service; but the earl of Buchan replied, that he should obey no commands from a king in captivity.

The English advanced to the banks of the Loire, above Orleans. They reduced the castle of Beaugency, and some other places, but the impossibility of procuring subsistence for so numerous an army, without foraging at a distance from the main body, incessantly exposed the troops to the attacks of the dauphin's scouring parties, and of the enraged peasantry, who secured themselves from pursuit, in the extensive forest of Orleans. These inconveniences, joined to an epidemic dysentery, compelled Henry to return, after losing four thousand men, almost without fighting*.

* Villaret, tom. xiv. p. 136.

Meanwhile the duke of Burgundy had entered Ponthieu, and invested Saint Riquier, a place of great strength. Some of the dauphin's generals having assembled troops, advanced. The duke hastened to meet them, and a desperate action took place. The Armagnacs were defeated. Saint Riquier immediately surrendered on condition that the prisoners, taken in this battle, should be restored to liberty. This check completely ruined the dauphin's party in Picardy and Ponthieu, where the small number of places occupied by his adherents opened their gates to the enemy.

The king of England, after he had refreshed his troops prepared to besiege Meaux*. On the sixth of October, the earl of Exeter took possession of the suburbs, where in a few days, he was joined by the king, with the rest of his troops, which might amount to twenty-five thousand men. The garrison did not exceed one thousand†; but they were all chosen troops, with the bastard of Vaurus at their head. They evinced a determination to defend the place to the last extremity, and the situation of the town, and the strength of its fortifications, seemed to justify their hopes of a successful resistance. Meaux is divided by the Marne into two parts, distinguished by the different appellations of *The City*, and *The Market-place*; the latter is formed into an isle, by a canal supplied by the waters of the Marne. The Marché was, at this time, strongly fortified, being surrounded by a wall, provided with parapets, and flanked at equal distances by round towers, of the same height, on the top of which grew large trees that, at a distance, exhibited the appearance of a forest in the air. These ramparts were constructed with such solidity, that the greater part of them are still standing.

Though the siege was pressed with the utmost vigour, and all the machines then in use were employed in battering the walls, a long time elapsed before any impression could be made on them. The inhabitants displayed the same intrepidity with the garrison; and continual sallies were made, in which no quarter was shown; all the prisoners, on both sides, being massacred as soon as taken‡. Vaurus, the governor, had set the example to encrease the ardour of his troops, by establishing an irreconcilable animosity between them and the enemy. Whenever an Englishman or Burgundian was taken, he ordered him to be hanged on a neighbouring tree, which acquired the appellation of *the oak of Vaurus* he exposed on the ramparts, in sight of the besiegers, an ass with a crown on his head, at whose side was placed a man blowing a horn, and calling to the English from time to time, to come to the assistance of their sovereign. Henry, enraged, redoubled his efforts; while Vaurus, being in daily expectation of relief from the dauphin, treated his threats and attacks with equal contempt. But the English

* Monstrelet. Juvenal des Ursins,

† Villaret.

‡ Ibid.

having strongly fortified their camp were secure from surprize; and D'Offemont attempted to enter the town with forty men at arms, was taken prisoner. Still the garrison were so little apprehensive of being reduced to the necessity of surrendering, that they released, on payment of a considerable ransom, Peter of Luxembourg, though by detaining him, they would have been certain, in case of a capitulation, of preserving their own lives, and of ensuring more favourable terms than they could otherwise expect.

At length a practicable breach having been effected in the walls of *the city*, Vaurus made the inhabitants retire, with their most precious effects into the *Marché*. All hopes of assistance from the dauphin were now at an end. The provisions were nearly exhausted; and the ramparts were essentially damaged by the repeated attacks of the enemy. In this situation, the king of England summoned the garrison to surrender, and meeting with a refusal, he ordered a general assault, which lasted seven hours, and was attended with a vast effusion of blood on both sides. In the heat of the action, the garrison having broken or lost all their lances, made use of spits and continued to fight with such intrepidity that the English were obliged to retire. This, however, was their last effort. The chiefs of the companies, of which the garrison was composed, did not think it prudent, by a longer resistance, to fall victims to the despair of Vaurus. They accordingly agreed to deliver him and five others to Henry; the fortress was then surrendered to the English: the governor was hanged on his favourite oak, and his five associates, one of whom was the man that had blown the horn on the ramparts, were conducted to Paris, and there executed. The garrison remained prisoners of war, and most of the officers were compelled to purchase their liberty by the surrender of all the fortresses in their possession.

Among the prisoners was Philip de Gamaches, abbot of Saint Pharon, who had displayed great courage during the siege. The king of England sent word to the lord of Gamaches, who was governor of Compègne, that if he did not immediately surrender that city, he would throw the abbot into the river*. The threat gave to Henry possession of the place.

The dauphin's generals finding it impossible to force the English camp before Meaux had endeavoured to draw off their attention to another quarter. With this view they first took by surprize the bridge of Meulan, and soon after reduced the town of Avranches; but Henry still continued the siege of Meaux, and sent the earl of Salisbury into Normandy, with a detachment of troops, who speedily recovered the places which had been taken.

The reduction of Meaux was followed by the surrender of a number of small towns and fortresses, which hastened to open their gates to the conqueror. From

* Villaret.

the borders of Campagne to the sea-side, Crotoy was the only place which refused to submit to the English. Discouraged by this succession of losses, those men who had hitherto delayed their submission to the prevailing power, now yielded to the torrent; and even many of the dauphin's adherents, deeming his cause desperate, forsook him. James de Harcourt, one of his generals, who had recently obtained some advantage over the enemy on the frontiers of Normandy, was attacked on his retreat, and defeated with the loss of three hundred men.

A. D. 1422.] The king of England, after passing a few days at Meaux, and giving orders for repairing the fortifications returned to Paris, where he made his public entry, accompanied by his queen, who had left England some time before. The inhabitants notwithstanding their distress, incurred a prodigious expence for the reception of Henry and Catharine. After a short stay at Paris Henry prepared for new expeditions. He conducted the court to Senlis, and advanced himself as far as Compiègne, while the earl of Warwick invested Saint-Valery, which surrendered by capitulation, after sustaining a siege of three months, carried on with vigour, both by land and sea.

While the king of England was at Compiègne, he received intelligence of a conspiracy which hastened his return to the capital. The wife of one of the king's attendants had formed the bold design of delivering Paris into the hands of the dauphin*. The day was fixed, and an adequate number of resolute men were posted in the environs of the city, when the plot was detected by a priest. The woman was immediately seized, and her accomplices were executed.

The dauphin, with the auxiliaries he had received from Scotland and Castile, had, by this time, collected an army of twenty thousand men, the command of which was given to the earl of Buchan, as constable of France. With these troops he formed the siege of Cosne, the garrison of which agreed to surrender if not relieved by the duke of Burgundy before the eighteenth of August. The duke sent a message to the king of England, requesting a reinforcement, although his own forces were superior, in number, to those of the dauphin. Henry replied that he would attend him in person. He left Paris; but, on his arrival at Senlis, was seized either with a fistula or a pleurisy†. He was conveyed to Vincennes, while the command of the troops devolved on the duke of Bedford.

When the English and Burgundians approached the army of the dauphin, that prince would fain have risked an action, but being prevailed on to follow the more prudent advice of his generals, he raised the siege of Cosne. The duke of

* Journal de Paris.

† Juvenal des Ursins, and other French Historians ascribe the death of Henry to a fistula; but *Peter Basset*, who was his chamberlain at that time, affirms he died of a pleurisy. See *Goodwin* p. 337.

Burgundy detached two thousand men to attack his rear-guard, they were defeated, with considerable loss.

The duke of Bedford now hastened back to Henry, whom he found at the last extremity. He sent for the earl of Warwick, and some other noblemen; and, delivered his instructions as to the future disposal of his kingdom and family. He entreated them to continue to his infant son those marks of attachment and esteem which he had ever experienced from them. He desired they would cultivate the friendship of the duke of Burgundy, and make him an offer of the regency of France; but, if he should reject it, he appointed the duke of Bedford to that office. The education and person of his son he committed to the earl of Warwick. He enjoined them not to liberate the prisoners taken at the battle of Azincourt, till his son should be able to take the reins of government; he recommended his queen to their care and protection; and he conjured them, if they should find it impossible to place his son on the throne of France, never to make peace without obtaining the absolute sovereignty of Normandy. He expired, on the thirty-first of August, 1422, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the tenth of his reign.

The duke of Burgundy repaired to Paris immediately after the death of the English monarch; the government of the kingdom was offered him, but he refused to accept it, and, notwithstanding the intrigues of the queen, who had aspired to the regency herself, ceded it to the duke of Bedford, whose authority was acknowledged without contradiction. The military and political talents of this prince were tempered by a degree of moderation which was wanting in the character of his brother.

The death of Henry, far from effecting a revolution in favour of the dauphin, seemed to render his affairs more desperate. Several noblemen forsook his party; and the duke of Brittany, in violation of the treaty of Sablé, charged his minister to accede to that of Troyes. This change in his conduct proceeded from reports, that the dauphin had formed a plan for assassinating him. The accusation was destitute of probability; but the temper of the times afforded some excuse for the duke's credulity. The Bretons entered Poitou and advanced to the frontiers of Aunis, with a design to surprize Rochelle, but the dauphin, apprized of their intentions, had time to prevent the execution of their plan.

Charles the Sixth finished, at this period, a life of misfortune; having survived his son-in-law, Henry, only fifty-one days. His death, which happened on the twenty-first of October, 1422, was occasioned by a violent fever. None of the princes of the blood attended his funeral. The treasury did not contain money sufficient to pay the expences of it.

CHARLES THE SEVENTH.

A. D. 1422.] CHARLES the Seventh was at the castle of Espally, when he heard of his fathers death. Solicitations of his nobles were requisite to rouse him to those active duties which his situation called for. The duke of Bedford, as regent of the kingdom, had assembled the principal citizens of Paris. He renewed the proscription against the lawful monarch, and exacted an oath of allegiance to the young king of England from every inhabitant of the city.

The English, at this period, were masters of Paris, Normandy, the Isle of France, Brie, Champagne, Picardy, Ponthieu, the Boulenois, the town and district of Calais, and the greater part of Aquitaine; while, from their alliance with the duke of Burgundy, they secured the duchy whence he derived his title, with Flanders and Artois.

Charles was confined to the provinces of Languedoc, Dauphiné and Auvergne; the Bourbonnois, Bessy, Poitou, Saintonge, Touraine, and the Orleanois, with a part of Anjou and Maine.

The tender age of the Sixth Henry, only nine months old at the death of his father, was supplied by the ability and experience of his two uncles, the dukes of Bedford and Gloucester. The regent was gifted with prudence, valour and generosity; he was seconded by the most renowned generals of the age, and was at the head of armies enured to victory, while the whole power of England was at his command; and the northern provinces of France contributed their efforts to reduce the remainder of the kingdom to subjection.

At the head of the king's party, were the earl of Buchan, constable of France; the marshals de la Fayette, and de Severac, Xaintrailles, La Hire, Harcourt, La Trémoille, and the bastards of Orleans and Bourbon. These

warriors were endued with intrepid courage, but, as generals, none of them were to be compared with the officers which England had to oppose to them.

Thus the regent had every advantage, which extent of territory, experienced generals, disciplined troops, and pecuniary resources could afford him. The situation of Charles, too, was rendered more dangerous, by the facility of his temper, which made him a dupe to his favourites. This appeared in the first event of his reign.

A. D. 1423.] Though it was in the depth of winter, hostilities had never ceased; Graille, in January, having taken Meulan by assault, and put the garrison to the sword, the duke of Bedford, and lord Salisbury, invested the place. Graille informed the king of his situation, and Charles ordered Narbonne and Aumale to his relief, with six thousand men. When this detachment arrived within six leagues of their place of destination, a misunderstanding took place between the leaders, and the troops disbanded *for want of pay*. It is said, that du Châtel had received money for that purpose, which he dissipated. The garrison of Meulan, finding themselves betrayed, pulled down the king's banners from the walls, in sight of the enemy, and asked to capitulate. Several of the garrison entered into the English service; Graille was among the number, but he afterwards returned to his duty.

Lisle-Adam retook Ferté-Milon, which the French had reduced, while Luxembourg completed the expulsion of the royalists from Picardy. The castles of Marcouffy and Monthery were also taken by the English. A conspiracy, entered into by some citizens of Paris, to deliver the capital to the king, being detected by the regent, the conspirators were executed; a woman who had joined them was burned alive.

The commencement of his reign was highly unfavourable to the new monarch. Independent of the checks he received in the defeat of his troops, and the demolition of his fortresses, he had the mortification to lose a valuable ally, the duke of Brittany. The count of Richemont had, by this time, recovered his former influence over the mind of his brother. The regent released the count from his parole, on which he had been permitted by Henry the Fifth to visit his native country; and by his persuasion, the duke seconded the English arms.

To these negotiations succeeded the operations of war. The reduction of small towns was of little importance, as the garrisons, generally surrendering by capitulation, were at liberty to hasten to the defence of some other place. No quarter was shewn when a town was taken by assault; nor even when, after an obstinate resistance, it surrendered at discretion. The garrison of Orsay having sustained a siege of six weeks, were sent to Paris to be executed; but through the intercession of the dukes of Bedford, their lives were spared.

The French, in the mean time, had not been idle; Maçon and Crévant had

surrendered to their arms, but the last was retaken by the English, at the moment that a body of Scottish troops, which had recently landed under the command of Stuart, together with a French detachment arrived to relieve it. The French laid siege to Crevant a second time, with ten thousand men. Salisbury, who was then employed in the siege of Montaguillon, left a sufficient number of troops to keep the garrison in awe, and marched with the rest to Auxerre, where he was joined by Toulangeon, marshal of Burgundy. It was resolved to attack the royalists before Crevant, where a sharp conflict ensued, in which the besiegers were routed with the loss of fifteen hundred men. The number of prisoners was still more considerable; among them was Stuart, constable of Scotland.

This disaster was followed by the reduction of Montaguillon, Mâcon, and Coucy. In short, all the northern provinces of France were in possession of the English, except the strong fortrefs of Mount Saint-Michael, in Normandy, and the town of Crotoy, in Ponthieu, situated at the mouth of the Somme. Crotoy was, soon after, obliged to capitulate.

Every effort which Charles made to repair his losses, seemed only to encrease them. While La Hire reduced Compiègne, Xaintrailles took by assault the towns of Ham and Guise. But the English retook Ham, and invested Guise, where Xaintrailles was taken prisoner, in a sally. Lisle-Adam, though defeated by La Hire, with the loss of five hundred men, compelled the French to evacuate Compiègne.

John de la Pole, brother to the earl of Suffolk, with two thousand five hundred men, entered Anjou, and laid waste the country to the gates of Angiers. He then took the road to Normandy through Maine, carrying off twelve thousand oxen. The count of Aumale, governor of Anjou, assembling the nobility of the province, resolved to intercept the retreat of this invader. He pursued the enemy, and overtook them near Gravelle, a town in Maine.

Pole drew up his troops behind his carriages, and received the French with resolution. But Aumale had detached part of his army, who attacked the English in the rear, while he engaged them in front; this manœuvre decided the victory; after an obstinate resistance, the English were defeated with the loss of fifteen hundred men. Pole was taken prisoner, and exchanged for Stuart. This victory revived the spirits of the royalists. About the same time, Charles obtained a supply of one thousand men at arms, and five hundred lances, from the duke of Milan. As these troops entered Beaujolois, they received a message from the governor of la Buisserie, informing them that he was then negotiating with Toulangeon, for the surrender of the town; and as the marshal knew nothing of their march, it would be easy to surprize him when he went to take possession. This stratagem was executed with such

secrecy and success, that Toulangeon, on entering la Buissiere with seven hundred men, was made prisoner, with all his followers. The duke of Savoy, perceiving that the flames of war, were advancing with rapidity toward the frontiers of his territories, negotiated a truce between the king and the duke of Burgundy for the Lyonnais and Burgundy.

Charles endeavoured to secure the attachment of his allies by honours and rewards. To Stewart, constable of Scotland, he gave the county of Evreux, and the lordship of Aubigny, which was long possessed by that branch of his family established in France. The king's ambassadors had ratified the ancient treaties with Scotland, and obtained a fresh supply of five thousand men. These troops landed at Rochelle towards the end of the year 1423, under the command of Archibald, earl of Douglas, on whom Charles bestowed the duchy of Touraine, with the dignity of lieutenant-general of the kingdom in time of war. This honour, which placed the earl above all the military men in France, not even excepting the constable, excited the murmurs of the French nobility.

A. D. 1424.] To counteract the effects of this liberality to the Scots, the English ministry deemed it prudent to release the king of Scotland, who had been detained in captivity for sixteen years; on condition that he should pay forty thousand marks for his ransom, and sign a truce for seven years with England, during which time neither of the contracting parties should afford assistance to the enemies of the other. These terms being complied with, James returned to Scotland in March 1424.

The ensuing campaign commenced with trifling skirmishes, and sieges, which occupied either army till the approach of summer. The earl of Salisbury was then sent by the regent to invest Ivry, a small town in Normandy. Giraut, the governor, was reduced to the necessity of capitulating, when he agreed to surrender the place, if not relieved before the fifteenth of August. Charles resolved to make an effort to relieve him; having collected seven thousand Scots, fifteen hundred Italians, and ten thousand French, he sent them to Ivry, under the command of the earls of Douglas and Buchan; the duke of Alençon, la Fayette, the count of Aumale, and the viscount of Narbonne. But when they arrived within sight of the English camp, which the duke of Bedford had recently entered with a fresh body of troops, they found it so well situated, and so strongly defended, as to preclude all hopes of a successful attack; they were, therefore, compelled to retire; and, turning to the left, advanced to Verneuil, which the inhabitants, in spite of the garrison, delivered up. Ivry in the mean time surrendered; and the regent, followed the French to Verneuil; but finding that place already in their possession, he chose an advantageous post, in the hope that they would afford him an oppor-

tunity of bringing them to a decisive engagement. The earl of Douglas called a council of war, at which the thoughtless impetuosity of the French, overcame the prudence of the Scots, who urged, that as there was no absolute necessity for an action, it would be madness to risk the loss of an army which formed the last resource of the king. This advice being rejected by the French nobility, an action was resolved on, and conducted with the same temerity which dictated the resolution. Douglas had drawn up his forces under the walls of Verneuil, with a design to entice the English from their advantageous situation; but the viscount of Narbonne frustrated his project, by precipitately advancing towards the enemy, and obliging the whole line to follow him without order or regularity. The English archers, let fly a volley of arrows at the foremost ranks of the French army; and though pressed by superior numbers, and compelled to retreat, they soon rallied behind the baggage, and continued to do great execution. The contest was maintained with considerable fury, for three hours, when victory declared for the English. The earl of Douglas and his son; the earl of Buchan; Harcourt, count of Aumale; with a number of gentlemen, were left dead on the field. The loss of the French amounted to five thousand men; and that of the English to sixteen hundred. Verneuil was invested the day after the battle, and the garrison were compelled to capitulate, for want of provisions, on the fourth day of the siege.

The king's finances were now totally exhausted; his only army was annihilated; his most powerful adherents were either slain or in captivity; his hopes of assistance from Scotland were destroyed by the liberation of the king of Scots, and, to render his misfortunes complete, Charles devoted the greater part of his time to luxurious enjoyments, and submitted to favourites destitute of principle or ability. Yet a single incident counteracted this combination of unfavourable circumstances, and deprived the English of such an opportunity to complete their conquests, as they never could recall.

In the preceding reign, Jaqueline, countess of Hainaut and Holland had fled from the dominions of her husband the duke of Brabant to England. During her residence at the English court, the duke of Gloucester was tempted to make her an offer of his hand. Finding the countess inclined to accept his offer, he signed a contract of marriage, without waiting to procure a papal dispensation, and without obtaining the consent of the duke of Burgundy (cousin-german to the duke of Brabant) whose alliance was of so much consequence to the English nation. That prince was extremely irritated at this step; and, though the duke of Bedford's efforts to calm his resentment had proved effectual so long as Gloucester made no attempt to seize the inheritance of his wife, his brother's imprudent conduct soon gave to that resentment both energy and effect. Gloucester raised an army in the summer of 1424, with which he landed at Calais in the month of

October, six weeks after the battle of Verneuil, that is to say, precisely at the time when king Charles, destitute of all resources, only waited for the junction of the English and Burgundian forces, to see his ruin completed. Gloucester's arrival suspended the fatal blow.

The duke of Burgundy at the disembarkation of these troops, imagined, that they were to reinforce the English army; he was soon, undeceived, when he received intelligence that Gloucester, with his intended wife, had entered Hainaut, and reduced most of the principal towns in the province. The duke immediately issued orders to all his subjects and vassals to take up arms, and to march under the conduct of the count of Saint-Paul and Lisle-Adam, to the assistance of the duke of Brabant. Thus the Low Countries, which had hitherto enjoyed tranquillity, became the theatre of war. All the nobility of Flanders, Artois and Picardy, joined the Burgundian forces; and even such as were serving in the duke of Bedford's army, immediately left it, and followed the example of their countrymen.

The utmost exertions of the regent, were inadequate to prevent the dispute between his brother and the duke of Burgundy from proceeding to extremities. The war was carried on for nearly two years, when, at length, an opportunity offered for promoting a temporary reconciliation. In the summer of the year 1426, the duke of Gloucester finding it necessary to return to England, left the countess in the town of Mons, whose inhabitants gave her up to the duke of Burgundy, by whom she was sent to Ghent. Jaqueline made her escape and fled to Holland, where she remained two years, making vain attempts to recover her inheritance. In the mean time an appeal had been made by the duke of Burgundy to the sovereign pontiff on the validity of her marriage; and a definitive sentence was obtained from Martin the Fifth, by which it was declared that her contract with the duke of Gloucester was null, and her first marriage valid: And it farther pronounced, that, even in the case of the death of the duke of Brabant, it should never be lawful for her to espouse the English prince. Gloucester relinquished his pretensions, when too late to remedy the mischiefs they had occasioned.

While this war tended to relax the efforts of the English, and gave the king time to recover from the consternation into which he had been thrown by the defeat at Verneuil, his council endeavoured to profit by the favourable conjuncture, to detach the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany from his enemies. Charles knew that the count of Richemont was highly displeased with the duke of Bedford, who had refused to entrust him the command of his army. To gain his support he made him an offer of the post of constable of France, then vacant by the death of Buchan. He consented to join the king, and to prevail on his nobles to do the same. The plan of an alliance was drawn up and approved by the states of Brittany; and Richemont went to Chirnon, where he received the constable's sword from the hands of the king.

He soon after, conducted Charles to Saumur, where the duke of Brittany did homage to him, and renewed the treaty of Sablé, to which a clause was added, that proved the doubts which were entertained of the fidelity of the king's ministers. To ensure payment of the troops which the duke engaged to furnish for the king's service, he insisted that the revenue arising from the province of Languedoc, destined for that purpose, should be received by two officers, one of whom he should be permitted to appoint himself.

A. D. 1425.] The conduct of the duke of Gloucester had not only deprived the regent of resources necessary to pursue with vigour the advantages he had obtained; but compelled him to repair to England, at this critical conjuncture, to accommodate a difference which had arisen in the English ministry, between that prince and the bishop of Winchester. Bedford's departure, the war in the Low Countries, the disaffection of the duke of Burgundy to the cause he had hitherto espoused with so much warmth, the recent alliance between the king and the duke of Brittany, all seemed to concur to the restoration of the lawful heir, and the final expulsion of the enemy. But, Charles a mere puppet, moved only at the will of his favourites, which rendered this happy combination of circumstances of little utility. The management of his affairs was left wholly to his ministers.

A. D. 1426, 1427.] The constable, meanwhile, having with his brother's assistance, increased his army to twenty thousand men, opened the campaign with the siege of Pontorson, which he took, and put the garrison to the sword. Richemont next made an attempt to reduce Saint-James de Beuvron, which the English had garrisoned with six thousand men. The attacks, though carried on with vigour, were repelled by the more successful valour of the enemy. Richemont, determined to storm the town, though no practicable breach had been effected in the walls. Before he made the attempt, he detached two thousand men to cut off the supplies which the enemy expected from Avranches.

The assault was begun by the French with impetuosity; but the perseverance of the English prevented them from making any impression on the place. The conflict was sharp and bloody; in the heat of the action the detachment of two thousand men, having found nothing on the road, returned to assist their countrymen; but one part of the French army mistaking them for a reinforcement coming to join the garrison, and the other imagining they had been repulsed by a superior body of the enemy, who were hastening to attack them in the rear, the alarm became general, and, notwithstanding the efforts of the constable to undeceive and to rally his troops, they fled on all sides. The English, by a sally, compelled Richemont to follow his men, leaving all his baggage and artillery behind him.

Richemont resolved to chuse a favourite for his sovereign, on whom he could rely; with this view he recommended la Tremoille. When he mentioned him

to the king, Charles replied—“*You force me to receive him; but you will repent it, for I know him better than you do.*” Tremoille verified the prediction of Charles.

The check which the constable had received at Saint James de Beuvron, and the consequent dispersion of his army, exposed the frontiers of Brittany to the incursions of the English; he therefore hastened to Pontoirson, and after strengthening the fortifications of that place, left a strong garrison to defend it. It was soon after besieged by the enemy, who could not reduce it till the month of May, in the following year. The English meanwhile formed the siege of Montargis. The troops destined for this enterprize, amounted to three thousand men; and such was the deplorable situation of the king at this period, that he found it impossible to muster an equal force. The garrison of Montargis, resisted the English, for three months.

At length, being reduced to the last extremity, they sent to apprise the king of the danger of their situation. The bastard of Orleans, a young nobleman of high spirit, and endued with prudence superior to his years, undertook to relieve the place. He was supplied with sixteen hundred men.

When the French approached they found that the garrison had opened their sluices, and laid a great of the English camp under water; and had, likewise, by the same means, cut off the communication between the different divisions of their army. The bastard of Orleans, divided his little army into two corps, and sent La Hire with one of them to attack that division of the English which was commanded by John de la Pole, while with the other he marched against the earl of Suffolk's division. La Hire, having completely defeated John de la Pole, hastened to join the bastard of Orleans, who, after an obstinate resistance, obliged the earl of Suffolk to fly. Warwick, after being compelled to remain a quiet spectator of the defeat of his troops, was himself reduced to the necessity of decamping.

Graville immediately advanced against Mans, which he took by surprize; but the earl of Suffolk had time to retire to the citadel, where there were provisions only for three days. Talbot advanced to his relief, and entering the citadel in the night, attacked the French with great fury the next morning, and drove them from the town. After this exploit, Talbot and Suffolk marched to Laval, which they took by assault.

About this time the duke of Bedford returned from England with twenty thousand men, with which he hoped to retrieve the time which had been lost in fruitless expeditions during his absence. Circumstances were such as to justify these hopes. La Tremoille had, by his intrigues, occasioned an open rupture between the king and the constable, who had retired to Parthenay. The princes of the blood and most of the nobility were prejudiced against the favourite; and even those troops which acknowledged the authority of Charles, espoused the cause of Richemont. Charles's situation appeared to be desperate. Bedford having se-

cretly conducted, in separate detachments, a formidable army to the frontiers of Brittany, made an unexpected attack on that province, and compelled the duke to forego his alliance with Charles; to sign the treaty of Troyes; and to promise to do homage for his duchy.

A. D. 1428.] The duke of Bedford, by his late treaty with the duke of Brittany, having freed himself from a dangerous enemy who lay behind him, resolved on an enterprize which, if successful, would, prepare the way for the final conquest of France. Orleans was so situated between the provinces which acknowledged the regent, and those which held out for Charles, that it afforded an easy entrance into either; the duke, determined to reduce it, to facilitate his passage into the south.

The command of this important expedition was entrusted to the earl of Salisbury. He entered the country which lies between the Seine and the Loire, and employed August and September in the reduction of several small towns which surrounded Orleans. On the eighth of October, a detachment of the English were sent to reconnoitre that city; but being repulsed in a sally made by the garrison they crossed the Loire, sacked and burned the town of Clery, and on the twelfth presented themselves in full force before Orleans. Gaucourt, the governor, was a man of approved valour and experience; and a great number of nobility had thrown themselves into the town. The garrison and inhabitants appeared to be inspired with the utmost intrepidity; even the women partook of the martial ardour, and contributed their efforts to the support of the common cause.

Salisbury's army, not exceeding ten thousand men, was insufficient to form a complete line of circumvallation round Orleans. He therefore resolved to make his approaches from the south, leaving the opposite side still open to the French. He then attacked the castle of the Tourelles, and carried it the second assault; but the acquisition of this important fortress proved fatal to Salisbury, who being wounded in the head by a cannon ball, as he was surveying the town from its summit, on the twenty-seventh of October, was conveyed to Meun, where he died on the third of the following month*. The earl of Suffolk succeeded to the command. Being convinced that the reduction of the city would be nearly impossible, before the garrison were deprived of all communication with the adjacent country, he erected redoubts at different distances, all around it, which he was enabled to man by a strong reinforcement of English and Burgundians which had recently joined him. Meanwhile the Bastard of Orleans, and some other officers who had been sent to hasten the departure of the troops, and of a convoy for Orleans, entered the city with five or six hundred lances.

A. D. 1429.] The erection of the various forts which the English had raised round the city, had given rise to innumerable skirmishes, for attempts to intro-

* Monstrelet.

duce provisions into the town; and the besiegers themselves, unable to collect a sufficiency from a country already exhausted by frequent incursions, stood in almost as great want of supplies as the besieged. When the English had lain four months before the place, the duke of Bedford, having collected, at Paris, a considerable quantity of provisions, arms and ammunition, sent it to the army in five hundred waggons, under the escort of two thousand five hundred men, commanded by Sir John Fastolfe. This convoy was met, on the twelfth of February, by the count of Clermont, and other officers at the head of four thousand French and Scottish troops. Fastolfe, apprized of their approach, had prepared to receive them, by surrounding his little army with the baggage-waggons, leaving open only two avenues, which were guarded by his best archers. He sustained the first attack of the French, and finding them thrown into some confusion he rushed out before they had time to rally, and obtained a complete victory. Six hundred soldiers, were slain in this action, which was called *The battle of Herrings*, because the provisions chiefly consisted of herrings, for the use of the English army during the Lent season. The bastard of Orleans, La Hire, Xaintrailles and La Fayette, collected the scattered remains of their army, and returned to Orleans.

This event threw a greater damp on the spirits of Charles, than any misfortune which he had hitherto experienced; but to try every expedient for the preservation of Orleans; he dispatched Xaintrailles to the regent at Paris, to propose that the city should be delivered up to the duke of Burgundy, and remain in his possession till the conclusion of the war. Burgundy seconded a proposal which tended to invest him with the power of deciding the contest; but Bedford rejected a measure from which no good could accrue to the English interest. This conduct of the regent is said to have disgusted the duke of Burgundy. The siege continued with vigour; the garrison began to experience a scarcity of provisions; and Charles, entertained thoughts of retiring, with the small remnant of his forces, into Languedoc and Dauphiny.

The troops which had been dispersed at the battle of the Herrings were now collected; and a strong reinforcement was hourly expected from Scotland. The Scottish monarch, by a treaty concluded in the month of November, 1427, had engaged to send his daughter Margaret to the court of France, as she was destined to espouse the dauphin Lewis, when arrived at years of maturity. This princess, instead of a dower, was to bring a supply of six thousand troops. But while the king was waiting the arrival of these succours, he received assistance from another quarter, which enabled him to effect a revolution more speedy than his most sanguine partisans could have taught him to hope.

A. D. 1429.] At Dom-Remy, near the banks of the Maese, which divides Champagne from Lorraine, a village belonging to France, lived a country

girl of seventeen*, called Joan d'Arc. Joan had been taught to hold in detestation the English name; and the ravages of war, which she saw extended even to her father's cottage, encreased this abhorrence. The expulsion of the enemy from her native land, and the triumph of the lawful sovereign, she justly regarded as the only means of correcting the evils which desolated the kingdom. Her zeal encreased with her years; her manners was irreproachable.

Several years had elapsed, when pressed more and more by that secret impulse which urged her to arm in defence of her king and country, she presented herself to Baudricourt, governor of Vaucouleurs, a town in the neighbourhood. She flattered herself that he would supply her with arms, and an escort to enable her to repair to court: but Baudricourt dismissed her with contempt. After six months Joan paid him a second visit, but met with no better success. Still undismayed, she presented herself a third time to the governor, who believing her bewitched, wished to have her exorcised by the curate of the parish. She maintained, however, the truth of her mission; and assured him that the royalists had just sustained a defeat near Orleans.—The account of the battle of the Herrings, which arrived soon after, staggered the governor; Joan's revelations thenceforth met with general credit, and she was regarded as a præternatural instrument of Providence. Having surmounted this difficulty, she was furnished with a suit of armour; and two gentlemen, with their servants, were appointed to accompany her to court. She arrived at Chinon, where Charles then resided, in the month of February.

The letters which Joan had received from Baudricourt, were sent to the king as soon as she arrived, but she passed two days before she could obtain an audience; it was even debated whether she should be admitted to the presence of Charles. Curiosity, however prevailed, and she procured admission. Though Charles was divested of every ensign of royalty, she distinguished him from his courtiers, and addressed herself immediately to him. She promised to raise the siege of Orleans and conduct him to be crowned at Rheims. The energy with which she expressed herself made converts of all who heard her. Charles, who could lose nothing by the experiment, resolved to try what effect her presence would have on the drooping spirits of his troops. This resolution was no sooner adopted, than reports were industriously circulated, that she had revealed a secret to the king, which, being only known to himself, must certainly have been discovered to her by heavenly inspiration.

The troops glowed with impatience to retrieve their honour under the auspices of this female champion. As soon as the nation was duly prepared for her reception she assumed the habit of a man, was armed cap-a-pee, mounted on a

* She was born in 1412. Informations contenues dans les deux procès MSS. de la Pucelle.
B. R. Villaret, tom. xiv. p. 372.

stately courser, and exhibited to the people. When a sword was offered her, she desired that somebody might be sent to the church of St. Catherine de Fierbois, for a particular sword, which would be found on a tomb behind the great altar. Her request was complied with, and the weapon was found and brought to her.

When the news of her approach reached the English camp, the soldiers infected with the general contagion, were seized with a secret horror: nor could they derive either courage or consolation from the persuasions of their leaders, who assured them that the *Maid*, far from being the vicegerent of Heaven, was a mere engine of the devil.

Orleans had now been invested by the English seven months; and the construction of the numerous forts which cut off all communication with the surrounding country had nearly reduced the speedy capture of that city to an absolute certainty. At this critical juncture Joan was dispatched to Blois, where a large convoy of arms, ammunition, and provisions had been collected for the supply of Orleans. Some days elapsed after her arrival before every thing was prepared for this important expedition on the success of which the fate of the city, and, probably, of France, depended. This awful interval the Maid employed in exhorting the troops to place all their hopes in the assistance of Heaven. Her native eloquence, her fervent piety, forced incredulity itself to believe, and converted the most hardened hearts; the effects of her exhortations and example were almost universal. People saw with admiration a girl of seventeen, who could neither read nor write, performing, at once, the opposite functions of a general, and a missionary. She assembled all the priests in the town, and having formed them into a battalion, placed them at the head of the troops, as they marched out of Blois, preceded by a banner, decorated with a cross. The air resounded with hymns, which the soldiers repeated aloud. The troops became as enthusiastic as their leader; they marched forward with unusual confidence, impressed with the conviction that their efforts must be crowned with victory, and that they were favored with the most sublime revelations*.

The marshal de Bouffac, and La Hire accompanied the convoy, with an escort of six thousand men. The convoy approached Orleans on the 29th of April, and, after a faint and spiritless resistance by the English, who were unmanned by their superstitious fears, was conveyed into the city without loss. The bastard of Orleans, whom we shall hereafter call the count of Dunois, had

* Montfret, speaking of the Maid, observes, *that she had lived a considerable time at a small inn, where she acted in the capacity of ostler; and, in the discharge of this masculine duty, used frequently to ride the horses of the guests to the watering-place, and to perform other offices to which young girls were little accustomed.* But this account is proved to be a little false by informations taken at the place of Joan's birth, which demonstrate that she only passed a fortnight at an inn at Neuschâtel, in Lorraine, whither she had been conducted by her uncle.

been sent out to support the convoy, and to introduce Joan, who was received by the garrison with acclamations of joy, as the saviour of their liberties. From this moment the garrison believed themselves invincible.

Joan, previous to her departure from Blois, had sent, by a herald, a letter addressed to the king of England, the duke of Bedford, and to the generals who commanded the siege; in which she summoned the English to leave Orleans, and restore the kingdom to the lawful sovereign. The herald having been thrown into prison, Joan, on her arrival at Orleans, sent to demand him, threatening, in the governor's name, to make reprisals. The herald was accordingly released, and a letter sent by him, replete with invectives. On the following days fresh convoys and fresh troops arrived in the town. The Maid was ever foremost to facilitate their entrance, placing herself at the head of her troops, between the enemy and the town, and displaying her consecrated banner.

On the fourth of May, the French, under the command of Joan made a sally, and attacked one of the English forts, which, after an obstinate resistance for four hours, was carried sword in hand, and four hundred men, out of twelve, which composed the garrison, were put to the sword. On the Friday following two other forts were reduced. In these different assaults, Joan was always the foremost, with her standard in her hand, displaying the coolness and intrepidity of a hero. Her courage was of a superior kind, as she had an extreme repugnance to the effusion of human blood, and never killed any one. When questioned as to her motive for always carrying her banner in time of action, she replied that she would never make use of her sword, nor put any person to death.

The enemy having abandoned one of their forts, named Saint John the White, and retired to another which they had erected on the ruins of the church of the Augustines, Joan advanced to attack it. The French had planted their scaling-ladders, when they were seized with a sudden panic and fled with precipitation: the Maid was compelled to follow them; but seeing the English issuing from the fort to cut off their retreat, she faced about, and advanced to meet them with an intrepid countenance. The boldest of her followers hastened to her assistance; by degrees the whole detachment returned, when the attack was renewed, and, after a long and bloody conflict, the fort was taken.

The English had now nothing remaining on the side of Sologne but the fort of Tourelles, and an entrenchment which they had thrown up on the bridge. On this post, the most important of all, the success of the siege depended. The attack was deferred till the next day. Joan passed the night under arms, at the head of a detachment; and, at the break of day, the French attacked the entrenchment, which was defended with great courage. Joan, having received a wound in the throat, retired to have it dressed; and the soldiers had no sooner

lost sight of her, than their courage began to fail them. They were on the point of founding a retreat, to which the count of Dunois had consented, when Joan returned, and, running to the foot of the entrenchment, planted her standard; and animating the soldiers persuaded them to renew the charge. The English, struck with terror, quitted the entrenchment, and ran for refuge to the fort; but most of them were drowned in the Loire, by the fall of the draw-bridge. The entrenchment being forced, the French hastened to the fort of the Tourelles, which immediately surrendered.

Suffolk, having lost six thousand soldiers, in the different attacks, and finding that neither argument nor example could allay that panic with which his whole army were impressed, and which probably had infected his own, at length called a council of war, who were unanimous in opinion that the siege must be raised. The English army accordingly decamped from before Orleans, on the eighth of May, and retired to the different fortresses, on the banks of the Loire, which they had taken before the siege. This event is still celebrated at Orleans every year, on the eighth of May, when public thanksgivings are offered up in the cathedral, and an eulogy is pronounced on the deliverer of the city.

Thus was the first object of Joan's extraordinary mission accomplished, a mission the divinity of which not the most incredulous of the French could now dare to dispute, the duke of Bedford thus expressed himself in a letter which he wrote to the king and council of England:—"Alle things there prospered for
 " you, till the tyme of the siege of Orleans, taken in hand, God knoweth by
 " what advis. At the whiche tyme, after the adventure fallen to the persone
 " of my my cousin of Salysbury, whom God assoille, there felle, by the hand
 " of God, as it seeemth a greet strooke upon your people that was assembled
 " there in grete nombre, caused in grete partie, as I trowe, of lakke of fadde
 " belive, and of unlevefulle doubte that thei hadde of a disciple and lyme of
 " the fiende, called the Pucelle, that used fals enchauntments and forcerie.
 " The whiche strooke and discomfiture nought oonly lessed in grete partie the
 " nombre of youre people there, but as well withdrowe the courage of the
 " remenant, in marveilous wyse, and couraiged youre adverse partie and
 " enemy's*."

Joan, though the wound she had received at the attack of the Tourelles was not yet cured, accompanied the count of Dunois to Loches, to inform the king of the success of his arms. It was determined to march immediately towards Champagne, after taking all the places which the enemy still possessed in the vicinity of Orleans. The duke of Alençon, with a body of six thousand men, laid siege to Jargeau, whither the earl of Suffolk had retired with a small detachment of

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. x. p. 408.

the army. In a few days a practicable breach was effected, when the English offered to surrender, if not relieved within a fortnight; their proposal, however, was rejected, and the troops had orders to begin the attack. During this siege, which lasted ten days, the English displayed more valour than they had lately shewn; while Joan, with her usual intrepidity, animated the troops by her exhortation and example. As she was mounting the breach, with her consecrated standard, she was assailed with a shower of arrows, one of which tore her banner, while a stone struck her on the head, and tumbled her into the fossée. She soon, however, recovered. The French renewed the attack with additional vigour; and, in a short time, made themselves masters of the place. One half of the garrison, which consisted of twelve hundred men, were put to the sword, and the remainder, with Suffolk and his brother, taken prisoners*.

The duke of Bedford having by this time somewhat recovered from the surprise into which he had been thrown by the late extraordinary reverse of fortune, collected four thousand men, which he sent, under the conduct of Sir John Fastolfe, to join the army now commanded by lord Talbot. The junction of these troops had not been long effected. The two armies met on the eighteenth of June, at the village of Patay, near Yenville.

The greatest part of the English dispirited by their late misfortunes, and still under the influence of that superstitious panic to which those misfortunes were imputable, fled at the first onset. Sir John Fastolfe himself, who had signalized his courage in many a well-disputed conflict, escaped not the general infection; he set the example of flight to his troops, and the order of the Garter was taken from him, as a punishment for this instance of cowardice. Lord Talbot, indeed, fought with his usual bravery; but, being deserted by his army, was soon obliged to surrender. In this action eighteen hundred of the English were slain, and about one hundred gentlemen taken prisoners, besides the Lords Talbot, Scales, and Hungerford†.

Sully was the first place taken by the French, after the battle of Patay; and Tremoille, to whom the town belonged, led the king thither notwithstanding the solicitations of the citizens of Orleans, who, anxious to behold their sovereign, had requested Charles to honour them with his presence, and having prepared every thing for his reception, they could not conceal their discontent when they found their hopes disappointed. The king, however, was obliged to repair to Château-Neuf on the Loire, between Sully and Gien, where several councils were held for the purpose of settling the plan of future operations. Some, eager to profit by the consternation of the English, proposed to enter Normandy, which was then destitute of troops; while others, were of opinion that the king

* Monstrelet, fol. 45. Hal. fol. 26.

† Monstrelet, fol. 45.

should immediately proceed to Rheims. Joan herself incessantly solicited Charles to fulfil this important part of her mission; and the ascendancy which she had gained, by her heroic courage and uninterrupted success, over the minds of the people, overcame every objection which was opposed to her advice.

The accomplishment of this project, undertaken in contradiction to all the rules of human prudence, was a matter of such extreme difficulty, that the bare proposal, but a few weeks before, would have been considered as insanity. Rheims was at the distance of near eighty leagues, and in possession of the enemy; the road that led to it was in a manner lined with hostile troops, and defended by a variety of strong fortresses; while Charles had only a body of ten thousand men to overcome these complicated difficulties. But to an army inflated with recent success, stimulated by a resistless spirit of superstition, and led by an heroic enthusiast, convinced of her own inspiration, no obstacles could appear insurmountable.

The army, being assembled in the environs of Gien, was there reviewed by the king, whose finances were so far exhausted, that it was scarcely possible to muster money sufficient to discharge even a small part of the pay that was already due to the troops. But this defect was supplied by the ardour with which both officers and men embarked in the enterprise. The nobility flocked to the standard of their lawful sovereign, and all, whose fortune enabled them to defray their own expences, refused to accept any pay.

The army first marched to Auxerre, which refused to open its gates; but the offer of the citizens to supply the troops with provisions, and to be guided in their conduct by the example of other towns, being accepted*, they pursued their route to Troyes, which they immediately invested. The garrison was composed of six hundred men at arms, half English and half Burgundians. The French had brought no artillery with them; and, to increase their embarrassment, they were so ill supplied with provisions, that a scarcity prevailed on the second day of the siege. A council was called, at which opinions were divided; some proposed to raise the siege of Troyes, and proceed immediately to Rheims; while others, discouraged by the numerous difficulties they had to encounter, were of opinion that it would be most prudent to return to Orleans. By adopting the first proposal, the army would have been exposed to a similar opposition from every town on the road; while by following the last, they would have covered themselves with shame.

Charles resolved to consult Joan d'Arc; who was accordingly summoned to attend the council. She positively affirmed that before the expiration of three days, the king should enter the town. The archbishop of Rheims, chancellor

* Monstrelet. Chron. de France. Hist. de la Pucelle. Procès MS.

of France, who was present at the time, told her, that if her prediction was verified within a week, Charles would think himself very fortunate; but the Maid repeated her promise with an air of confidence, that inspired the troops with additional courage. She took the whole management of the assault upon herself, and advancing to the side of the fossée, there fixed her consecrated banner, and made the necessary preparations for the attack. The garrison, seeing her approach, were stricken with a panic, and offered to capitulate; and that same day Charles entered the town in triumph. After refreshing his troops, he pursued his march to Châlons, and was agreeably surprized at meeting with the bishop, and a deputation of the principal inhabitants, who had come forth to meet him with the keys of the town.

But notwithstanding this unexpected success, the chief object of the expedition still remained to be accomplished; viz. the reduction of Rheims. That city was defended by six hundred chosen men, under the conduct of Saveuse and Châtillon, who might easily have stopped the progress of the royal army, and have given time to the enemy to relieve the place, the siege of which Charles was not in a situation to undertake. But far from making resistance, they were no sooner apprized of the reduction of Troyes and Châlons, than they assembled the inhabitants of Rheims, and declared that the defence of the city required a reinforcement of troops, whose departure they were going to hasten, exhorting them to repel with vigour the attacks of the enemy during their absence. But they had no sooner left the town, than the citizens sent deputies to Charles, to request he would honour them with his presence.

It is highly probable that, in evacuating Rheims, Seveuse and Châtillon had only acted in compliance with the secret orders of the duke of Burgundy. The refusal to sequester the city of Orleans in his hands, had greatly displeased that prince; and a coolness had ever since subsisted between him and the regent. Charles entered Rheims on the twenty-seventh of July, when the dukes of Lorraine and Bar, and the Damoiseau de Commercy, accompanied by a numerous and martial retinue, came to make him a tender of their services. The ceremony of his coronation was performed, with great solemnity, on the twenty-eighth; and, as soon as it was finished, the Maid of Orleans, who had stood near his person in complete armour, with her sacred banner in her hand, fell at his feet, and, embracing his knees, with tears of joy entreated his permission to return home, the two grand objects of her mission being completed. The king, however, being too sensible of the advantages which he derived from her presence to comply with her request, Joan was compelled to remain with the army. But from this moment she ceased to take the chief direction of the troops upon herself, or to offer her opinions in opposition to that of the council, or of the principal officers. She contented herself, in future, with standing foremost in

every danger. She, probably, hoped by this conduct, to extinguish those sentiments of jealousy which her services had excited.

The coronation of Charles proved far from a vain and barren ceremony; it seemed to give him a fresh title to the allegiance of his subjects, who, confounded by such an uninterrupted succession of extraordinary events, could no longer hesitate to ascribe them to some supernatural influence. Impressed with these ideas, they regarded their submission to the English as an act of opposition to the will of Heaven, and became impatient to swear fealty to Charles, whom they now esteemed as their only lawful sovereign. The inhabitants of Laon, Neufchâtel, Soissons, and of many other towns and fortresses, expelled the English and Burgundian garrisons, and submitted to him*; and the whole nation appeared to give him the most unequivocal marks of their duty and attachment. Charles's expedition, from Rheims to the Isle of France, had rather the appearance of a triumphal march, than of the progress of an army in an enemy's country.

While Charles was advancing, with such rapidity, into the heart of France, the duke of Bedford exerted his utmost address to counteract the effects of his victories. Knowing that the French monarch had made advances to the duke of Burgundy, in order to detach him from the English, he conducted himself with so much skill and prudence in this dangerous crisis, that he prevailed on that prince to renew his alliance with him†. By the alternate employment of caresses and severity, he retained the Parisians in obedience, and prevented the defection of many other places which had evinced a disposition to espouse the interest of Charles. The duke of Burgundy left Paris on the sixteenth of July, to assemble his troops, and, two days after, the regent set out for Normandy, to raise the forces of that province; from thence he proceeded to Calais, where his uncle, the bishop of Winchester—who was now created Cardinal—had landed with an army of five thousand men, which he was conducting into Bohemia, on a crusade against the Hussites. Having persuaded his uncle to join these troops to those which he had just raised‡, he found himself at the head of ten thousand men, with which he returned to Paris. On the approach of Charles, he left the capital, and pitched his camp between Corbeil and Melun.

The king, on his departure from Provins, had directed his march towards the frontiers of Brie, with the resolution to bring the enemy to battle; but on their approach, he changed his course, and determined to regain the banks of the Loire. The troops had already advanced as far as Bray, when Charles was again induced, by the advice of his principal officers, to alter his resolution; and the royalists accordingly facing about proceeded to Dammartin, where they established their quarters.

* Cron. de France. Monstrelet. † Monstrelet, fol. xlvii. ‡ Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. x. p. 433.

The duke of Bedford left Paris a second time, and the two armies remained in sight of each other a whole day, but without coming to action. The regent, then returned to the capital, while the king repaired to Cressy, in Valois, whence he summoned the towns of Beuvais and Compiègne to surrender. The inhabitants of both these places expressed their readiness to acknowledge the authority of their lawful sovereign, and those of Beauvais expelled their bishop for his fervile attachment to the English.

Charles advanced towards Compiègne, in order to take possession of that town but learning, as he approached Senlis, that the duke of Bedford had left Paris, for the third time, with a view of intercepting him in his march, he halted at Monpilloi, and waited for the enemy. The regent soon came in sight, but still doubtful of the confidence of his own troops, while he seemed to face the enemy, he chose his posts with so much care and discernment, that Charles in vain endeavored to compel him to a decisive action. After remaining two days in presence of each other the two armies separated†; the English returned to Paris, and the king proceeded to Compiègne, which opened its gates to receive him. During his stay in that city he received the submission of the inhabitants of Senlis, and several other places.

While these hostile motions spread consternation around the metropolis, the duke of Burgundy remained at Arras, under pretence of assembling his troops. If this prince had employed all his forces in favour of the enemy, he might easily have stopped the victorious progress of the royal arms. But experience had at length convinced him that his interest and that of the English were opposed to each other. Content with keeping up appearances with his allies, and with avoiding an open rupture, their humiliation gave him a secret satisfaction. The king sent the archbishop of Rheims, to wait on him with proposals for a reconciliation. The duke expressed his pleasure at this mark of attention, and by his answers gave the envoy reason to believe that the time was not far distant when he and the king might meet as friends. At this period, the French reduced Aumale and Château-Gillard, where they found the brave Barbazan who had been detained a prisoner in that fortress eight years. The constable too, having assembled seven thousand men, entered Normandy, and took possession of Evreux—but on the approach of the duke of Bedford, he was compelled to retire with precipitation.

On Sunday, the eighth of September, the army, commanded by the duke of Alençon, the count of Clermont, and the lord of Montmorenci, who, since the reduction of Compiègne, had done homage to the king, approached Paris by the gate of Saint-Denis, to deceive the English, while a strong detach-

† Monstrelet. f. iii.

ment began the attack on the opposite side. The besiegers had flattered themselves, that the people would rise in the town and second their efforts, but finding no signs of an insurrection, soon prepared to retreat. Joan d'Arc, unaccustomed to fly, resolved to persist in her efforts to reduce the place; ignorant of the depth of the fossée, she incessantly called for fascines to fill it up; and while thus employed, she received a wound in the thigh from a cross-bow. The pain she experienced, and the quantity of blood she lost, compelled her to lie down behind a small eminence, where she was suffered to remain till night, when the duke of Alençon went to her assistance. Joan, notwithstanding her simplicity, could no longer doubt that her merit and achievements had made her many enemies; of this the danger to which she had been so long left exposed was alone sufficient to convince her. She now renewed her solicitations to the king for permission to return to her friends; and being resolved no longer to bear arms, she made a present of her martial habiliments to the monks of Saint-Denis: Charles however, refused her request, and she was still compelled to remain with the army. The troops decamped four days after this unsuccessful attack. He next took possession of Gournay, Bray, Melun, and Sens.

The duke of Burgundy arrived at Paris in December with eight hundred men at arms. This body of troops excited the regent's suspicions; and he requested the duke to enter the city with only a part of his retinue; but this Burgundy refused. His entry rather resembled a triumph; being preceded by ten heralds at arms, and an equal number of trumpeters. The cardinal of Winchester arrived soon after.

A. D. 1430.] The result was a truce for Picardy, Artois, Champagne, and Burgundy, and some particular towns in other parts of the kingdom, which desired to be included in the cessation of arms; some days after the truce was concluded, Saint Cloud, Saint Denis, Vincennes, and the bridge of Charenton were comprized in it, at the solicitation of the English, who were anxious to secure a supply of provisions for the capital*. The truce was published at Paris, in presence of the dukes of Bedford and Burgundy, the cardinal of Winchester, and the deputies of the different orders; and, on the same day, the duke of Burgundy was constituted governor of Paris, and regent of the whole kingdom of France except Normandy, till Easter†.

Charles, crossed the Seine at Bray, whence he pursued his march to the banks of the Loire. The remainder of the campaign was employed in the reduction of Saint-Pierre-le-Moutier, a town situated in the Nivernois, between the Loire and the Allier. The approaches were made in form, and in a few days a prac-

* Tresor des Chartres. Reg. nommé Ordonn. Barbines, fol. 13. † Monstrelet. fol. 53.

licable breach was affected. The Maid was present at the siege, and animated the troops by her exortations and example. The French displayed their usual courage and confidence in the assault, but the place was defended with such obstinate valour, that, after a long and bloody conflict, they were compelled to retreat. But the heroic Maid disdained to fly; Dolon, a gentleman who had been appointed to attend her*, being sent to entreat that she would return to the camp, found her surrounded by five or six men at arms, who had bravely resolved to sacrifice their lives to her safety. Her intrepidity seemed to encrease with the danger to which she was exposed—She protested she would never abandon her post till she had attained her object. Her resolution inspired the troops with fresh courage, and urged them to renew their exertions for subduing the town. They returned to the attack with a degree of fury that proved irresistible: the garrison gave away, and the place was taken.

The king repassed the Loire, and the troops were put into winter quarters. Charles, convinced that he was indebted for the glorious success of the last campaign, to the zeal of his subjects, the courage of his nobles, and the heroic enthusiasm of the Maid, evinced an anxiety to prove his gratitude for such important services. On the city of Orleans, the valour and fidelity of whose inhabitants had first revived his drooping hopes, and turned the tide of success in his favour, he conferred a variety of new privileges and exemptions. He sent for Joan's parents, and granted a patent of nobility to the Maid herself, to her father and three brothers, and to all their descendants, both male and female; he also changed the name of their family from d'Arc to *du Lys*; a name which their posterity always preserved, with the addition of—*dit la Pucelle*. The privilege, in favour of the female descendants of Joan's family, subsisted till the commencement of the seventeenth century. Eude le Maire, who was descended from it by the mother's side, registered his letters of nobility in 1608; but six years after this prerogative was suppressed, by an arrêt of the parliament, and limited, in future, to the male heirs.

The English, meanwhile, made some attempts on Lagny, which were successfully repelled by the valorous exertions of Ambrose de Lore, Foucaut, Chabannes, Xaintrailles, and Joan d'Arc. The Maid had lately left the French court to join the army. At the head of three hundred men, she attacked a famous leader of banditti, called Franquet d'Arras; he was defeated and taken prisoner. Being conveyed to Lagny, his life was made to pay the forfeit of his crimes; Joan had interceded in his favour, but her solicitations were rejected, yet was the execution of Franquet afterward ascribed to her as a crime, by her iniquitous judges.

* Procès MS. de Jeanne d'Arc. Déposition du Sieur Dolon.

The duke of Bedford, having observed the great effects produced by the coronation of Charles, was induced to believe that if young Henry were to undergo the same ceremony, it might be attended with similar advantages. He solicited the protector and council of England to send him over without delay; but the nation was so much exhausted by the war, that six months elapsed before money could be procured to defray the expences of his journey; even then the protector was obliged to raise it by pawning the jewels of the crown, and by extorting numerous loans, some of which were so trifling as not to exceed five marks*. The young king, embarked at Dover, on the twenty-seventh of April, 1430, and landed at Calais, the same day, attended by the chief nobility of England, and a considerable number of troops. But many of these troops were so terrified by the accounts they had heard of the Maid of Orleans, that they immediately deserted and returned to England. From Calais Henry was conducted to Rouen, where he remained till December, in the following year from the inability of the regent to raise money to defray the expences of his coronation.

Compiègne, being in the possession of the royalists, cut off the communication between Picardy and the Isle of France, its reduction, therefore, became an object of importance. A numerous garrison, aided by the zeal and courage of the inhabitants, rendered the undertaking difficult. The duke of Burgundy invested the town on every side at the same moment; but his plans, though conducted with secrecy, had been discovered to the French; and Joan d'Arc, accompanied by Xaintrilles, had thrown herself into the place.

While the enemy's troops were taking possession of their respective quarters, the Maid made a sally, at the head of six hundred men, and attacked the post of Marigny, whither Luxembourg and some other of the generals had repaired to examine the approaches to the town. The enemy, though, at first thrown into some confusion, made a successful resistance; and the royalists, found it necessary to retreat; when Joan, placing herself in the rear of the detachment, frequently faced about, and checked the pursuit of the enemy. Just as the last ranks had passed the barriers, an English archer, attacked the Maid, and pulled her from her horse. The bastard of Vendôme, coming up at the time, Joan, who was disarmed, surrendered herself his prisoner.

Flavy, governor of Compiègne, was accused of having contributed to the capture of the Maid, by giving secret orders to shut the barrier against her; but this accusation was wholly destitute of truth; nothing can be found to justify it. Could any thing have added to the glory which Joan had so well-earned; the immoderate joy displayed by the English and Burgundians on her capture must have encreased it†. The soldiers flocked in crowds to behold

* Rym. Foed. tom. x. p. 455, 467.

† Monstrelet. Reg. du Parl.

this girl of eighteen, whose very name had, for more than a year, made them tremble, and carried terror even to the capital of England. The duke of Burgundy conversed with her some time. Couriers were dispatched to all the towns in possession of the English, to invite the inhabitants to partake of the general satisfaction; and the duke of Bedford ordered public rejoicings at Paris, preceded by a *Te Deum*. The duke of Burgundy continued to press the siege of Compiègne, though with more vigour than success. He was soon called into the Low Countries, on the death of his cousin, Philip of Brabant, whose inheritance the counts of Hainaut threatened to dispute with him. Bruxelles, and all the principal towns in Brabant, acknowledged the duke for their sovereign, who added that rich and fertile province to his other extensive dominions.

Compiègne after having been invested nearly six months, found itself reduced to the last extremity, though rather from want of provisions than from the efforts of the enemy. Luxembourg considered its reduction as infallible, when the count of Vendôme, Xaintrailles, and several other officers of rank, having formed a junction of the different corps under their command, which composed a body of four thousand fighting men, advanced as far as Verberie, with the intention of relieving the place. The enemy called a council of war, at which it was resolved to leave a sufficient force to guard the entrenchments, and to march with the remainder of the army against the French, who were then drawn up in order of battle, within sight of Compiègne. When the English and Burgundians came in presence of the royalists, they halted.

While the two armies remained in this situation, different detachments of the French having made a circuit, entered the town by the gate on the opposite side*. These detachments, with a part of the garrison, under the command of Flavy, attacked a work which was defended by Brimeau, marshal of Burgundy. The French were twice repulsed; but being encouraged by Xaintrailles, and by the inhabitants of the town, who, both men and women, ran to partake of the glory of the enterprize, they returned a third time to the charge, and carried the post. Luxembourg was informed of this disaster, which he could neither prevent nor remedy. The reduction of this fort gave a free access to the troops, who immediately entered Compiègne in sight of the enemy. Next day they constructed a bridge of boats, repassed the Oyse, and reduced a second fort on the banks of that river. The enemy, alarmed, evacuated a third, so that only one, which commanded the bridge, now remained in their possession. Luxembourg, disconcerted by such repeated losses, made his troops return to their quarters; he was uncertain how to act, till the desertion of a great part of his army put an end to his doubts, and compelled him

* Monstrelet. Chron. de France. Chron. de Charles VII. par Alain Chartier.

to raise the siege. The enemy having received orders to retreat, fled with such precipitation, that a part of the baggage, with all their provision, ammunition, and artillery, fell into the hands of the French.

A splendid victory, obtained by Xaintrilles over a body of English and Burgundians at Germigny, completed the glory of this successful campaign. The number of prisoners taken in these different expeditions was prodigious, and most of them were men of distinction; where the enemy had taken one, the royalists had taken ten*. This being the case, it is truly astonishing that nobody should have thought of offering some of these numerous prisoners in exchange for the maid of Orleans. After the important services which she had rendered to her king and country, such an instance of neglect reflects eternal disgrace on the memory of Charles, whose falling fortunes she had so gallantly restored, and of those warriors who had witnessed her glorious achievements, and triumphed under her auspices.

The success of the French arms was not confined to Picardy and the isle of France. Barbazan, assembled three thousand troops in the environs of Châlons, in Champagne, with which he attacked the united forces of England and Burgundy. The enemy, whose army amounted to eight thousand men, had taken possession of an advantageous post. The first efforts of the French were sustained with great firmness; but Le Bourge de Vignoles, having attacked them in the rear, during the heat of the action, they were instantly thrown into confusion, and all the exertions of the leaders to encourage or rally their men proving ineffectual, they were completely routed. Almost the whole army were either killed or taken prisoners. This victory only cost the royalists eighty men.

That period was now arrived, at which the Maid of Orleans was doomed to fall the victim of a barbarous age. The conspicuous part which this heroine played in the transactions of the present reign; the celebrity which she justly acquired by the extent and importance of her services; her courage, her character, her virtues, her misfortunes—all combine to render her an object highly interesting to the reader, and to justify the historian in paying due honor to her memory, by unveiling the iniquity of her persecutors; by exposing to the indignation of the world, the base and wicked means that were exerted † for the destruction of a girl of eighteen, whose only crime was the attempt to restore her sovereign to the throne of his ancestors, and to rescue her country from foreign oppression.

1431. A. D.] Immediately after Joan had been taken, friar Martin, vicar general of the inquisition of France, claimed the prisoner—"As vehemently suspected of many crimes favouring of heresy; crimes which could neither be

* Villaret, tom. xv. p. 28.

† Monstrelet. Chron. de France. Journal de Paris. Pasquier. Reg. du Parl. Hist. de la Pucelle. Preuves Justificatives. Proces. MS. B. R.

"concealed, nor overlooked without good and proper reparation:"—These were the expressions he made use of when he wrote to the duke of Burgundy, and the count of Ligny—"most humbly and affectionately entreating them," and, a few lines after, "*expressly enjoining them, in virtue of his office, and of the authority committed to him by the holy see, under the pain of incurring the penalties of disobedience, to send, as soon as possible, the said Joan, to answer before him, to such charges as the attorney for the inquisition should prefer against her.*" The Maid was taken on the twenty-fourth of May, and this letter was written on the twenty-seventh.

The University of Paris wrote, at the same time, to the duke and to the count, and their solicitations were still more urgent: not content with desiring that the Maid might be delivered up to the Inquisition, they expressed their hopes that she would be watched so closely that no opportunity of escaping the justice of the church could possibly occur. This abominable letter, and another to the duke of Burgundy, couched nearly in the same terms, are inserted in the criminal process. The university employed the most pressing solicitations to prevent the Maid from escaping, or from being released on paying a ransom.

Joan had, at first, been confined in the fortress of Beaulieu, and afterwards in the castle of Beaurevoir. The extreme rigour of her captivity gave her but too just reason to dread the horrid scene that was to follow. These alarming apprehensions, and her indignation at the continual railleries and insulting language of her guards, who had formerly trembled at her aspect, led her to make a desperate attempt to recover her liberty. Having watched an opportunity while her motions were less attended to than usual, she jumped from one of the windows of the tower; but she was unfortunately so much hurt by the fall, as to be unable to rise from the ground. She was immediately seized and conveyed back to her prison, where she was confined more closely than before, and soon after was transferred to the castle of Crotoy. During this time, every exertion was made to get her from the count of Ligny. That nobleman having, at first, evinced a reluctance to give her up, the duke of Bedford had applied to the duke of Burgundy to interpose his authority; while the bishop of Beauvais who said that she was taken within his diocese, summoned them both to deliver the prisoner into his possession. The count was offered six thousand livres for her, and afterwards ten thousand.

The count of Ligny was staggered by these injunctions and offers, notwithstanding the solicitations of his wife, who repeatedly threw herself at his feet, and conjured him, not to deliver up to certain death a brave and innocent captive, whom the laws of war commanded him to respect. The inquisitor, the bishop of Beauvais, and the university of Paris returned to the charge, pressed the duke of Burgundy anew, offered to give security to the count of Ligny for the ten thousand livres, and even presented a petition to the king of England, to "*beg his high excellence, in honour of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to give or*

“ ders that this woman should be shortly rendered into the hands of the Ecclesiastical Judge.” At length the iniquitous bargain was concluded ; Ligny received ten thousand livres, and a pension of three hundred was settled on the Bastard of Vendôme. Joan was then delivered up to a detachment of English troops who conducted her to Rouen, where she was to be tried.

Cauchon, bishop of Beauvais, five other French prelates ; friar Martin, vicar general of the inquisition in France ; about fifty doctors of the cannon law, with the cardinal of Winchester, were appointed to try this extraordinary cause.

These judges held their first session at Rouen, on the twenty-first of February, 1431 ; when their prisoner appeared before them, bending beneath the weight of chains, from which she earnestly, but in vain, entreated them to relieve her. The questions that were put to her chiefly tended to establish her belief in the reality of those visions, and of that intercourse with departed saints, which she had originally assigned as a reason for undertaking the defence of her country.

At the second session, she was asked whether king Charles had had visions as well as herself,—“ Send to ask him,” replied the Maid. She was repeatedly pressed to say whether she was of opinion that she had done right in attacking Paris on a festival ; at length she answered that such solemn days certainly ought to be respected, but that, for an error of that nature, it was the province of her confessor to give her absolution. When asked whether the saints had ever announced the descent of the English, she answered that the English had invaded France long before the period of her first revelations ;—in fact, she was but three years old when Henry the Fifth first landed on the coast of Normandy, in 1415. At the fifth session she declared that, before the expiration of seven years, the English would experience a much heavier loss than they had sustained before Orleans.

The judges assembled on the third of March, for the sixth time, when absurd questions were repeated, to perplex and confound the unhappy victim, who, from time to time, betrayed her hopes of escaping the rage of her tyrants. When questioned whether such hopes were founded on a promise made her by the celestial spirits with whom she had conversed, “ That has no concern with my trial”—said she—“ do you wish me to speak against myself ?” A report having been circulated that a child had been raised from the dead by Joan at Lagny, the bishop of Beauvais hoped, by extorting from her a confession of this miracle, to obtain sufficient proof for his purpose ; but the Maid defeated his malice, by replying that the child being thought dead was carried to the church, where it had exhibited sufficient signs of life to justify the administration of baptism ;—a miracle which could be only ascribed to God himself. With a view to convict her of superstition, she was asked whether she had often changed her banner ; whether that banner had been consecrated ; for what purpose she had caused the names of Jesus and Mary to be embroidered



*Joan of Arc, reproaching the Bishop of Beauvais
at the place of Execution.*

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thereon; whether she had ascribed any fortunate effects to her banner; and whether she had instilled such a belief into the French troops? They demanded, "Why she carried her standard in her hand, at the coronation of Charles "at Rheims?"—"It was but just," said she, "that having shared the toils "and dangers, it should likewise share the glory."

Her judges were disconcerted, but their hearts were not touched. They had recourse to the unprincipled expedient of altering her answers, in order to give them a criminal interpretation. *William Manchon*, one of the two secretaries who were employed to write down her answers, made oath that he had been applied to for this purpose, but had rejected with scorn the infamous proposal, notwithstanding the urgent solicitations of the bishop of Beauvais, who abused him in the most gross and illiberal manner, for harbouring scruples to which he himself was a stranger. About the middle of the trial, another apostolic notary, of a more pliant disposition, was employed. Cauchon likewise engaged a priest, named *Oyselleur*, to introduce himself into the prison, and to gain her confidence, by pretending to be a prisoner like herself. Deceived by the perfidious ecclesiastic, she made no scruple to confess to him, while two men, concealed for the purpose, overheard and wrote down every thing she said. But none of these base artifices had yet brought any thing to light which could possibly affect the life or liberty of Joan; and the infamous prelate, enraged at the disappointment, was strongly suspected of an attempt to poison his innocent victim*.

A state of the trial being drawn up, was submitted to the inspection of certain doctors, who declared the proofs insufficient to establish the conviction of the prisoner; the interrogatories, were renewed, though the object was still the same. At the thirteenth session, Joan's judges attempted to make her comprehend the distinction between the *church-triumphant*, and the *church-militant*, and to extort from her an opinion on that difference; a question which could never have been put by divines to a young girl who could neither read nor write, but with the malignant intention of taking an unfair-advantage of her reply. The Maid answered that she should always be ready to submit to the church. One of the judges, an Augustin monk, named friar Isembert, being moved with compassion, seized this opportunity to advise her to appeal to the pope and council, which she immediately did. This appeal must have snatched her from the fury of her enemies, but for the interference of Cauchon, who casting a look of indignation at the monk, ordered him *in the Devil's name* to be silent; he, at the same time, forbade the secretary to make any mention of the appeal. Joan observing the perfidy of her judges, exclaimed—"Ah, you write down every thing

* Deposition de Thyac, Medecin. Procès. MS.

“ that tells against me, but will suffer nothing that is in my favour to be written down.”

The conduct of this crowd of priests, doctors, and divines, presided by an unprincipled bishop, in employing, against a simple and inexperienced girl, all the subtilties which a desire of finding her guilty could suggest, cannot but excite the most lively indignation. They incessantly laid some new snare for her ignorance; putting questions to her on different subjects at the same moment, questions which had no connection with each other, and employing, in short, every kind of feint and equivocation, that could throw her off her guard. They often lost sight of the principal object to interrogate her on matters the most trifling, puerile, and absurd. They asked her whether she took frequent walks in her infancy; whether she had ever fought with her infant companions; whether she had ever painted herself; whether the saints who appeared to her talked French or English; and whether they wore ear-rings, and rings?—“ You took one ring from me,” said she to Cauchon, “ pray return it.”

During her trial, the count of Ligny, had the curiosity to pay her a visit. He endeavoured to persuade her that he came to treat about her ransom; but the Maid replied—“ You have neither the inclination nor the ability. I know very well that these Englishmen will put me to death, in the belief that, after my death, they will conquer the kingdom of France; but were there a hundred thousand more *God-damns* than there are here at present, they would never reduce this kingdom.” Stafford drew his sword, and would have run her through the body, had he not been prevented by Warwick*. She complained that an English nobleman, of high rank, attempted to ravish her in prison; but the authority which the culprit enjoyed, prevented this fact from being duly attested. The duchess of Bedford, obtained a promise from her husband that no violence should be offered to the person of Joan, whose pretensions to chastity she had caused to be verified. During that examination the duke of Bedford was concealed in an adjoining apartment, whence, by an aperture made in the wall, he beheld his persecuted victim, in a state of pure nature.

At length the captive maid, bending beneath the weight of her chains, exposed to the most inhuman treatment, daily insulted by her guards and by her judges, fell dangerously ill. The duke of Bedford, the cardinal of Winchester, and the earl of Warwick appointed two physicians to attend her, with the strongest injunctions “ to take care that she did not die a natural death;” adding, that the king of England had bought her at a dear rate; that it was his intention to commit her to the flames; that the bishop of Beauvais was apprized of this, and that it was for that reason he was so eager to

* Villaret, tom. xv. p. 57.

“ have the trial finished *.” In fact, the judges frequently met twice a day; and Joan was likewise obliged to submit to various private examinations in prison. The bishop wished to put her to the rack, and the instruments of torture were placed before her; but the dreadful sight was incapable of betraying her into any variation or equivocation in her answers. Nothing but the dread of her dying during the operation deterred Cauchon from putting his project in execution.

The trial being ended, seventy charges were exhibited against Joan, which were reduced to twelve; and sent to the university of Paris, who confirmed the decisions of the tribunal at Rouen; and, at the same time, wrote to the king of England, beseeching him to order sentence to be pronounced without delay. When the trial was read to the Maid, she pointed out several parts of it which were contrary to truth, and where her replies were grossly misrepresented; but her remarks were disregarded, and her judges, bent on her ruin, resolved to pursue her to the utmost. On the twenty-fourth of May, Joan was conducted to the church-yard of Saint Ouen, where a scaffold was erected, and a defamatory sermon preached by one William Erard, replete with illiberal abuse, and the most gross invectives against the Maid herself, the king, and the whole nation. After this sermon the bishop of Beauvais rose to pronounce sentence.

The object which the judges had in view was but imperfectly fulfilled. By condemning Joan, as convicted of the crimes imputed to her, and by putting her to death, in consequence of such condemnation, without that previous confession of her guilt which the laws required, they would rather confirm than remove the suspicion, that revenge and not justice had been consulted in her trial. She had formerly denied most of the charges exhibited against her, and the want of evidence rendered the proceedings irregular. The only mode of making her appear guilty was by extorting from her a public retraction. She was accordingly summoned to abjure; but she said that she knew not the signification of that term, and begged she might be allowed to have some person to consult with. The person who was chosen for this purpose, assured her if she persisted in contradicting any one of the charges she would be infallibly burned; and he advised her to submit herself to the sentence of the church. Joan, raising her voice, then said—“ I appeal to the universal church, whether I ought to abjure or not.”—“ You must abjure immediately,” exclaimed Erard, “ or you will be burned.” While this scene was passing on the scaffold, the people evinced their indignation by a confused murmur; and the bishop of Beauvais was preparing to pronounce sentence, after which Joan was given to

* Dépos. de la Chamb. Médecin. Procès MS.

understand there could be no hopes of mercy. They shewed her the executioner, who was waiting with his cart to convey her to the place of execution. Intimidated by these infamous manœuvres, and by the base manaces of her judges, who threatened to commit her to the flames; pressed too by others who, in a tone of affection, entreated her to save both her body and soul by a speedy retraction, she, at length, declared, that, with regard to her revelations, she submitted to the decisions of the church and her ministers. The secretary then approached her, and read a form of abjuration, which contained a simple promise never more to bear arms, to suffer her hair to grow, and to quit the dress of a man. Being told that if she refused to sign this paper instant death would be her portion, she consented. But at that moment another paper was slipped into her hand, instead of that which had been read to her, by which deception she was made to sign an acknowledgement that she was really guilty of all the crimes which had been ascribed to her. The truth of this circumstance is established, beyond the reach of confutation, by the deposition of the very secretary who read the first paper to her †. Immediately after she had signed the supposed abjuration, with the sign of the cross, the bishop of Beauvais pronounced sentence, by which she was condemned to pass the remainder of her days in prison, with no other nourishment than the “*Bread of Pain, and the Water of Anguish*,” according to the style used by the inquisition. The assembly was dissolved; and Cauchon and his associates, on their return, were insulted and pelted by the populace. These ministers of iniquity, notwithstanding the disgrace they had incurred, had not been able even to satisfy the enemy to whom they had sold their consciences. The English threatened to exterminate them for not having earned the money they had received from their monarch ‡. The earl of Warwick reproached the bishop and doctors who had assisted at the trial; and declared that if Joan were suffered to escape punishment, the king’s interest would be materially affected. “Give yourself no uneasiness,” said one of them, “we will have her yet, I warrant you.”

Joan after she had re-assumed the female dress, begged she might be confined in the prison belonging to the archbishop’s court, where she hoped to receive better treatment, but this favour was denied her. The first night after she was conducted back to the dungeon she had hitherto occupied, her guards took her woman’s cloaths from off her bed, and put her man’s apparel, which she had quitted, in their place. At day-break she begged that the chain which was fastened round her body might be loosened, and perceiving her man’s apparel, she earnestly entreated that the clothes she had worn the day before

† Depos. de Jean Massieu, Greffier, Procès MS.

‡ Depos. de Jean Franc. maître des requêtes Procès MS.

might be restored ; but with this request the guards refused to comply. In vain did she repeatedly declare that they must be considered as the authors of her destruction, since they knew the prohibition she had received from her judges to dress herself in man's clothes : they replied, that she should have no other. The fear of incurring the penalty of disobedience detained her in bed till noon, when, pressed by a natural call, she was compelled to rise and cover herself with the only clothes she could procure. This was all her persecutors wished for. Several witnesses instantaneously entered the place to verify this pretended transgression. On their depositions the judges hastened to the prison ; and while the clerk was employed in writing an account of the situation in which the prisoner was found, *Andrew Marguerye*, one of the assistant-doctors, observed that it was necessary to ask her what had been her motive for re-assuming the dress of a man ; but this observation, which might have led to a discovery of the truth, nearly cost him his life. Some other of the judges, alarmed at the danger of her situation, and ashamed of their own conduct, in having consented to become the instruments of injustice, withdrew. Peter Cauchon, on leaving the prison, met the earl of Warwick, and exclaimed, in a transport of joy, "*Farewell, farewell, it's all over ; we have her safe!*"—and this inhuman exclamation was accompanied by a burst of laughter. The next day the court met, when Joan was declared to be a relapsed heretic, and as such was delivered over to the secular arm.

On the thirtieth of May she was taken from Prison, under an escort of one hundred and twenty men at arms ; she was dressed in female apparel ; and on her head was placed a mitre, with inscription—" *A relapsed heretic ; an Apostate ; an idolater.*" She was supported by two Dominican friars ; and as she passed through the streets she exclaimed, *Ah ! Rouen, Rouen, must thou be my last abode ?*" Two scaffolds had been erected in the old market place, where the cardinal of Winchester, the bishop of Therouenne, chancellor of France ; the bishop of Beauvais, and the other judges, had already taken their seats, and were waiting the arrival of their victim. Joan appeared fettered, and her face, as she mounted the scaffold, was bathed with her tears. Nicholas Midy, who was appointed to preach the funeral sermon, filled his sacrilegious harangue with all the vehemence of fanaticism, mingled with the gall of hypocrisy ; he finished his discourse with these words—" *Joan, depart in peace ; the church can no longer defend you ; she resigns you to the secular power.*" The bishop of Beauvais then pronounced the sentence of condemnation ; at the end of which he invoked the mercy of the secular judges, who were seated on the second scaffold. Before she descended, Joan said to the bishop—" You are the cause of my death ; you promised to restore me to the church, and you deliver me up to my enemies." This was the only time that pity ever found a momentary residence in the bosom of that impious and inexorable prelate ; he hastened, however, to expel her as an unwelcome guest ;

the tear started from his eye; but anxious to conceal a weakness which he despised, he turned aside, and indignantly wiped it from his face:—the rest of the judges, the people, and the guards, both English and Burgundians, less ashamed of their humanity, gave a free scope to their tears.

Joan fell upon her knees, imprecated the mercy of the Supreme Being; called on the ecclesiastics, and all who were present, to assist her with their prayers; and did not forget, in these her last moments, her ungrateful sovereign. The bailiff of Rouen and his assistants, who were ordered to represent the secular tribunal, did not pronounce any sentence; but simply said—"Take her away."—On the front of the pile, which was destined to reduce her to ashes, was placed a tablet with the following inscription;—"Joan, who called herself the Maid; a pernicious liar, a deceiver of the people, a sorceress, superstitious, a blasphemer, presumptuous, an unbeliever, a murderer, an idolater, cruel, of dissolute manners, a worshipper of the devil, an apostate, schismatick, and heretick!" The executioner trembled as he advanced to receive her from the hands of her guards. She asked for a crucifix; an Englishman, who was present, broke a stick and formed a kind of cross, which she took, and after kissing it, pressed it to her heart, and ascended the fatal pile. Before the fire was applied to the wood, they brought her the cross of a neighbouring church, which, at her earnest request, was placed before her. As soon as she felt the flames approach her, she warned the two priests who stood near her to retire. In order to remove any doubt that might be entertained of her death, the pile was raised to an extraordinary height, so that every spectator had a full view of her. This precaution, rendered her execution more tedious and painful. As soon as she was supposed to be dead, the executioner received orders to remove the fire, that the people might have a better opportunity of beholding what remained of her body. As long as she retained the power of utterance, the sacred name of Jesus was heard to issue from the flames: these pious sounds were only interrupted by the sobs and groans which the violence of her anguish extorted from her. When her body was consumed (all but her heart, which was found entire) the cardinal of Winchester ordered her ashes to be collected, and thrown into the Seine.

Thus miserably perished, at the age of nineteen, the unhappy Maid of Orleans, whose purity of life and intrepidity of soul, displayed in the best of causes,—the just defence of her king and country—could not have failed, in an age less addicted to superstition and cruelty, to secure the grateful admiration of her friends, and the generous respect of her enemies. The difference between fanaticism and virtuous enthusiasm is to be discovered in their effects; that enthusiasm which gave rise to, and supported the glorious efforts of Joan in the cause of liberty, cannot afford the smallest pretext for detracting from her merit, as

it was evidently derived from the most laudable motives. Seldom, if ever, are the seeds of glory to be found in a mind that is barren of virtue. It is clear she was convinced of the truth of her inspiration; she acted in consequence of that conviction; and her conduct was firm, steady and consistent. In short, it may justly be doubted if either ancient or modern history can supply an example of heroism so exempt from pollution as that of Joan d'Arc.—For the conduct of her persecutors no excuse can be found. Nor can the conduct of Charles escape the severest reprehension; an offer to exchange, or a threat to retaliate on some of the many prisoners of distinction whom he had in his power at this period, must have secured the release, or, at least, have prevented the execution of that generous Maid, to whom he was chiefly indebted for the preservation of his honour, and the safety of his kingdom. He had every motive which could operate with the greatest energy on the human mind to superinduce the most powerful exertions for rescuing his benefactress from the hands of her assassins; but, lulled on the bosom of pleasure, he enjoyed, in indolence and ease, the fruits of her victories, and consigned her, without an effort, to the malice and persecution of her vindictive and fanatical enemies.

The irregularity of the proceedings on the trial of Joan, and the manifest injustice of the sentence pronounced on her, greatly alarmed the judges; who, after her death, were exposed to the hatred of the people, and even to the contempt of the English themselves. They were pointed at in the streets; they were avoided as objects of universal execration. Peter Cauchon thought to shield himself from danger, and to exempt himself from reproach, by obtaining from the king of England letters of protection against the holy see. At the same time a circular letter was addressed, in the name of the young monarch, to the emperor, the pope, and all the powers of Europe; containing an abridged account of the capture, the trial and the execution of Joan.

Twenty years after, Charles the Seventh caused the trial of Joan to be *revised*, and her memory to be *re-established*.—Commissioners for this purpose were authorized by pope Calixtus the Third. John and Peter d'Arc, brothers to Joan, appeared as plaintiffs in the cause; and the depositions of one hundred and twelve witnesses, all favorable to her honor, are still extant. By a definitive sentence of the seventh of July, 1456, the former sentence was declared null, abusive, and manifestly unjust; and Joan d'Arc was declared to be innocent of all the crimes which had been imputed to her. A cross was erected on the spot where she was executed, and a statue of her is still to be seen there. Her first judges were suffered to pass unpunished till the succeeding reign, when Lewis the Eleventh ordered them to be prosecuted; two only were alive, and they were condemned and executed.

The duke of Bedford was disappointed in his expectation of happy consequences from the death of the Maid of Orleans. Joan had taught the French that their enemies were not invincible, and that they still possessed sufficient resources to assert their own independence; though deprived of the benefit of her example, they recollected her precepts, and determined to pursue the path which she had so gloriously opened for them. The English were repulsed in three successive attempts upon Lagny; and though the regent endeavoured to revive their hopes, and to cheer their spirits, by the pomp of a coronation, performed with great magnificence at Paris, on the seventeenth of December, 1431—yet were they unable to recover, before the conclusion of the year, any of those numerous places which had been taken from them in the course of the preceding campaign.

Towards the end of this campaign the Marechal de Bouffac formed a plan for the reduction of Rouen. One of those adventurers, who occasionally served either party, had promised to deliver up to him one of the gates of the citadel; the day having been fixed for the execution of the project, the Marechal, accompanied by the lords of Fontaines, Fouquet, and Mouffy, marched from Beauvais with a body of troops, and placed themselves in ambuscade, in a small wood, about a league from Rouen. Ricarville, a gentleman of Normandy, advanced with a detachment of one hundred and twenty men to the very walls of the citadel. He had no sooner given the appointed signal than the gate was opened to him, when he rushed into the fort, slew all that opposed him, and, after securing the principal tower, pointed the artillery which he found there against the other part of the citadel. Never was any scheme accomplished with greater celerity or success. Once masters of the citadel, the French would have had little difficulty in reducing the town, since the inhabitants secretly favoured their cause; and the king of England, who was then at Rouen, must infallibly have been taken prisoner.

Ricarville having secured the post he had taken, immediately mounted his horse, and hastened to give the marechal an account of what had passed. Every thing depended on dispatch. But Bouffac's troops, who were chiefly composed of adventurers assembled in haste, refused to stir, till a proper division of the plunder had been settled: so many disputes arose between them on this account, that all attempts to accommodate them proved fruitless; the soldiers returned to Beauvais, and their officers were obliged to follow them. The French finding themselves left to the mercy of the enemy, resolved to sell their lives as dearly as they could; they defended the tower for twelve days, when a want of provisions compelled them to surrender; they were hanged, and the man who had opened the gates to the troops was quartered. The campaign was closed by an action between a body of English, under the command of Willoughby, and a detachment of French, conducted by Ambrose de

Loire, near the fortrefs of Saint Celerin, about ten miles from Alençon, in which the former were defeated, with the lofs of fix hundred men, befides a great number of prifoners*.

A. D. 1432.] The commencement of the enfuing campaign was fignalized by the reduction of Chartres†, which had constantly been in the poffeffion of the Burgundians or Englifh, ever fince the year 1417, when the duke of Burgundy made himfelf mafter of the town. The count of Dunois formed the project for taking it, by means of two of the inhabitants who had been made prifoners, and who promifed to introduce him into the place. A monk, was engaged in the plot, who invited the citizens to attend a fermon which he meant to preach on Eaſter-day; and while, by this artifice, he called off their attention to one extremity of the town, the French were admitted, by the two inhabitants, at a gate on the oppofite fide. A ſkirmiſh took place, in which the biſhop of Chartres, and about eighty of the citizens, were ſlain; all the Englifh and Burgundians that fell into the hands of the enemy were put to death; a heavy ranſom was exacted from the inhabitants; and the town, after being expoſed to every ſpecies of exceſs from a brutal and licentious foldiery, was entrusted to the command of Dunois.

The arrival of a legate from the pope, who had orders to negotiate an accommodation between the contending powers, led the people to flatter themſelves with the idea of a ſpeedy termination to that fatal conqueſt which had ſo long deſolated the kingdom. Several conferences were holden, at which the Englifh, Burgundian and French plenipotentiaries aſſiſted; but between the Englifh and French the difference was too wide to be eaſily adjusted. The caſe was different with the duke of Burgundy, whoſe miniſters and thoſe of Charles agreed to a truce for fix years, which was confirmed by their reſpective ſovereigns‡. Unfortunately, this truce proved of ſhort duration; the companies of banditti, in the ſervice of the king and the duke, renewed hoſtilities, notwithstanding the orders they received to reſpect the convention; and, at the expiration of three months, the two princes found themſelves reduced to the neceſſity of again taking up arms, and continuing the war.

Meanwhile the duke of Bedford, had ſent Arundel, Warwick, Liſle-Adam, and the Baſtard of Saint Paul, to make an attempt upon the town of Lagny. After breaking down the bridge, and demolifhing the fort which defended the place on the fide of the river, they made various aſſaults, in which they were repulſed with ſuch loſs, that their foldiers deſerted in crowds, and compelled them to raiſe the ſiege. This affront, ſuſtained by the beſt generals which the Englifh then had in their ſervice, operated on the mind of the regent as an additional

* Villaret, tom. xv. p. 110.
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† Hiſt. de Charles VII.
3 B

‡ Villaret.

motive to emulation and resentment. He amassed a prodigious quantity of artillery, and other machines, and invested Lagny in person, at the head of six thousand men; while the town was defended by only eight hundred. The besiegers were repulsed in several attacks; but, after a siege of five months, the place was reduced to the last extremity. At this critical period, a body of French troops, arrived before Lagny, forced one of the enemy's quarters, and escorted a convoy into the town. The French, after this successful expedition, crossed the Marne, and entered the Isle of France; and the duke of Bedford, dreading an attack on the capital, with the disaffection of whose inhabitants he was well acquainted, raised the siege of Lagny, with such precipitation, that he left a part of his baggage, a quantity of ammunition, and all his heavy artillery behind him.

During these transactions, the English had taken Mortargis by surprise; but Graville and Guitry retook the town soon after, and made a fruitless attack on the citadel, which the enemy had time to fortify. The earl of Arundel invested Saint Celerin for the fourth time; and after a siege of three months, he demolished the fortrefs. Louviers was likewise reduced, and La Hire taken prisoner; but being soon after released, he joined Xaintrailles; and having assembled a body of troops, they took possession of Gerbroi, a castle in the Beauvoisis, where the earl of Arundel prepared to invest them. La Hire and Xaintrailles, deeming it imprudent to wait for the enemy in a fortrefs that was not in a proper state of defence, marched out with all their forces, attacked the English just as they were employed in fixing their quarters: a desperate conflict ensued, in which the enemy, notwithstanding the superiority of their numbers, and the courage of their leader, were totally defeated. The earl of Arundel was taken prisoner, and died a few days after, of the wounds he had received in the action. Soon after this, Ambrose de Loire extended his incursions to the very gates of Caen, upon a fair-day, and carried off two thousand persons, with a considerable booty.

Both parties were, by this time, so much exhausted, that neither could find resources to continue the war with spirit and effect. On the fourteenth of November, 1432, Ann of Burgundy, duchess of Bedford, died at Paris. By her death the chief tie which united the dukes of Bedford and Burgundy was dissolved; and the marriage of the former with the daughter of the count of Saint Paul, within two months after her decease, laid the foundation of an open rupture between those noblemen. To prevent a dispute which must have proved highly detrimental to the English interests, the cardinal of Winchester brought them both to consent to an interview at Saint Omer, for the final decision of their differences; but a ridiculous point of etiquette, as to the payment of the first visit, maintained with equal obstinacy by either prince, frustrated the intentions of the cardinal, by preventing their meeting.

Charles was unable to profit by the coolness which subsisted between the Eng-

lish and Burgundian princes. La Tremoille still enjoyed his post of prime minister. Charles no longer esteemed him ; but he bore with him from habit. To the constable, in particular, he was an object of detestation. A conspiracy was accordingly formed against him, of which Charles of Anjou, count of Maine, was the ostensible leader ; but of which the constable, though absent, was the soul. The lord of Bueil, nephew to La Tremoille, undertook to conduct the execution of the plot. While the court was at Chinon, the conspirators, having obtained admission into the castle, by the assistance of Gaucourt, the governor forced an entrance into the apartment of La Tremoille, who, alarmed at the noise, jumped out of bed, and seizing his sword put himself in a posture of defence ; but being disabled by a wound in the belly from a dagger, he was seized, fettered and conveyed to the castle of Montresor. Du Bueil, and Coitivy, two of the conspirators, had the insolence to go to the king, and after telling him what had passed assured him that the only object they had in view was his welfare, and the good of the state. The conspirators were suffered to reap the fruits of their audacity ; the count of Maine was appointed to succeed La Tremoille, and the constable was recalled to court, and placed at the head of the troops.

Meanwhile an insurrection of the peasants in Lower Normandy gave an alarm to the English government ; but the want of a leader soon compelled this undisciplined multitude to disperse. A revolt which took place nearly at the same time, in Upper Normandy, was not so easily quelled. The mareschal of Rochefort, having joined the insurgents with a body of regular troops, took from the English the towns of Dieppe, Fecamp, Montivilliers, Tancarville, L'Islebonne, and Harfleur, with several forts of less importance. The English hastened to check the rapidity of his progress, and, by the destructive incursions of either army, the fertile province of Normandy was laid waste. The author of the Chronicle of France relates, " that in all the *Pays du Caux* not a man nor woman " remained, except the garrisons of the different fortresses."

A. D. 1433, 1434, 1435.] The English, no longer allured by splendid victories, began to murmur at the continuation of the war ; the supplies granted by parliament were scanty, and wholly inadequate to the exigencies which called for them. For this purpose conferences were again holden ; but the demands of the English, and the concessions of the French, still inclining to opposite extremes, no accommodation could be effected. The duke of Burgundy, by this time, was convinced that, by espousing the cause of the English, he had sacrificed his interest to his resentment ; and as the latter subsided the dictates of the former became prevalent. A congress was appointed to assemble the following year, in Arras. The conferences were opened on the twentieth of August, 1435.

The only sacrifice which the French would consent to make to the English, for the purchase of a peace, was the cession of Normandy and Guienne, subject

to feudal homage; in return for which they insisted that the English monarch should relinquish every pretension to the crown of France, and immediately give up every town and fortress which he possessed in that kingdom. The English commissioners, regarding this offer as an insult, immediately left the congress, without specifying the nature of their demands. When they were gone, the duke of Burgundy proceeded to conclude a separate treaty with Charles; the terms of which were finally adjusted on the twenty-first of September. The conditions were such as raised the house of Burgundy to the highest pitch of elevation, though at the same time, they laid the basis of its destruction. Charles formally disavowed the assassination of John, duke of Burgundy, affirming, that the attempt had always displeased him; that, had he been previously acquainted with the intentions of the assassins, he would have prevented the murder, but that he was then very young, and possessed of little penetration*: he engaged to deliver all the assassins up to justice; to found chapels and perpetual masses for the soul of the murdered prince, as well as for those of his attendants, who were killed at the same time; to erect a cross on the spot where the murder was committed; and to pay fifty thousand crowns of gold, as a compensation for the jewels which had been taken from the duke at the time of the assassination. He agreed to cede to Philip and his heirs the counties and cities of Boulogne-sur-Mer, Maçon, and Auxerre, with all their dependencies; the castles, towns, and districts of Bar-sur-Seine, Peronne, Roye, and Mont-Didier, with their appendages; certain territories were mortgaged to Philip, until four hundred thousand crowns should be paid for their redemption. Philip himself was exempted from doing homage for all his territories during the life of Charles, and his vassals from obeying him as their superior lord; the French monarch engaged to succour the duke in case of an attack by the English; and both parties agreed to make no treaty with the enemy but by mutual consent. A general pardon was granted to all persons, except the assassins before mentioned. Each party renounced every alliance to the prejudice of the other. Such were the extravagant terms by which the king of France detached the duke of Burgundy from the interests of his enemies.

When the news of the treaty of Arras was received in England, by a herald sent by the duke of Burgundy for that purpose, who was likewise instructed to apologise for the conduct of his master in departing from the treaty of Troyes, which he had solemnly sworn to maintain, the people expressed the most violent indignation; the Londoners, in particular, were so much incensed against Philip for this breach of faith, that they plundered all his subjects who were then resident in the metropolis, and even put many of them to death. The herald, too, was treated with contempt, and dismissed without an answer.

No one experienced greater disappointment on this occasion than Isabella. At that moment when she first violated the laws of nature, by the proscription and disinheritorship of her son, her punishment began. She had regarded with unnatural horror, the progress of Charles, in recovering his kingdom; and his reconciliation with the duke of Burgundy had such an effect on her mind, that it soon brought her to the grave. She died at Paris—despised by the English, and detested by the French—on the thirtieth of September; ten days after the conclusion of the treaty of Arras. Her body was conveyed to Saint Denis, where it was privately interred, near the tomb of Charles the Sixth.

The death of Isabella had been preceded by that of the duke of Bedford, who expired at Rouen, on the fourteenth of September. This prince, whose death proved an irreparable loss to the English, was endued with extensive talents. As Lewis the eleventh was one day walking in the cathedral at Rouen, where the duke was buried, and looking with attention on the tomb of that prince, one of his courtiers advised him to demolish that monument. “No,” replied the monarch, “Let the ashes of a prince rest in peace; who, were he alive, would make the boldest of us tremble. I could wish a more stately monument had been erected to his memory.” The duke of York was appointed to succeed the duke of Bedford as regent of France.

The insults and violences which the Burgundians experienced from the incensed Londoners, in consequence of the treaty of Arras, were far from displeasing to the duke of Burgundy. They afforded him a specious pretext for the commencement of hostilities. He accordingly made an unsuccessful attempt to surprize Crotoi, and soon after sent a formal defiance to the king of England.

Six hundred Burgundians were now dispatched by Philip, to join the marshal de Lisle-Adam, on whom the king had recently conferred the government of Pontoise. The states of Flanders, granted the duke of Burgundy subsidies for support of the war; but he did not meet with the same docility from those towns which had been ceded to him by the late treaty. On the renewal of the old imposts at Ameins, the inhabitants flew to arms, chose a leader, and repairing in a body to the house of the mayor, told that officer that they were resolved to pay no taxes, and that they were certain the *good king Charles, their Lord*, would not require *them* to pay any more than the other towns which were under his dominion. They then proceeded to pillage several houses, and to imprison the duke's officers, some of whom they executed. A body of troops being sent to repress this sedition, the leaders were executed, order was restored to the town, and the imposts collected without farther opposition.

A. D. 1436. 1437.] Paris was still in possession of the English; but the inhabitants pressed on all sides by the garrisons of the neighbouring forts, alarmed at the prospect of famine, and harassed by the severity of the government, secret-

ly wished for a change that might release them from their situation. To accomplish such a change, however, was a matter of extreme difficulty. Yet, to remove, undismayed by the dangers they had to encounter, six citizens embraced the daring resolution to deliver up the town to the king. They communicated their intentions to Charles, and only required, as the reward of so important a service, a general amnesty. The conditions were joyfully accepted by Charles, who likewise secured to them an extensive confirmation of their privileges.

The 13th of April, 1436, was the day appointed for the execution of this important project. No precaution which could tend to ensure its success had been neglected; the principal inhabitants had been apprized of the scheme, and only waited for the signal to excite the people to rise; while the constable had received orders to approach the town with a body of troops, in order to second their exertions. Richemont accordingly repaired to the gate of Saint James; he obtained admission by a postern, and, the draw-bridge being let down, his cavalry entered the town.

The people had by this time assembled, and made the streets resound with the acclamations of—" *peace, peace! Long live the king and the duke of Burgundy!*"—The English, alarmed at the tumult, flew to arms; and Lord Willoughby, their commander, led them to the district of the *Halles*, where they hoped to be able to defend themselves against the attacks of the enemy; but in every street they met a crowd of inhabitants, all armed, and bearing the white cross of the royalists. After a vain attempt to resist the torrent, Willoughby took shelter in the Bastille. The English capitulated on the following day, and obtained permission to retire into Normandy. Tranquillity was immediately restored to the capital; and the day after the departure of the English, the introduction of supplies produced a fall in the price of corn, from fifty to twenty sols the measure.

Paris was thus restored, after an interval of fifteen years, to the domination of its sovereign. The magistrates resumed the exercise of their functions; while those who had been banished or proscribed, returned, and were reinstated in their rank of citizens. About two months after the reduction of Paris, the marriage of the dauphin Lewis, with the princess Margaret of Scotland, was celebrated.

The duke of York having received his commission of Regent, landed in Normandy with a body of troops, which enabled him to retake some places of little importance that had been lately reduced by the French. While he was employed in the conquest of Normandy, he received intelligence that the duke of Burgundy, with fifty thousand Flemings, had laid siege to Calais. A fleet of five hundred sail was collected in a few weeks, and an army of fifteen thousand men being raised, the command was given to Gloucester, who landed at Calais

on the second of August, 1436; but the duke of Burgundy having met with more opposition from the garrison than he expected, and being afraid to risk an engagement, raised the siege, and made a precipitate retreat, with the loss of his artillery and baggage. Nor were the military expeditions of Philip, in the ensuing campaign, more successful. After quelling an insurrection of the Flemings, in which he was wounded and Lisle-Adam lost his life, he levied a powerful army, and sent his generals to invest Crotoy, while he placed himself at a convenient distance, with a strong body of forces, in order to cover the siege. Talbot, being apprized of the duke's motions, advanced to oppose him with four thousand men; and finding the enemy posted on the banks of Somme, he boldly plunged into the stream at the head of his troops. The Burgundians, intimidated at this daring courage, provided for their safety by a precipitate flight. The siege of Crotoy was immediately raised; and Talbot, having strengthened the garrison, and repaired the fortifications, extended his incursions into the provinces of Artois and Picardy, which he laid waste, and returned to Normandy laden with spoils.

Talbot, on his return to Normandy, found himself compelled to confine his efforts to the reduction of a few towns of little importance. A want of money and of troops, joined to some other causes, reduced the enemy to the necessity of acting on the defensive. The factions that prevailed in the English council caused the removal of the duke of York, though a prince of great spirit and ability, from the regency of France. He was succeeded by Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, who in the month of November landed in Normandy with a reinforcement of a thousand men.

At length, Charles, after an absence of twenty years, made his public entry into Paris; where he was received, with testimonies of loyalty, by every class of people.

A. D. 1437, 1438.] But the flattering prospect which had recently opened itself to Charles, was shortly obscured by a succession of fresh calamities. The troops, which had been dismissed from the different towns and fortresses, ceded to the duke of Burgundy by the treaty of Arras, gave a loose to licentiousness and plunder. Dispersed in separate bands, and headed by experienced captains, they overran the most fertile provinces in the kingdom, pillaged the defenceless inhabitants and spread ruin and devastation around them, wherever they appeared. The peasants justly alarmed at these dreadful incursions, fled from their habitations, and neglected the culture of their lands. From hence and from the incessant rains which fell during the years 1437 and 1438, a most destructive famine arose, succeeded by a pestilence, which swept away vast numbers of the people, particularly in Paris and its environs. Mezeray observes, that the metropolis lost so many of its inhabitants, that the wolves prowled about the streets in

search of prey, and carried off the children in sight of their parents. The king hastened his retreat from this scene of horrors, and his example was followed not only by the court, but by every person who was not compelled by necessity to reside in the metropolis.

A. D. 1439.] At Bourges, Charles received ambassadors from the council of Basil, which had quarrelled with pope Eugenius the Fifth; and in an assembly composed of the princes of the blood and the dignified clergy, he caused the regulations of that council to be examined. These he compiled into a law, to which he gave the appellation of, *THE PRAGMATIC SANCTION*; and which has ever since been considered as the bulwark of the Gallican Church, as it took from the see of Rome the power of nominating to ecclesiastical dignities, and of granting reversions, and pensions, and exemptions within the monarchy of France.

Such little discipline now reigned in the army, such little subordination now prevailed in the state, that the officers who had been appointed by the king to the command of towns and fortresses, began to assert their independence of the power whence they derived their consequence and authority, and to exercise the despotism of tyrants. Flavy, who had displayed so much skill and resolution in the defence of Compiègne, when attacked by the united forces of England and Burgundy, had been deprived of the government of that city by the constable. He found means to be restored to his command; and having conceived some disgust against the mareschal de Rochefort, he caused that nobleman to be seized, and thrown into prison. The count of Richemont, and even the king himself, interposed to procure the mareschal's release, but in vain; Flavy refused to set him at liberty, unless he would consent to pay an exorbitant ransom. While a negotiation was carrying on for this purpose, the mareschal died.

A. D. 1440.] The pope still continuing his exhortations to peace, to which the situation of either kingdom afforded the strongest inducements. Conferences were opened but the proposals of France and England were still so widely different, that all hopes of accommodation vanished. The English plenipotentiaries insisted on the free and independent possession of Normandy and Guienne, with Calais and its district; but the French would only consent to a partial annexation of those territories to the crown of England, and clogged, also, with the usual burden of homage and fealty: the negotiations, therefore, were discontinued*.

The attempts to negotiate a peace had not prevented the continuation of hostilities. At the beginning of July, the count of Richemont invested the city of Meaux, one of the best-fortified places in the kingdom, which Henry the Fifth of England had formerly besieged for seven months before he could reduce it.

* Montrelet, fol. 154.

Fabean, An. 1439.

Stow, p. 377.

It was defended by the bastard of Thian, an officer of approved courage, but, notwithstanding the most vigilant and active exertions, it was taken by assault, after a siege of three weeks, when the constable put the governor to death, with several other Frenchmen who were found among the prisoners. The garrison effected their retreat into the marché, and broke down the bridge of communication, so that Richemont had all his operations to begin anew. He formed complete lines of circumvallation, strengthened with redoubts, to prevent the entrance of supplies; lord Talbot, resolved to succour the besieged, and, attacked one of the redoubts, which he speedily carried, and then entered the place with a convoy: the next day he effected his retreat by similar means, and determined soon to return with a more effectual supply; but, that the garrison were forced to surrender; the success of this enterprize encouraged the constable to undertake the siege of Avranches, which he was speedily compelled to raise, being attacked by Talbot, at the head of those troops which he had destined for the relief of Meaux, who made him retreat with precipitation, leaving his baggage and artillery behind him.

On the conclusion of the treaty of Arras, a marriage had been agreed on between the count of Charolois and Catherine of France, the completion of which had hitherto been deferred on account of the youth of the parties. The king, anxious to confirm as far as possible, the attachment of the house of Burgundy, now complied with the solicitations of the duke, who pressed him to send the princess to his court, although she had but just entered her eleventh year. A new conference was opened for the promotion of peace, under the mediation of the duchess of Burgundy, but it proved equally fruitless with the last.

While the king was employed in the promotion of projects, which had the ease and welfare of his subjects for their object, a conspiracy was forming in his very palace. La Tremoille, who had been so long honoured with the confidence of his master, saw, with indignation, the post he had enjoyed more ably and more worthily filled by the count of Maine. Not daring to shew his jealousy, he planned in secret the means of effecting the ruin of his rival; and the more surely to promote his project, he made no scruple to involve his sovereign in the effects of his vengeance. He engaged in the plot several princes and nobles, who were discontented with the minister. The duke of Bourbon joined the conspirators; as did also the duke of Alençon, the counts of Vendôme and Dunois, and others. Their first attempt was to seduce the dauphin from his duty, by persuading him that his father kept him in a state of subjection, though nobody was more capable than he of correcting the vices which had crept into the government; that the nation, only expected their safety from him, whom they invoked as their guardian genius. Lewis lent a

favourable ear to these insinuations. Some of them carried him off, with his own consent, from the castle of Loches, and conveyed him to Niort. Every thing had been planned and conducted with such secrecy, that the king was not aware of the storm till the very moment it burst. The object of the conspirators was to secure the king's person, and to invest the dauphin with the supreme power, in the hope of governing the kingdom under his name. The king, more enraged than alarmed at the danger which threatened him, instantly sent for the constable, who joined him at Amboise; he then embraced Richemont, and exclaimed—"Since I have my constable with me, I fear nothing."

The confederated princes published a manifesto in the dauphin's name, inviting the French to espouse the cause of the presumptive heir to the throne. In other times, such a publication would have sufficed to produce an almost general insurrection; but the people, who still felt the dreadful effects of the calamities occasioned by the dissensions of the great, had learned, from fatal experience, that these troubles, excited under the specious pretext of the good of the state, only tended to gratify the ambition of individuals. The lesson they had received was too recent to be forgotten. They were at length convinced, that as the power of the monarch chiefly consists in the affection of his subjects, so cannot subjects look for the enjoyment of tranquility, unless they preserve inviolate their attachment to that protecting authority, which strengthens and confirms the social bond. The nobles of Auvergne informed the dauphin, by the lord of Dampierre, that they were ready to serve him against all men, except the king his father.

Charles, meanwhile, having summoned the duke of Alençon to restore the dauphin, advanced as far as Saint Maxient, which that prince had reduced. He had no difficulty in recovering the place; and while he remained there he had the satisfaction to see the count of Dunois return to his duty, with expressions of repentance, and solicitations for pardon. The king then proceeded towards Niort, while the dauphin and the duke of Alençon, retired into the Bourbonnois. Lewis here applied for assistance to the duke of Burgundy; but the duke replied, that though he would willingly receive him at his court, he could not think of enabling him to carry on a war against his father. This refusal threw the princes into consternation, and, finding the king's army daily encrease, they at length resolved to sue for mercy. The dauphin and the duke of Bourbon repaired to Cuffet, accompanied by La Tremoille, Choumont and Prie; but the three last noblemen were ordered by Charles, to retire under pain of imprisonment. The dauphin, enraged, protested he would proceed no farther, but as he was already enclosed by the royal army, it was too late to retreat. As he approached his father, he bent

on his knee, and entreated forgiveness for himself and Bourbon. "Lewis"—said the king—"you are welcome: you have been long absent. Go and rest yourself to-day, and to-morrow we will talk to you." The king having refused to pardon La Tremoille, Chaumont and Prie, the dauphin asked him whether he must return, for he had promised so to do, in case he should be unable to procure a pardon for his friends. Charles, enraged at the question, replied—"Lewis, the gates are open, and if they are not wide enough for you, I will order five or six toises of the wall to be pulled down, in order to facilitate your escape. You are my son, and can incur no obligation without my consent; but if it be your pleasure to leave me, go—for by the Grace of God, I shall be able to find others of our blood, who will afford us better assistance in maintaining our honour and power, than you have done hitherto." The dauphin pressed the matter no farther. The duke of Bourbon obtained his pardon. Charles extended his forgiveness to the rest of the rebels: he also restored the government and revenues of Dauphiné to his son. This dangerous war terminated in six months.

While Charles was reducing his son to obedience, the English had two armies in motion, one of which laid waste Picardy; while the other, conducted by Somersset and Talbot, laid siege to Harfleur. As these noblemen had not sufficient troops to take the town by storm, they determined to reduce it by blockade; they entrenched themselves very strongly, and blocked up the harbour by a powerful fleet. An army, commanded by Dunois, came to the relief of the place; but, having made an unsuccessful, though vigorous attack, on the English entrenchments, they were obliged to abandon the enterprize, and the garrison soon after capitulated. The reduction of Harfleur was followed by the loss of Montivilliers.

The negotiations for the release of the duke of Orleans from captivity, which had been long depending, were at last brought to a conclusion. That prince having offered to pay the sum of one hundred thousand nobles for his liberty, the question was debated by the council of England, when the sentiments of the duke of Gloucester, and the cardinal of Winchester, were entirely opposite. The former strongly contended, that the dying request of the fifth Henry—that none of the French prisoners should be released until his son should have attained a sufficient age to assume the reins of government himself—should be strictly adhered to: the cardinal replied, that the sum offered was of such magnitude as, in the present state of affairs, ought not to be rejected. He farther observed, that the duke's presence in France might give strength and effect to those factions which prevailed against Charles, and might consequently prove advantageous to the English interest. These arguments were successful, and the duke of Orleans, after a tedious captivity of twenty-five years, was

permitted to return to his native country. One of the conditions of his release was that he should engage to exert his utmost influence in effecting a general peace; and if he succeeded in his efforts for that purpose, that part of his ransom which he had paid before his departure was to be restored, and the remainder remitted*.

Meanwhile the nobility flocked from every part of the kingdom to render their services to the duke of Orleans, who was universally esteemed for his affability, courage, and generosity. Knights of the first distinction deemed it an honour to have their children admitted into his service, in the capacity of pages. It was generally believed that immediately on his arrival at the court of Charles the reins of government would be entrusted to his hands; the prince himself was impressed with the same opinion. He had four-and-twenty archers for his ordinary guard; and his retinue consisted of three hundred horse, exclusive of a great number of gentlemen who followed him at their own expence. On his return to France, he was careful not to enter upon the territories of the count of Ligny, who had always peremptorily refused to sign the treaty of Arras, and whose conduct, in that respect, had at length, so much irritated Charles, that he had given orders to his generals to attack him; when the count died, and left his nephew, the young count of Saint-Paul, sole heir to his extensive dominions. The duke of Orleans pursued his journey to Paris, and in all the towns through which he passed, received the strongest marks of affection from the inhabitants. Charles had, at first, expressed an earnest desire to see this prince; but being apprized of his intimate connection with the dukes of Burgundy, Brittany and Alençon, as well as of the numerous retinue by which he was accompanied, the calamities which the kingdom had already sustained by the ambition of the great recurred most forcibly to his mind, and induced him to send word to the duke that he should be happy to receive him at court, provided he would come attended only by his household. The duke, piqued at an order which he construed into an affront, took the road to Orleans, and immediately retired to his own domains.

The king, having assembled a body of troops, entered Champagne, and reduced several fortresses which were in possession of the Companies. After passing some time at Troyes, he repaired to Bar-upon-Aube, whither the Bastard of Bourbon, who now headed the Companies, went to meet him with offers of submission; but was immediately seized, tried, and condemned. He was tied in a sack and thrown into the river, whence his body was taken by his family, and honourably interred. This exertion of severity operated as a salutary check to the destructive incursions of the leaders of those desperate banditti who infested the kingdom.

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. x. p. 776, 786.

The earl of Warwick having died, the duke of York was restored by the English council to the regency of France; but the party of Charles daily acquired fresh strength, and the military operations of that monarch were generally attended with success. At the urgent solicitations of the dukes of Burgundy, he was induced to consent to a renewal of the negotiations for peace; but after the plenipotentiaries had assembled at Saint Omer, he hastily broke off the conferences, on the frivolous pretext that the English commissioners were not of equal rank with the French. The conclusion of the year 1440 was distinguished by the reduction of several of the nobility who still refused to acknowledge the authority of the lawful sovereign. The chief of these was the young count of Saint Paul.

The dukes of Burgundy paid a visit to Charles during his stay at Laon, in order to prefer certain demands, in the name of her husband, and to complain of the conduct of the court to the duke of Orleans. The king however, was not more disposed to give her satisfaction in these particulars, than on some other articles which concerned her own private interest; the dukes observed at her departure—"My lord, of all the requests I have preferred, you have not granted one, though, in my opinion, they were all founded in reason."

A. D. 1441.] Charles, at the head of his troops, opened the campaign in the month of April, by the siege of Creil, a town on the river Oyse, which in twelve days he obliged to capitulate. His next attempt was on Pontoise which he invested about the middle of May, with twelve thousand men. This siege was conducted with the greatest vigour, as Charles was extremely anxious to obtain possession of a place so important both from its strength, and situation. The defence, was conducted with intrepidity; and all the precautions of the besiegers proved inadequate to resist Talbot, who forced their entrenchments, and entered the town with a considerable convoy. The garrison, deriving fresh spirits from this seasonable supply, repelled every attack of the French, who continued the siege till the middle of August; when the duke of York having collected an army of eight thousand men, marched from Rouen towards Pontoise. When he approached the place, he sent a herald to Charles, challenging him to battle; but his proposal being submitted to the discussion of the council, it was unanimously resolved to reject it. The two armies were separated by the river Oyse; and, as the bridge was guarded by a detachment of a thousand men, Charles set the English at defiance, and continued the siege without dread of molestation. His security, proved fallacious; for the duke of York having found means to transport six hundred men, in boats made of leather, during the night, to the opposite side, they attacked the guard on the bridge, and having put them all to the sword, opened a passage for the remainder of the army. Charles was thrown into consternation by this unexpected assault, hastily raised the siege,

and took shelter under the cannon of Poissy. Thither he was followed by the duke of York, who once more challenged him to battle; but finding Charles determined to avoid an engagement, he pillaged the abbey and the town of Poissy,* and having recruited the garrison of Pontoise, returned to Normandy.

The precipitate retreat of the army from an inferior force gave rise to great murmurs at Paris; and the popular discontents, in that factious and turbulent city, became so loud and prevalent, that the king deemed it necessary to recover his lost reputation by some signal effort. With this view he returned to Pontoise, wholly unexpected by the English; re-commenced the siege; and conducted it with so much vigour, that a practicable breach was soon effected, which Charles was the first to mount. His conduct on this occasion, inspired his troops with such courage that their efforts proved irresistible; the place was taken, five hundred of the garrison were put to the sword, and the remainder secured. All the prisoners were conducted to Paris, and after being exhibited, *chained by their necks two and two*, to the derision of the populace, such as had not wherewithal to pay their ransom, had their hands and feet tied, and were thrown into the Seine.

The duke of Orleans was extremely mortified at the disappointment of his hopes which led him to aspire to a principal share in the government. The king and his ministers seemed totally to have forgotten him, though their neglect, insulting as it was, gave him no grounds for shewing his resentment. He had an interview with the duke of Burgundy at Hesdin, where the two princes passed some days together, and laid the plan of a confederacy, which was put in force the following year. Immediately after this interview, the duke of Burgundy began to raise troops, but in order to lull the suspicions of Charles, he issued strict orders to his men to commit no depredations on the territories of France.

A. D. 1442.] When every thing was prepared, an assembly of the malcontents was appointed to be held at Nevers. In a circumstance thus delicate, when there was every reason to apprehend a general defection, the king conducted himself with a degree of prudence and moderation, that ought to have rendered the confederate princes ashamed of their conduct. He contented himself with sending them a remonstrance, in which he observed, that they ought not to have formed the project of calling an assembly, in his absence, much less without his consent; that his design, after an intended expedition into Guienne, was to have assembled the states, in the city of Bourges, in order to consult them on the general affairs of the kingdom. He complained of the conduct of

* Monstrelet, fol. 185.

the duke of Brittany in joining the confederates, at a time when the situation of the state called for the unanimous exertion of all its members, in order to resist the common enemy. After these reproaches, conveyed in mild and moderate language, he consented that the discontented princes and nobles should assemble at Nevers; and even offered to send a safe-conduct to the duke of Burgundy for that purpose.

The assembly accordingly met, and dispatched deputies to the king, with remonstrances on the points with regard to which they required satisfaction. The principal demands they preferred were these—The conclusion of a peace with England, and the correction of numerous vices which had crept into the administration; an equal distribution of justice; an abridgment of the tedious formalities of the law; the choice of magistrates; an augmentation of the number of state councillors; a repression of the licentiousness of the soldiery, and a proper regulation for ensuring their pay; and, lastly, a diminution of imposts for the relief of the people. These demands, indeed, appeared to have no other object than the tranquillity of the state, the public welfare, and the happiness of the nation: but the true motive of their conduct was sufficiently explained by the exhibition of their personal injuries. They all complained that the king allowed them no share in the government. The duke of Alençon claimed the restitution of Niort and Sufanne, and the payment of his pension; the duke of Bourbon, and the counts of Vendôme and Nevers, preferred the same demands with regard to their pensions; while the duke of Burgundy complained, that certain articles of the treaty of Arras—which, however, he did not specify—had not been fulfilled.

The king, having duly examined the representations contained in the memorial, reminded the princes, that he had consulted all or most of them, on every matter of importance to the welfare of the state; that in the choice of state-councillors he had never been influenced by party-spirit; that he had been reduced to the necessity of taking possession of the town and castle of Niort, formerly commanded by the duke of Alençon; that with regard to restoring the duke to his command, and to renewing his pension, those were points that could only be decided by his future conduct; that the duke of Bourbon had refused to receive his pension; that the count of Vendôme had retired from office on his own accord, and that when he chose to conduct himself in a manner consistent with the duty he owed his sovereign, he would act by him accordingly; that he was willing to pay the pension of the count of Nevers, and to satisfy him with regard to some other complaints of less importance. Charles concluded his answer with an assurance that it had ever been his intention to observe the peace of Arras; that if any one had presumed to break it, that was without his knowledge, and he publickly disavowed him; that he himself had several complaints to prefer on the non-

observance of that treaty, but that he wished to spare the duke of Burgundy all such disagreeable recrimination.

Had the confederated princes been actuated by patriotic motives, the king's reply must have induced them to return to their duty. Charles, convinced that he had given them every satisfaction they could require, was surprised to hear, from his confidential ministers, that they were endeavouring to encrease the number of their partizans, by seducing the clergy, nobility and people of the distant provinces. The conduct of the duke of Burgundy, in particular, astonished the king; and he was frequently heard to declare that, could he be assured any serious attempt on his authority was intended, he would suspend every other expedition to march against the rebels. His prudence suggested to him a means of averting the storm, without having recourse to violent measures, by seeking to gain over some of the chief malcontents. He invited Orleans to court, and assigned him a pension of four thousand livres: the duke, in return for the favourable reception he had experienced, detached the duke of Burgundy from the league: and the example of that prince was followed by the count of Nevers, and the duke of Brittany, who had only engaged in the confederacy at the instigation of the duke of Orleans. The dukes of Bourbon and Alençon, and the count of Vendôme, being unable to sustain a war by themselves, were compelled to submit, and throw themselves on the mercy of their sovereign.

A. D. 1443.] Charles now marched, at the head of sixteen thousand men at arms, to the relief of Tartas, a strong town situated on the river Douze, near its junction with the Adour, which being invested by the English, had engaged to surrender if, by the twenty-third of June, an army sufficiently strong to raise the siege did not appear before its walls. As the English made no attempt to dispute the possession of the place, it was surrendered to the king, who immediately restored it to the lord of Albert, to whom it belonged. The army then proceeded to invest Saint Sever on the Adour, which was taken by assault, after a siege of three weeks, and the garrison were put to the sword. Acques, Marmande and Reole experienced a similar fate. The former, was soon retaken by the enemy. But these trifling successes were more than counterbalanced by the loss of La Hire, one of the most skilful and intrepid warriors of France, who died towards the end of the present campaign.

The English invested Dieppe, which was ably defended by the governor, assisted by Dunois, who had thrown himself into the place with a thousand men. As the season was far advanced, Talbot, lately created the earl of Shrewsbury, who commanded the English, despairing of success without a stronger force, left a part of his troops to guard the works he had constructed, and repaired to Rouen to wait for a reinforcement which was daily expected to arrive from England. During his absence, the dauphin arrived with sixteen hundred men at

arms, and made two desperate attacks on the English works, in the first he was repulsed, but the second proved successful; five hundred of the enemy were killed, and the rest taken prisoners. The dauphin then entered Dieppe in triumph, and rewarded the garrison and inhabitants for their valour and fidelity.

About this time died John the Fifth, duke of Brittany, on whom his subjects had bestowed, by unanimous consent, the appellation of "*the good Duke*." Some time before his death he had projected a marriage between his eldest son Francis, who succeeded him in the duchy, and Isabella of Scotland, sister to the dauphiness. Having questioned his ambassadors, on their return from Scotland, on the perfections of his intended daughter-in-law, they assured him, that, "she was handsome enough, that her body was straight and well-formed for bearing children, but that she appeared to them to be rather simple."—The duke replied—"My dear friends, I beg you'll return to Scotland and conduct her hither: her qualifications are just such as I could wish them. Those great subtilties in a wife are more hurtful than serviceable. I'll have no other; by Saint Nicholas, I think a wife wise enough when she can distinguish her own shift from her husband's doublet."

A. D. 1444.] Both France and England were, by this time, so completely exhausted that a speedy termination of the war appeared inevitable. The duke of York had already concluded a truce with the duchess of Burgundy, in the name of the duke, her husband, for an intermediate time*; and the English council, convinced of their inability to pursue the war with vigour, resolved to propose terms of accommodation to Charles, and William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, was sent to Tours for that purpose. To adjust the terms of a lasting peace, however, was found to be impossible; a truce, therefore, was concluded between the two monarchs, and their allies, to commence on the twenty-eighth of May, 1444, and to last till the first of April, 1446†; but the period of its duration was afterwards prolonged to six years. Had Suffolk's commission extended no farther than to the restoration of tranquillity, the English nation would have been highly indebted to his efforts; but he was charged, either by a private article of his instructions, or (which is more probable) by the secret commands of the cardinal of Winchester, to procure for young Henry a consort, who, being indebted to him for her elevation, might prove a formidable acquisition to his party. The person, fixed on for this purpose was, Margaret of Anjou, daughter of René, count of Anjou, and titular king of Sicily. This princess was one of the most accomplished women of the age: with a person eminently beautiful, she possessed a masculine vigour of mind, a daring spirit of enterprize, and an understanding at once solid and acute;

* Rym. Foed. tom. xi. p. 24, 26.

† Idem ibid. p. 58, 67.

in short, she was peculiarly calculated to acquire a despotic ascendancy over the feeble mind of Henry, and to supply his imbecillity and defects. When Suffolk made his proposals to her, they were immediately accepted, and the treaty of marriage was accordingly signed; but though the princess brought no dowry, he ventured, without any direct authority from the council, to engage, by a secret article, that the province of Maine should be ceded to her uncle, Charles of Anjou, count of Maine, prime minister of the king of France. The articles of the marriage being adjusted, Suffolk returned to England to procure its ratification. The treaty of marriage was ratified by the king and council of England. Suffolk was sent, with a splendid train of peers and peeresses, to conduct the new queen, who was then only in her seventeenth year, to England, where she landed in April, 1445.

While the English and French plenipotentiaries were engaged at Tours in settling the conditions of the truce, and in attempts to establish a durable peace, a circumstance occurred which had nearly occasioned a renewal of the war between the king of France and the duke of Burgundy. A body of French troops made a sudden irruption into the territories of Philip, where they committed great devastations. The lord of Beaumont, marshal of Burgundy, having assembled the nobility of the province, marched against the invaders, whom he attacked and defeated. The dauphin was informed of the chastisement which the troops had received, which he was absurd enough to consider as an affront offered to himself, and swore that he would revenge the insult. The duke of Burgundy, despising his threats, sent him word, that should he venture to carry hostilities into his dominions, he would find him prepared to receive him. This difference might have been attended with fatal effects, had not mutual friends sufficed to calm the resentment of either prince.

The truce with England gave to France the first interval of repose which she had enjoyed for a long series of years. The people hastened to profit by the restoration of tranquillity; the operations of commerce and agriculture were renewed; and the nation endeavoured by exertions of industry to repair the calamities of war. But still the intercourse between the different provinces was interrupted by the numerous bands of armed plunderers whom the armistice had deprived of their usual occupation. An opportunity soon occurred, for ridding the kingdom of these formidable enemies. Frederic the Third, the Emperor, and his cousin Sigismund, archduke of Austria, had lighted up the flames of civil war in Switzerland, in the hope of conquering that country; and they now applied to the king of France to assist them with his troops in the accomplishment of their projected enterprize. The archduke was affianced to Radegonda, daughter to Charles, though the marriage never took place, as the princess died before she had attained to years of maturity. This intended alliance, however, was eagerly

seized by the French monarch as a plausible pretext for granting the required assistance, by which means he would have an opportunity of delivering the provinces from a turbulent banditti. The dauphin was appointed to command the expedition; and his army consisted of fourteen thousand French, and eight thousand English*; it is probable that the latter embarked in the expedition for the same purpose as Charles.

The Swiss were engaged in the siege of Zurich, which had not yet joined the confederacy, when the dauphin Lewis marched against them. After that prince had formed a junction with the troops of the emperor and the archduke, the Swiss sent a detachment of twelve hundred men, from their army which was encamped before Zurich, to attack him. In the plain of *Bottelen*, between Basil and Montbeliard, a most desperate action was fought between these sons of freedom and the combined forces of France and Germany. The dauphin's cavalry were repulsed by the Swiss, who, crossing a rapid stream, posted themselves in the garden of a lazaretto, and there continued to fight till almost every man of them was slain; the few that escaped were, on their return, massacred by their countrymen. The French, English, and Imperialists lost six thousand men on this memorable day. The names of the twelve hundred patriots who thus sacrificed their lives to the liberties of their country are still preserved in the public registers of Switzerland. Lewis, convinced that another such victory would prove fatal to his army, accepted the offers of peace proposed by the Swiss under the mediation of the council of Basil and the duke of Savoy. It was accordingly settled that France should observe a strict neutrality between the confederated Cantons and the princes of the house of Austria. The emperor, enraged at this defection of his allies, endeavoured to harass them as much as he could, for which purpose he ordered the inhabitants to refuse them lodgings, and took care to deprive them of food and forage. Thus distressed they were compelled to ravage the country, and were in consequence attacked by the peasants, who massacred great numbers of them. The dauphin returned to France with the small remains of his army, from an expedition in which he had acquired neither honour nor advantage.

Charles determined to profit by the interval of tranquillity which the prolongation of the truce with England secured to the kingdom, to rescue his subjects from the inconveniences to which they were incessantly exposed by the licentious conduct of the troops. With this view he assembled the princes of the blood, the nobility and the principal officers of the army, whom he engaged, by an appeal to their interest, to second his efforts for the accomplishment of this salutary plan. Some attempts had already been made, by way of experiment, to support a body

* Villaret, tom. xv. p. 369.

of troops, that were paid by the towns and villages in which they were stationed. This had succeeded, and the people aware of the advantages to be reaped from a regular establishment, cheerfully consented to pay an annual impost for the pay and support of the army; in return for which the king gave up the profits which his predecessors had been accustomed to derive from a debasement of the coin. This impost was also rendered less onerous to the subject by the abolition of a variety of oppressive taxes, to which he had before been liable.

The king having settled this important point announced the execution of his project. All the troops were reviewed, when the most courageous, and best-equipped, were selected to complete the number that was meant to be retained. The rest were immediately dismissed, and received positive orders from the king to return to their respective homes, without committing any disorders on the road. By the same declaration, they were forbidden, under pain of being treated as enemies to their country, and disturbers of the public repose, to take up arms and assemble together, without an express command from the sovereign. To enforce the execution of his ordonnance, the constable's lieutenants, the marshals, and other officers, had received orders to line the public roads with their archers. These wise precautions were so rigidly observed, that not the smallest tumult occurred. Many of the disbanded troops returned to their families and became useful members of society; while others, unwilling to renounce a life of plunder, and alarmed at the severity of the new regulations, abandoned their country.—From this moment, France enjoyed a degree of tranquillity to which it had been a stranger for more than a century.

The troops whom Charles determined to keep were divided into fifteen companies of one hundred lances each. Each lance, or man at arms, was attended by three archers, a *coutillier*, or esquire, and a page, all mounted, so that the companies formed a body of nine thousand men. The officers were all experienced captains, in the choice of whom merit and not birth was consulted. A great number of gentlemen, and even men of inferior rank, whose fortune enabled them to follow the profession of arms, joined this body of horse, as volunteers, in the hope of being appointed to fill the vacant places. These supernumeraries increased to such a degree, that, in a short time, some of the companies could bring twelve hundred horse into the field. Besides their captains and other officers, the king appointed inspectors and commissaries to review them, and to keep them in order. In time of peace, and while in winter-quarters, they were all subject to the jurisdiction of the place where they were stationed. They were restrained, by the severest penalties, from the commission of violence and disorder; and were forbidden to exact any thing whatever from the persons in whose houses they were quartered. This strict ob-

servance of discipline soon dispelled the terror which the soldiery had long been accustomed to inspire. The people began to consider them as their defenders, and to esteem them accordingly; and petitions were presented to the king from all parts of his dominions, to request the *favour* of providing them with quarters. They were paid where they were stationed, so that the produce of the tax, imposed for their support, was generally spent in the province in which it had been raised. As there were still many younger sons of the nobility who could not be admitted into the new companies of men at arms, and whose indigence prevented them from serving as supernumeraries, the king retained a certain number of them, and assigned them a stipend of twenty crowns per month. The king, at the same time, formed a body of four thousand archers, whose number he proposed to augment whenever the service of the state should require it.

Thus did Charles effect the establishment of a standing army, maintained by a regular and perpetual impost; an establishment that gave to the French monarchs a degree of superiority over their great vassals, which nothing could in future, counterbalance. The princes and nobility were not aware of the consequences of a regulation which founded the greatness of the monarchy on the ruin of their own. This revolution in the army produced a revolution in the state. The most powerful landholders could no longer oppose, with any prospect of success, a sovereign who was constantly armed. The division of interests which prevailed among these opulent subjects precluded the possibility of a regular and solid union, on which alone their preservation depended. By engaging, separately, in such an unequal contest, they sunk beneath the weight of the supreme power, which acquired additional strength from their fall; and the king recovered that universal empire, which had been torn from the posterity of Charlemagne.

A. D. 1445, 1446, 1447, 1448.] Charles having thus introduced order into his finances and discipline among his troops, now laboured to recal the advantages of commerce, and to revive the languid spirit of industry. On the marriage of Henry of England to Margaret of Anjou, the province of Maine had been promised to Charles of Anjou, the queen's uncle. The court of London had studiously delayed the restoration of that county, for the cession whereof no plausible reason could be offered, but Charles instantly ordered the Count of Dunnois, at the head of a powerful army, to enter the province and expel the English: Mans, after a gallant resistance, was compelled to capitulate; and, with its dependencies, was for ever alienated from the crown of England.

But while the epithet of *Victorious* was annexed to the name of Charles; while his fortune and his conduct excited envy and secured admiration, he experienced all the pangs of filial ingratitude. The dauphin had appeared anxious to repair

his first error by prudence and circumspection. The king had restored him to his confidence, and had entrusted him with important commissions. But these marks of kindness had no effect upon the inflexible temper of Lewis. The martial achievements of this prince had greatly increased his presumption; and an impatience to display those superior talents with which he fancied himself endowed, induced him to form an unnatural wish to accelerate the arrival of that period when the reins of government would be delivered into his own hands. To facilitate the accomplishment of his design, he had seduced several of the cross-bowmen and archers belonging to the king's guard. Fortunately he attempted to corrupt the fidelity of Anthony de Chabannes, count of Dammartin, who revealed the plot to his father. Charles instantly sent for his son, and reproached him with his criminal intent. Lewis, without betraying any sign of confusion, denied the fact, and treated Chabannes as an impostor: That nobleman replied, that he knew what respect was due to the son of his sovereign, but that he was ready to maintain by arms the truth of his assertion against any of the dauphin's household. The monarch was but too well convinced of his son's infamy; several of the Scotch guards, who had entered into the plot, the object of which was the seizure of the king's person, and, possibly, his assassination, were executed, and their leader, Cuningham, would have experienced a similar fate, but for the intercession of the Scottish monarch. Lewis finding his perfidy discovered, retired into Dauphiné, a few days after the queen had given birth to a prince (in 1446), to whom the king assigned the duchy of Berry as an appanage.

While Charles was employed in restoring his kingdom to its former splendour, the dissensions which prevailed in the councils of England, afforded him a fair prospect of effecting the total expulsion of his enemies from France. The queen's faction, headed by the cardinal of Winchester and the marquis of Suffolk, had sacrificed to their ambition and revenge the duke of Gloucester, whose death was highly resented by the people. This deed, joined to some other acts of injustice, excited a spirit of discontent throughout the nation, and paved the way for those tumults and disorders which marked the reign of the Sixth Henry.

The king of France had resolved to profit by this combination of favourable occurrences; and, having made every necessary preparation for pursuing the war with vigour and effect, he only waited for a favourable opportunity to renew hostilities; and such a one speedily occurred. Sir Francis Surienne, after he had been compelled to evacuate the county of Maine, had retired, at the head of his troops which amounted to two thousand five hundred men, into Normandy, under the natural expectation of being received and protected by Edmund, duke of Somerset, who had recently replaced the duke of York in the government of that province. Somerset, however, being scarcely able to find pay and sub-

sistence for the forces already there, refused them admittance; upon which they repaired to Brittany, seized the small town of Fougères on the river Couesnon; repaired the fortifications of Pontorson and St. Jacques de Beuvron, and subsisted by committing depredations on the whole province. The duke of Brittany, justly enraged at the infraction of a truce, in which as an ally of France, he had been included, made instant application for redress to the duke of Somerset; who replied, that the violence was committed without his knowledge, and having no authority over Surienne, and his followers, he could not possibly be answerable for the consequences. This reply proving unsatisfactory to the duke of Brittany, that prince appealed to the king of France as his liege lord, who, in the most peremptory terms, insisted that Somerset should recal the plunderers, and make reparation to the duke of Brittany for all the damages which he had sustained; and, that an accomodation might be absolutely impracticable, he estimated those damages at sixteen hundred thousand crowns.

A. D. 1449, 1450.] Four powerful bodies of troops were now destined for the invasion of Normandy: One commanded by Charles in person; a second by the duke of Brittany; a third by the duke of Alençon; and a fourth by the count of Dunois. As the governor of Normandy had been obliged to dismiss the greater part of his forces from want of money to pay them, and to suffer the fortifications of the towns and castles to become ruinous for the same reason, the French experienced but little resistance. A multitude of places were speedily reduced; while Somerset remained at Rouen unable to oppose the progress of the enemy. The garrison of that city consisted but of two thousand men; and Charles, having reduced the greatest part of Normandy in less than four months, advanced, at the beginning of October, to attack the capital, with a numerous and well-disciplined army. The inhabitants, averse from the English government, called on Somerset to surrender; and, after a feeble resistance, he was obliged to consent to a capitulation, by which he not only delivered up Rouen to the French, but engaged to put them in possession of Arques, Caudebec, Tancarville, Moustier-Villiers, Lisle bonne, and Honfleur, on condition that he should be suffered to go with the garrison wherever he pleased, leaving Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, and several other noblemen as hostages, till the terms of capitulation should be fulfilled. The governor of Honfleur refused to obey the orders of Somerset, and sustained a siege, but was obliged to surrender on the eighteenth of February, 1450: Harfleur, too, made an obstinate defence, but, at length, experienced a similar fate.

The king during these operations had established his quarters at the abbey of Jumieges, five leagues distant from Honfleur, where Agnes Sorrel had recently arrived, in order to give him intelligence of a conspiracy which had been formed against his life*. Charles treated the report as fabulous, and while he was en-

* Annales de France. Alain Chartier. Nouvelles Observations sur l'Histoire de France.

deavouring to dispel the fears of his mistress, she was taken in labour, and after giving birth to a child which lived six months, some dangerous symptoms appeared, and she expired in the abbey*.

While Charles was engaged in the reduction of Upper Normandy, the constable and his nephew, the duke of Brittany, were equally successful at the other extremity of the province. Surienne not only surrendered the town of Fougères, but engaged in the service of France. The duke of Brittany granted an exemption from all subsidies, for twenty years, to the inhabitants of this town, important from its situation, its commerce, and manufactures of cloth.

At the commencement of the next campaign, three thousand English were landed at Cherbourg, under the conduct of sir Thomas Kyriel, who reduced the town of Valognes, after a siege of three weeks. He then crossed to Cotentin, with the view to join the duke of Somerset, who had taken refuge at Caen; but being overtaken by the count of Clermont, at the village of Fourmigny, between Carentan and Bayeux, an action ensued. The English were at first victorious, but the French being reinforced by the arrival of the constable with three hundred men at arms, and eight hundred archers, the tide of success was turned in their favour, and the enemy sustained a total defeat. If the French historians may be credited, the English, (whose army had been greatly increased by detachments from different garrisons) lost four thousand seven hundred and seventy-four men in the action, besides fourteen hundred prisoners, among whom was their general Kyriel†;—of their own loss they say nothing.

The victory of Fourmigny was followed by the siege of Vire, which surrendered in a few days. The army then separated; the count of Clermont invested Bayeux, while the constable, in conjunction with the duke of Brittany, formed the siege of Avranches, which, in three weeks, was reduced to the necessity of capitulating. Tombelaine, a fortress that was deemed impregnable, surrendered on the approach of the French; and Bayeux, after a vigorous resistance, was likewise compelled to submit. Bricquebec, Valognes, and Saint Sauveur-le-Vicomte experienced a similar fate. The garrisons of these different towns had retired to Cherbourg and Caen; this last place was defended by the duke of Somerset with four thousand men; but being invested by the king in person with all the troops in his dominions, he capitulated on the first of July. A part of the army was then detached to reduce the towns of Falaise and Domfront, which made but little resistance; while the constable laid siege to Cherbourg. This important place was taken on the twelfth of August; and thus did Charles, in little more than a twelvemonth, wrest from the English the important province of Normandy, which had cost them so much time, and such an effusion of blood to acquire.

The success which Charles had experienced in Normandy induced him to attempt the reduction of Guienne. Several detachments were accordingly sent

* Villaret, tom. xv. p. 474.

† Idem. p. 483.—Mezeray, tom. vi. p. 375.

towards that province at the end of the campaign, and the strong town of Bergerac situated on the river Dordogne, was reduced in a few days. The count D'Orval, with some other leaders, made incursions into the Bordelois, at the head of five hundred men at arms, and laid waste Le Medoc. The mayor of Bourdeaux with a body of troops, to the amount of nearly ten thousand, attacked these ravagers, who, notwithstanding the inferiority of their numbers, obtained a complete victory. The English nation left eighteen hundred men on the field, besides twelve hundred prisoners*.

The winter was employed in making preparations for the ensuing campaign, but although the revival of industry had restored plenty to the kingdom, and the taxes had been punctually paid by the provinces, the king, on examination, found his coffers empty. This alarming discovery occasioned a strict investigation into the conduct of the ministers of finance, and Xaincoins, a Florentine, receiver-general of the finances, being applied to the torture, confessed enormous depredations, in consequence whereof he was sentenced to die, together with his clerk, James Chartier; but the king pardoned them both on condition that they should pay him the sum of sixty thousand crowns of gold. Another financier, named James Cœur, a man of immense wealth, was likewise seized and tried by commissioners appointed by the king for that purpose. Whether this man was really guilty of the crimes imputed to him by his enemies, it is impossible to ascertain; but certain his trial was conducted with the most shameful partiality, and his judges were predetermined to convict him. He was sentenced to die, but the king changed his punishment into perpetual banishment; after exacting a fine of four hundred thousand crowns, and confiscating all his property.

The dauphin, about this time, gave his father fresh subject for uneasiness, by contracting a marriage with the princess Charlotte, daughter to Lewis, duke of Savoy. The king, who highly disapproved of the connection, strictly enjoined him to enter into no engagement till peace should be concluded, when he intended to marry him to a princess of England. Lewis regardless of these injunctions, concluded the treaty with the duke of Savoy, who agreed to give his daughter a portion of two hundred thousand crowns, the marriage ceremony was accordingly performed at Chambery; but as the bride was yet too young to consummate the marriage, it was settled that she should remain at the court of Savoy till she should attain to years of maturity.

A. D. 1451.] The campaign was opened in Guienne, by the siege of Mont-Guyon, a strong fortress on the confines of the Perigord, which was speedily reduced: the town of Blaye was next taken by assault; several other places experienced a similar fate, and Bourdeaux itself soon surrendered to the count of Dunois. Bayonne, the only town which now remained in possession of the English, was besieged in the beginning of August, by the count of Foix;

* Villaret, tom. 16. p. 9.

ill provided with ammunition and provisions was reduced to the necessity of capitulating, on the twenty-fifth of the same month. The governor, and the garrison remained prisoners of war; and a contribution of forty thousand crowns was levied on the inhabitants. Thus was the important province of Guienne, which had ever been governed by independent princes, even under the first race of kings, at length annexed to the crown of France. Hitherto the French monarchs had only enjoyed over Guienne a right of sovereignty which had been often disputed; except Lewis the Seventh, who acquired a temporary property in it, in right of his wife Eleonora, which he lost on the dissolution of his marriage with that princess. By the conquest of Guienne, Charles found himself possessed of greater power than any of his predecessors since Hugh Capet. The city of Calais was all that the English now possessed in the kingdom; and amidst all their civil feuds and public dissensions, they never lost sight of the defence of that place, of the importance whereof experience had convinced them.

A. D. 1452.] The nobility of Guienne, being strongly attached to the English, were highly discontented at the change of government; and they deputed two of their body to London to urge the king of England to undertake the recovery of the province; which they represented as a matter easy of accomplishment. Indeed the conjuncture was favourable, for Charles had left only a small body of troops in Guienne under the command of the count of Clermont, governor of the province, in the hopes of conciliating the affection of the inhabitants by such a mark of confidence.

The English ministry eagerly embraced the opportunity, and the venerable Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, now in his eightieth year, set sail for the continent with a body of four thousand troops. He landed on the coast of Medoc, and all the towns and fortresses in that province opened their gates at his approach. The inhabitants of Bourdeaux were no sooner apprized of the arrival of the English, than they invited Talbot to repair thither. That nobleman accordingly entered the city in triumph, and made the seneschal of Guienne, and the French garrison prisoners of war. The king was at the castle of Lusignan when he received the intelligence of this unexpected invasion. Most of his troops being dispersed, he issued orders to assemble them with all possible expedition; and, in the mean time, he dispatched the marshals of Loheac and Jalognes, with several other noblemen, at the head of six hundred lances, to reinforce the count of Clermont, and enable him to sustain the first efforts of the enemy. Talbot had already completed the reduction of the Bordelois, and advancing into the Perigord, laid siege to Castillon, a strong place on the river Dordogne, the garrison whereof he compelled to surrender. He next reduced Fronzac, and pursuing his advantage with vigour, he recovered the whole province of Guienne in still less time than the king had taken to subdue it in the preceding campaign.

As soon as Charles had assembled his army, he advanced to the frontiers of the Perigord, where Chabannes invested Chalais, which he carried by assault,

after a siege of six days: a part of the garrison was put to the sword; and eighty men, who had retired to a tower, where they were compelled to surrender at discretion, were beheaded, *as rebels and traiters who had violated their oaths*. During these transactions, the dauphin, who had raised a body of troops, the year before, in order to attack his father, sent to offer his services to Charles. The king replied, that he had already undertaken and achieved the conquest of Normandy and Guienne without him, and that he did not want his assistance to enable him to recover this last province. The dauphin ascribed the severity of this answer to the count of Dunois, and, in revenge, he confiscated the lordship of Valbonnais, which belonged to that nobleman.*

The royal army, strengthened by the Breton troops, under the command of the count of Etampes, formed the siege of Castillon, on the 13th of July. Talbot was pressed by the inhabitants of the neighbouring country to march to the relief of the place; and as he had lately received a reinforcement of four thousand men, under the command of his son lord Lisle, he complied—though reluctantly—with their solicitations. He arrived before Castillon at the head of one thousand men at arms, having left orders with his son to follow him with the rest of the troops. The defeat of a body of archers, who defended an advanced post, was considered by the English as a favourable omen: Talbot pursued the fugitives to the French camp, but his astonishment was inexpressible when he found it had been strongly fortified, and was guarded by formidable batteries on every side, Talbot attacked one of the strongest works, which was defended by a chosen band of French nobility. During two hours the conflict was maintained with equal obstinacy on both sides. At length the English, overpowered by superior numbers, gave way; and though thrice rallied by their leader, they were unable to maintain the ground; victory still seemed doubtful, when the courage of the French was revived by a strong body of Breton cavalry, who attacked the English in the rear. Pressed on all sides, they performed prodigies of valour. Talbot wounded in the face, covered with blood, rode—for his great age would no longer permit him to fight on foot—from rank to rank, exhorting his men to do their duty, but his horse being killed by a cannon ball, he was thrown on the ground; and was so far exhausted with fatigue and loss of blood, as to be unable to rise. As he lay gasping for breath, his son hastened to his relief; at the sight of him Talbot recovered his senses—and requested him to retire and preserve his life for the good of his country. Lord Lisle, heedless of his father's advice, rushed into the thickest of the enemy, and met death. Talbot still breathed when a French archer slew him, in order to strip him. The death of the general decided the victory; the English fled, leaving three thousand men on the field of battle; and as many more were killed in the pursuit.

* Histoire de Louis XI. par M. Duclos—Nouvelles Observations sur l'Histoire de France.

Castillon surrendered the next day; and the garrison, to the number of fifteen hundred, were made prisoners of war.

The reduction of Castillon was followed by that of Saint-Melyon and Libourne; and before the conclusion of the campaign, Charles retook every town and fortrefs in Guienne. A heavy contribution was levied on the inhabitants of Bourdeaux, who were also deprived of their privileges. In order to avert the danger of a second revolt, a strong garrison was placed in that city, under the command of the count of Clermont, lieutenant-general of the province.

A. D. 1453, 1454, 1455.] Soon after the recovery of Guienne, the king hastened to adopt such measures as were dictated by sound policy, as well for the preservation of internal tranquillity, as for securing his kingdom from foreign attacks, by the conclusion of advantageous alliances. The valour displayed by the Swifs in defence of their liberties made him consider that gallant people as an useful ally; he, therefore, concluded a treaty with them, for the establishment of a free commercial interest between the two nations, by which France engaged never more to afford, directly or indirectly, any assistance whatever to the enemies of the Helvetic league; and the Swifs promised, on their part, never to allow a passage through their dominions to any troops that were destined for an invasion of France*. That was the first alliance which the Swifs, considered as a nation, contracted with any foreign power. The ancient treaties between France and Castile were renewed at the same time.

Since the dauphin's retreat from court, the king had never ceased to exhort him to return; but neither threats, sollicitations, nor prayers could overcome the invincible obstinacy of Lewis, who always replied, that he would willingly obey his father, provided he did not order him to reside near his person; he even insinuated that if any farther restraint was attempted to be imposed on his inclinations he would quit the kingdom. Charles, afraid of being compelled to have recourse to vigorous measures, at length consented that he should remain in Dauphiné.

Lewis, unmolested by his father, directed the natural inquietude and turbulence of his mind towards other objects. He declared war against his father-in-law, the duke of Savoy, and, after taking several fortresses, was preparing to extend his conquests, when the duke of Burgundy, and the Swifs of the Canton of Berne, compelled him to accept their mediation. In order to support his troops, Lewis had burdened the people with taxes the most oppressive. He had established an impost of two livres upon every hearth throughout his domains. The clergy, nobility and commons united in their opposition to a tax which they deemed a violation of those privileges they had enjoyed under their ancient sovereigns, and which were expressly secured to them by the deed, by which Humbert, the last dauphin of Viennois, had transferred his dominions to the crown of France. Lewis, having rejected the remonstrances of the three

* Recueil des Traites—Hist. des Cantons Suisses.

orders, they applied to the king, who promised to do them justice. Charles accordingly placed himself at the head of his troops, and began his march towards Dauphiné. Lewis, destitute of friends, and unable to oppose the torrent, had recourse to submission; he assured his father that he would return to court, but insisted on the dismissal of such persons as had incurred his displeasure. The king replied, that he did not wish to compel him to return to court, nor yet to remain in Dauphiné; but that he would not sacrifice to his imaginary fears so many great captains and faithful subjects to whom the monarchy was indebted for the re-establishment of its power.

These negotiations suspended, for a time, those decisive measures which the king had resolved to adopt; but finding, from their inutility, that it would be impossible to overcome the invincible obstinacy of his son, he at length declared that he took Dauphiné into his own hands, and he accordingly conferred the government of that province on the lord of Châtillon. The dauphin now renewed his offers of submission, but still clogged with the conditions abovementioned, which induced the king to observe for the last time, that he had left the court of his own accord, that he might return when he pleased, and that he would always be at liberty to retire, whenever he should think proper. "*My enemies*"—said Charles to the dauphin's envoys—"trust to my word, and yet my son refuses to believe me, in which it appears to me that he does me little honour." Notwithstanding the proofs which Lewis had given of the badness of his heart, the king was still willing to impute his disobedience to the pernicious advice of his confidants; against whom he threatened to exert the utmost rigour of the law.

A. D. 1456.] Pope Calixtus sent the cardinal of Avignon to promote a reconciliation between Charles and the dauphin, but while he was exerting his utmost efforts for that purpose, the king received intelligence, from Anthony de Chabannes, count of Dammartin, that his son was levying an army in the environs of Valence; that he had ordered all his subjects above eighteen years of age to take up arms, and had issued an injunction to the inhabitants to carry their effects into the fortified places. Lescun, bastard of Armagnac, was destined to command the dauphin's troops, which consisted of seven regular companies, of a hundred lances each. But notwithstanding these formidable preparations, Lewis placed little reliance on the extent of his resources; he knew that the people were disaffected to his government, and though he had, at first, flattered himself that the king would be afraid to drive him to extremities, he no sooner learnt that the count of Dammartin had received orders to take possession of Dauphiné, and even to seize his person, than he resolved to avoid, by a timely flight the indignation of his father. The duke of Burgundy was the only prince sufficiently powerful to afford him protection under such circumstances; to him therefore he applied, and eluding the vigilance of the count of Dammartin, who had already seized most of his towns, and secured most of the passes, he repaired to the palace of the prince of Orange at Vers. From thence he sent to apprise the lord of

Beaumont, marechal of Burgundy, of his arrival; and that nobleman immediately joined him with an escort, and conducted him to Bruxelles, where he was received with great pomp and magnificence. The duke of Burgundy settled a pension of six thousand livres a month on the dauphin for the support of his household; and the fugitive prince established his residence at Geneppe, a small town in Brabant, a few leagues from Bruxelles.

Lewis, on leaving Dauphiné, had addressed a circular letter to the clergy of France, in which he recommended himself to their prayers *. At the same time, he wrote to the king to inform him that he had repaired to the Burgundian court in order to accompany the duke on a crusade against the Turks, and to fill the post of Generalissimo of the troops of the church, which the pope had conferred on him the year before. The duke of Burgundy, too, at the prince's request, sent ambassadors to the king, who gave them an audience at Saint-Symphorien. After assuring the monarch of the rectitude of their master's intentions, who, they said, had duly given the prince a retreat in his dominions, with a view to prevent him from seeking an asylum in England, they besought him to receive his son into favour, who offered to make amends for the uneasiness he had given his father, and even to beg pardon on his knees before any person whom his majesty might choose to appoint to receive that mark of his repentance: they then presented a memorial, in which the dauphin entreated his father to suspend the seizure of Dauphiné, to permit him to wage war against the Turks, and to supply him with money and troops for that purpose. The Burgundian ministers added, that, if the king consented to this expedition, the duke proposed to accompany the prince, and to serve under him.

Charles told the envoys, that the duke and the other princes of the realm ought only to receive the dauphin, so long as he should behave to his father like a good and obedient son, since from the king alone did he derive the honour that was due to him.

Whatever appearance of confidence the king might assume, his son's retreat gave him very serious uneasiness, which he in vain endeavoured to conceal. The duke of Burgundy already was but too formidable from the extent of his own territories, without having the presumptive heir to the crown in his power; a circumstance of which, it was apprehended, he might seek to take advantage. All the garisons of the towns on the borders of Burgundy and of the Low Countries were immediately reinforced; while the duke, on his side, hastened to assemble his troops. But as the fear was equal on both sides, no hostilities took place in consequence of these preparations.

While the king was employed in fruitless attempts to make the dauphin return to his duty, and in endeavouring to counteract the dangerous effects of his disobedience, a conspiracy was formed in the heart of his dominions, which, had it

* Histoire de Louis XI. par M. Duclos, L. i.

succeeded, must have overturned that throne, the re-establishment whereof had cost him thirty years of fatigue, perils, and combats, and must have replunged the kingdom into that deplorable state, in which he had found it at the commencement of his reign. The author of this plot was the duke of Alençon, and its object the delivery of his country into the hands of the English*. This prince, since the war of the Praguerie, of which he was one of the principal authors, had seldom appeared at court, where his intimacy with the dauphin had rendered his conduct suspected; that disgrace which his own imprudence had incurred he ascribed to the count of Maine, who, from the degree of favour he enjoyed with the king, had become an object of jealousy and hatred to the duke. He had been anxious to re-purchase the town and castle of Fougères, which had been sold, greatly under its value, to the duke of Brittany; and he complained that the French council had refused to second his efforts for the recovery of an estate which he had only been compelled to part with in order to regain the liberty he had lost in fighting for the nation. This complaint appears to be well-founded, though it certainly could afford no justification of the duke's criminal conduct.

The conspiracy was discovered by the infidelity of the duke's chaplain, Thomas Gillet, a native of Domfront. On receiving the intelligence Charles exclaimed, in an agony of grief; "On whom can I now rely, since even the princes of my blood conspire against me?" His horror, however, soon gave way to indignation; when he ordered the count of Dunois; Brezé, grand seneschal of Normandy; Bourfier, general of the finances; Cousinot, bailiff of Rouen; and Oudet d'Aide, baliff of Constantin, to secure the culprit, who was then at Paris. The duke was apprehended, and conveyed to Chantelle in the Bourbonnois.

Three judges were appointed to examine the duke in prison; but he refused to answer them, under pretence that, as a prince of the blood and a peer of France, he was not bound to submit to any other jurisdiction than the court of peers. Since the trial of the king of Navarre, no criminal suit for Lèse-majesty had been instituted against a peer; and the number of years which had elapsed since that period, the violent convulsions by which the kingdom had been agitated, the kind of annihilation which every order of the state had experienced during that long prevalence of anarchy, had made people lose sight of most of the ancient laws and customs. Neither Charles, his ministers, nor his council, knew what forms were necessary to be observed in the trial of a peer; and they were compelled to apply to parliament for the necessary information on the subject.

When this preliminary business was settled, and every preparation made, the king issued letters patent for holding a bed of justice at Montargis on the first of June following; and all the peers and princes of the blood;*tenant en Pairie*, were, according to ancient custom, summoned to attend. But this citation of the peers

* Registres du Parlement. Tres des Chart. M. S. de Brienne. Du Tillet. Interrog. M. S. du Proces D'Alençon.

had nearly converted the coolness which subsisted between the courts of France and Burgundy into an open rupture. The duke of Burgundy was highly discontented with Charles for having espoused, with too much warmth, the interest of the count of Saint-Paul, who, according to the Continuator of Monstrelet, aspired to the dignity of constable of France; and that nobleman was careful to widen the breach between the two princes. A late incident too had served to evince the disposition of the duke in a manner not to be mistaken: the king having sent to inform him that he had taken under his own protection the possessions of the Damoiseau of Rodemac, situated in the duchy of Luxembourg; the duke replied, "Let the king take care what he is about: I wish to know whether "it be his intention to observe the peace of Arras, which I am resolved never "to violate; tell him, I desire to be informed of his intentions without delay."

The haughtiness of this reply did not prevent the king from citing the duke to appear at Montargis, on the fifteenth of June, with the other peers of France; and the duke told the ambassadors who carried the citation, that although the king of France had, by the treaty of Arras, forfeited all right to command him, he would nevertheless repair to the appointed place. After he had dismissed the envoys, he sent *his king at arms* to Charles to explain his intentions. The contemporary writers are silent as to the nature of this mysterious commission; but Philip, at the same time, issued orders to all his subjects to take up arms, and hold themselves in readiness to accompany him to Montargis, whither he was determined to repair with all his forces. The king, on his side, made adequate preparations.

Troops were now assembling in all quarters, and a single spark would have sufficed to promote a general conflagration. Charles, however, could not contemplate without horror the prospect of those calamities in which the kingdom was about to be plunged; and he wisely determined to spare the blood of his subjects, by overlooking the insult he had sustained from the duke of Burgundy. He therefore sent word to that prince, that having received information of his intention to repair to Montargis, accompanied by too numerous a retinue, his attendance would be dispensed with, and he was only requested to send three or four ministers of his council to assist at the trial of the duke of Alençon. A report was at the same time circulated, that the army which had been assembled by the king's orders, was destined to oppose a projected invasion of the English. The duke of Burgundy satisfied with the king's moderation, dismissed his troops, and appointed the lords of Crôÿ and Lallaing, with John L'Orsevre, president of Luxembourg, to attend the trial.

As an epidemic distemper had appeared at Montargis the king was induced to transfer the bed of justice from that town to Vendôme. The duke of Alençon had, hitherto, persisted in denying the crimes that were laid to his charge: but at length, urged by remorse, and convinced of the sufficiency of the proofs.

adduced to establish those crimes, he confessed, that, on the reduction of Bourdeaux by the earl of Shrewsbury, he had lent a favourable ear to the proposals of that nobleman, for a marriage between his daughter and the earl of Marche, eldest son to the duke of York; and had promised openly to declare against the king, as soon as circumstances would permit; that, some time after this engagement, an English herald went to him at La Fleche, when he desired him to press the duke of York to hasten his invasion of Normandy; and to represent to the duke that that was the only time for attacking France to advantage; expressing his astonishment that the English could be *such cowards* * as to defer their invasion after the offers he had made them: He observed that the king was then at a distance, the troops were employed in Guienne, Armagnac, and on the frontiers of Dauphiné; while the people were discontented and eagerly wished for a revolution; that if the English would land with an adequate force, he would deliver all his towns into their hands, and supply them with sufficient artillery for an army of ten thousand men; that the duke of York ought to bring the king of England to France; that Normandy was wholly unprovided with troops, and must be nearly reduced before any forces could be sent to its relief. He then advised, that, immediately after the descent of the English, the soldiery should be prohibited, under pain of death, from pillaging the inhabitants; that all grants made by Henry the Fourth and Henry the Fifth should be revoked; that a general amnesty should be published in favour of all who had since espoused the interest of Charles; and that all imposts, of whatever denomination, should be suppressed, on condition of their renewal three or four years after the conquest. He farther observed, that, while the English attacked France on the side of Normandy, with an army of thirty thousand men at least, the duke of Buckingham ought to land another body of troops at Calais, so that the king might be surrounded in the heart of his dominions: He remarked, that the English need be under no apprehension with regard to the duke of Burgundy, "*who was no soldier, but a harmless being, who only desired peace and concord:*" that they might depend upon it, that the dauphin himself would declare in their favour, and would assist them by the cession of his places and the aid of his artillery.

As the reward of his perfidy, the duke of Alençon required one of the three duchies of Bedford, Gloucester, or Clarence; all the estates of the count of Maine; an annual pension of twenty-four thousand crowns; and a net sum of fifty thousand, one half of which should be paid in advance. Most of these circumstances were discovered, by means of the agents and domestics of the duke, who were confined in the Bastile, where they were examined by commissioners appointed by the king for that purpose; and they were all confirmed by a variety of evidence, as well as by the letters and confession of the

* Interrog. du Proces d'Alençon; quoted by Villaret. tom. 16.

duke of Alençon himself. It is highly probable, however, that the conspiracy was carried on, on the part of the English, solely by the duke of York's party, since no traces of it are to be found in Rymer, nor in any other of our English authors.

As soon as the court, at which the king presided, had assembled at Vendôme, the duke of Alençon was brought before them; when John L'Orfevre, president of Luxembourg, one of the duke of Burgundy's agents, made a long and eloquent speech, in his master's name, beseeching the king to extend his mercy to the culprit, who had rendered the most essential services to the state, and whose father and grandfather had perished in the fatal fields of Azincourt and Crecy, where they had signalized their courage in defence of their country. In the following session, the duke of Orleans spoke to the same effect in the name of the princes of the blood; and he was followed by Juvenal des Ursins, archbishop of Rheims, in the name of the ecclesiastical peers. The king, without discovering his real intentions, replied, by the mouth of the bishop of Coutances, that his conduct should be influenced by the advice of the princes of the blood, and the members of the council, and that it should be such as would content every body. To avert his indignation, however, the most powerful solicitations were employed. The dukes of Alençon repaired to Brittany, and prevailed on the count of Richemont to exert his influence with Charles in favour of a prince, for whom he had ever evinced the sincerest attachment. The constable accordingly hastened to Vendôme, where he had several conferences with the king on the subject.

At length, on the tenth of October, sentence was pronounced by the chancellor, William Juvenal des Ursins; by which the duke of Alençon was declared guilty of leze-majesty; and, in consequence thereof, he was degraded from the honour and dignity of a peer of France; his property was confiscated; and he was condemned to die by the hands of the executioner. The king, however, remitted that part of his sentence which affected his life, and consigned him to perpetual imprisonment, in the citadel of Loches, where he remained until the end of the present reign. The duchy of Alençon was annexed to the crown, but all the other possessions of the duke were restored to his wife and children, in consideration of the services which his ancestors had rendered the state.

A. D. 1457.] The conspiracy and imprisonment of the duke of Alençon produced no commotions in the kingdom, and the princes of the blood, though interested in balancing a power which threatened to keep them in awe, confined their efforts to supplications in behalf of the culprit †. Neither this affair, nor the uneasiness which the king experienced on account of his son's conduct, prevented him from ordering preparations to be made, at the beginning of this year, for a descent on the English coast. Brezé, seneschal of Normandy, was appointed to command this expedition, with a body of four thousand men. He accordingly embarked at Honfleur, but he was forced by contrary winds into the

‡ Histoire de Bretagne, tom. xviii

† Chron. de France—Continuation de Monstrelet.

port of Nantes, whence he sailed for England, and arrived off Sandwich, in Kent, on the twenty-eight of August. The seneschal landed his troops without opposition, but was obliged to sustain a long and bloody conflict before he could obtain possession of the town of Sandwich, which he plundered, and then immediately re-embarked his men, not daring to remain on shore so much as one night*. About the same time, a body of Bretons landed in Cornwall, plundered a few villages, and re-embarked with equal precipitation†.

Arthur, count of Richemont and constable of France, succeeded to the duchy of Brittany, on the death of his nephew, which happened on the twenty-second of September, 1457; on this occasion he was urged by the nobility of Brittany to resign a charge which they deemed incompatible with his present dignity; but the constable rejected their solicitations, and observed, "that he was determined to do honour, in his old age, to a post, which had done him honour in his youth." He died, however, soon after his accession to the duchy, and was succeeded by the count of Etampes and Vertus, who assumed the appellation of Francis the Second.

A. D. 1458, 1459, 1460.] In the month of July, 1458, the dauphiness, having attained to years of maturity, was conducted to Namur, where she was received by her husband, and the marriage was consummated. The duke of Burgundy immediately settled on her a pension of thirty-six thousand livres.

Charles was greatly incensed at the encouragement given by the duke of Burgundy to the dauphin; but he had the most powerful inducements to preserve that tranquillity which had proved so highly beneficial to the state. The last years, indeed, of this monarch's reign, though they present none of those striking objects which so strongly mark the greater part of his life, exhibit a sight far more interesting to humanity—A happy people finally united under the beneficent authority of their lawful sovereign. Thus, after a long storm, the eye, tired with contemplating the dreadful shock of warring elements, venting their fury on the rocks and mountains, reposes, with exquisite delight, on the less varied prospect of an uniform and tranquil plain. The tranquillity which France now enjoyed, was the happy offspring of her sovereign's moderation, justice, and paternal benevolence. In the exercise of those peaceful virtues, Charles proved himself worthy of the respect, of mankind.

At a public feast which the duke of Burgundy gave on a new promotion of knights of the order of the Golden Fleece, the representative of the duke of Alençon was admitted ‡; and although that prince had been found guilty of high treason, he was, nevertheless, declared by this assembly to be a *nobleman of honour and exempt from reproach*: nay, farther, his eulogy was pronounced, and the orator did not fail to exclaim against the injustice of the sentence which had been passed on him; it was scarcely possible to attack the king in a more

* Monstrelet, tom. iii. fol. 71.

† Hall, fol. 88.

‡ Continuation de Monstrelet.

indecent and more insulting manner. The duke of Burgundy ought to have recollected, that during the trial, which he had been summoned to attend as first peer of France; he had himself acknowledged the notoriety of those crimes of which the duke of Alençon had been guilty; and that he had confined his efforts to entreaties for pardon; and that even the ambassadors whom he sent to Vendôme had publickly made the same acknowledgments when they implored the king's clemency.

But while the duke of Burgundy was thus studious to mortify the king, he was not himself exempt from alarm. As he had spies at the court of France who gave him information of every thing that passed there, he could not be ignorant that Charles was incessantly solicited, by different members of his council, to invade the Low Countries; and the alliances which that monarch had recently contracted with Denmark, the emperor, the elector of Saxony, the Swiss and the Liegeois, made him apprehensive that a confederacy was formed to dispossess him of his dominions. Unable to bear the state of uncertainty in which these apprehensions involved him, he determined to obtain from Charles a positive explanation of his intentions. With this view, he dispatched ambassadors to the French court, the ostensible object of whose mission was, to complain of several pretended infractions of subsisting treaties, but who were secretly charged to sound the disposition of the king, and to get intelligence of his real designs.”*

Charles resolved to grant the Burgundian envoys a public audience, in order that no one might doubt the sincerity of his intentions, and the rectitude of his conduct. The ambassadors, after complaining that the duke had been accused of several instances of disobedience (which, by the bye, their observations were ill calculated to justify) reminded the king of the treaty of Arras, and the sacrifice which their master had, on that occasion, made of his resentment for the assassination of his father. They intimated, that the reduction of Paris, Normandy and Guienne was principally owing to his assistance: they advanced, that after the king had contracted alliances with the enemies of their master, they had farther received intelligence that he was actually engaged in negotiating a truce with England, in order that he might be free to invade the Low Countries: that this conduct was the consequence of a project which had been long conceived, and which formed one of the secret articles of the marriage of Margaret of Anjou with the king of England, by which that prince had engaged to restore all the places which he possessed in France, on condition, that he should be assisted in achieving the conquest of Holland and Zealand. These reproaches were wholly unfounded: since the peace of Arras more than twenty treaties had been concluded between the English and the duke of Burgundy, who had just renewed the truce with them; while the king carried his scruples so far as even to refuse to enter into a negotiation with them. The Burgundian ministers added that the duke's subjects had daily reason to complain of the partiality of the judges of the parliament of

* Continuation de Monstrelet.

Paris, in every cause which they brought before them; that prompt justice was never rendered them except when they were destined to be condemned; that the most insulting language was employed by the French in speaking of the duke of Burgundy; and that the government took no pains to repress the spirit of licentiousness, so destructive of that respect which was due to a sovereign power, a prince of the blood, and the first peer of France—characters which were united in the person of their master:—that the duke could not suppose the king was offended with him for having afforded an asylum to the presumptive heir to the crown; since he had taken care to apprise his majesty of the dauphin's arrival in his dominions, and had not then been desired to refuse to receive a prince who was destined by providence to become, one day, his sovereign.

To these representations, the king replied with equal moderation and dignity. He justly observed that the treaty of Arras had, at least, been as advantageous to the duke of Burgundy as to himself: that the conditions of that treaty sufficiently attested that the sacrifice of his resentment for the death of his father had not been *gratuitous*: that though the marshal de L'Isle Adam had contributed to the reduction of Paris, yet the honour of that achievement was principally due to the courts of Richemont and Dunois: that the duke's subjects, who, since that period, had served in the king's armies, were also vassals of the crown: that the duke of Burgundy had observed a strict neutrality during the reduction of Normandy and Guienne: that the alliances which he (the king) had contracted with the neighbouring powers, were in no wise prejudicial to the duke, nor did they infringe, in the smallest degree, on the peace of Arras, which he had ever observed with religious scrupulosity: that the project of enabling the English to reduce Holland was an absurd supposition to which the duke himself gave no credit; but that the truce which the duke had just concluded without the knowledge of France was of a different description: that the accusations of disobedience preferred against the duke were proved to be valid by juridical acts: that if the king had not prescribed to the duke of Burgundy the exact line of conduct which he ought to pursue with regard to the dauphin, he thought he had sufficiently explained himself on that subject by sending him word that he could not pay too much honour to the prince so long as he should observe that respect and obedience which were due from a son to a father. The dukes of Orleans and Brittany, with the count of Maine and the other princes of the blood, were present while the king delivered this answer to the ambassadors, who desired a farther explanation of his sentiments; Charles, therefore, told them, before their departure, that he would send one of the members of his council to the duke to give him all the satisfaction he could require.

A. D. 1461.] Had the king only listened to the dictates of resentment, he might easily have revenged himself of the duke of Burgundy for the uneasiness he had caused him in affording protection to the dauphin. The court of Philip was not more exempt from domestic dissensions than that of Charles. The count of Charolois, discontented with his father and enraged more than ever with the house

of Croi, who possessed all his confidence and favour, had formed a design of retiring into France ; and he commissioned the count of Saint-Paul to make the proposal to the king. He, at the same time, applied for the command of the troops, which France intended to send to England to the assistance of Margaret of Anjou. He was told that with regard to the armament, no decisive resolution had been adopted ; but that if he chose to come to France, he would be received with all the respect that was due to his rank and birth. Several messages passed on the subject ; but as the king found it was the count's intention to sacrifice the objects of his resentment before he left his father's dominions, he broke off the negociation with this generous remark :—" *For two kingdoms such as mine I would not consent to so villainous an action.*"

The king had been indisposed for some time, and though at an age when the generality of men still retain their faculties, both mental and bodily, unimpaired, he daily experienced a diminution of his strength. That rapid succession of events which continued from the commencement to the conclusion of his reign, had scarcely permitted him to enjoy an instant of repose. Incessantly obliged to struggle with adversity, equally harassed by the persecutions of his enemies and by those of his own family ; continually thwarted in his designs, often reduced to extremities the most cruel and distressing * ; only surmounting one obstacle to encounter another ; and compelled to fight for almost every inch of territory he acquired—Such were the toilsome occupations to which Charles was destined. This complication of dangers and fatigues, joined to the weighty cares of government—an immense burden of themselves to a monarch jealous of his duties had weakened the springs of life ; and an immoderate indulgence in amorous gratifications, to which Charles, particularly in his latter years, had recourse, as an antidote to the painful anxiety which preyed on his mind, on account of his son's misconduct, greatly accelerated the period of his dissolution.

About Midsummer he was seized with a complaint in his face which was supposed to proceed from the tooth-ach ; but a tooth having been extracted, a fever ensued, and his physicians began to be apprehensive of danger. The king's illness produced a general consternation among the ministers and courtiers, most of whom being objects of hatred to the dauphin, dreaded the effects of his anger and revenge. Meanwhile a council was assembled, at which it was resolved to write to the dauphin without delay, in order to inform him of his father's situation, and to know his pleasure. This letter, signed by the counts of Main and Foix ; the chancellor des Ursins ; the lords of Dunois, Laval, Albert, Chabannes, Elitoutville, du Chastel, and five of the principal ministers, is dated the seventeenth of July. That same day all the members of the council adopted a proposal made by the count of Maine, to exert their utmost efforts, should the king recover, to promote a reconciliation between him and his son. This engagement they confirmed

* His treasurer, at the commencement of the siege of Orleans, had no more than four crowns in his possession—*Poets Justif: de Jeanne d'arc*, 228. Bib. R.

by an oath ; they renewed it on the eighteenth, as appears from a letter written by the count of Foix to Lewis the Eleventh*.

Amidst the tumult which prevailed on the prospect of a change in the government, a report was raised—but on what foundation is not known—that a design was formed against the king's life ; and it has since been added, that the dauphin himself was the author of it. But an imputation of this nature requires the strongest confirmation to ensure belief ; whereas, all the contemporary writers are silent on the subject. An officer of the king's household—whose name has not been preserved in history—thought it his duty to inform Charles of the danger which threatened him. The agitation into which the unhappy monarch was thrown by the dreadful intelligence, is more easily conceived than expressed ; after rescuing his country from the oppression of her hereditary foes, after promoting, to the utmost of his power, the welfare and happiness of his subjects, to see himself reduced to the deplorable state of a tyrant trembling with the apprehension of meeting the fate he merited, was too much for his fortitude to support. He sunk beneath the weight of his affliction ; and, seeing nothing that could endear him to life, in the dismal prospect which now presented itself to his view, he resolved to die. In vain did his ministers and the members of his council employ the most strenuous solicitations to dissuade him from adhering to this fatal resolution ; he was deaf to their remonstrances, and obstinately persisted in refusing whatever was offered him. It is not probable that his conduct, in this respect, was influenced by the dread of poison ; since, by the rejection of all kind of food, he exposed himself to certain death. To admit such an idea, we must suppose him to have been absolutely deprived of his senses, and that this was not the case is evidently proved by the manner in which he died. At length, the physicians, seconded by the ministers of religion, prevailed on him to take some nourishment ; but his stomach was now too weak to bear it. Conscious that his last hour was approaching, he fixed his thoughts on a future state ; and, after settling his worldly affairs, and discharging the duties of a christian, he died at Meun-sur-Yevre, on the twenty-second of July, (1461) in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and the thirty-ninth of his reign †.

Charles was equally generous and brave ; amidst the tumult of war his heart was ever open to the dictates of humanity ; moderate and just, his arms were only employed in defence of his country, and in recovering the patrimony of his ancestors. But his martial achievements alone would be inadequate to justify that degree of respect and admiration, in which his memory is still holden by the French. The wisdom and mildness of his government form a fairer theme for

* Villaret, tom. xvi. p. 301.

† The circumstance of the king's refusal to take food for some days previous to his death, has been doubted by the author of "Observations on the History of France," and by Monsieur Duclos, the modern historian of the reign of Lewis the Eleventh. Its truth, however, is asserted by two contemporary writers—the Continuator of Monstrelet, and the author of the Chronicle of Saint-Dennis. To which of these most credit is due, we pretend not to decide ; we shall only observe, that the *improbability* of a fact is, of itself, insufficient to counterbalance the positive assertion of persons, who may *misperceive* but who cannot be *mistaken*.

exultation, and a nobler subject of applause. To the laws he has not only restored their ancient vigour, but gave fresh force. The many salutary edicts that were published, and regulations that were adopted, during his reign, sufficiently attest the truth of this observation. In his selection of magistrates—an object of the highest importance to the community—he displayed the most vigilant attention to the interests and happiness of the people; in investigating the qualifications of the rival candidates, he always made birth give place to genius, and talents to integrity. Sincerely pious, but exempt from bigotry, he strenuously defended the rights and liberties of the Gallican church, even from the invasions of the holy see. At the commencement of his reign an excessive facility of disposition exposed him to all the dangers which generally result from an implicit confidence in *favourites*; and betrayed him into the commission of numerous errors; but convinced by experience he corrected his conduct, while the native excellence of his mind secured him from falling into the opposite extreme: He still remained courteous, affable, merciful and mild. The chief defect in the character of this monarch was a violent propensity to amorous enjoyments, which in the early part of his life, rendered him indolent and effeminate; and even to the last period of his existence, betrayed him into constant violations of conjugal duty.

Whenever Charles travelled from one part of his dominions to another, he took several persons in his retinue to make clothes, which he distributed to the poor. His mode of living was suitable to his dignity, though his annual expences never exceeded one hundred thousand livres; and such prudence was displayed in the economy of his household, that he had saved at his death, two hundred and fifty thousand livres, which he destined to pay a part of the four hundred thousand crowns, for which the towns situated on the river Somme had been pledged to the duke of Burgundy by the treaty of Arras. He was a most rigid observer of his word: “*Sa parole*”—says a contemporary writer*—“*etait parole de roi, et tenue pour loi*”; in short, he displayed such justice and moderation, and was so anxious to restrain the disorders of the soldiery, that his subjects may be said to have enjoyed, even amidst the tumult of war, all the blessings of peace.

The instant Charles had resigned his breath, the count of Maine dispatched three couriers, successively, to the dauphin, to inform him of his father's death, and to receive his orders †. Meanwhile the ministers and nobility who were then at Meun appeared lost in consternation; whether from a cowardly apprehension of exciting the displeasure of his successor, or from a criminal neglect which nothing could justify nor even palliate, no preparations were made for the interment of the deceased monarch. Tanneui du Chatel—nephew to the nobleman of that name, who had saved the dauphin from the Burgundian faction at the reduction of Paris—was the only person who had the virtue and resolution to fulfil a duty that was deemed dangerous: By his orders, and at his expence, the body of Charles was first conveyed on the (sixth of August) to the cathedral at

* Chron. de St. Denis.

† Continuation de Monstrelet.—Chron. de St. Denis.

Paris, where the funeral obsequies were performed, and then deposited in the royal vault at Saint Denis: Immediately after the ceremony, the count of Du-nois, who was present, exclaimed, "*We have lost our master, let every man provide for his own safety.*"—An exclamation which only served to encrease their regret for the past, and their apprehensions of the future. The money which Du Chatel expended on this occasion was not repaid him by Lewis till ten years after the present period *.

The troubles, by which France had been convulsed, for the long space of eighty years, had thrown every part of the kingdom into the most dreadful confusion: and the annihilation of the sovereign authority appeared to be an almost necessary consequence of those civil commotions which raged with such unexampled violence. But they, fortunately, produced a contrary effect; from this dreadful state of anarchy, a new order arose in the state, a system quite different from the ancient government, and highly advantageous to the extension of monarchical influence. By the adoption of a system of policy, unknown to their predecessors, that of sowing dissention among their enemies, the French monarchs succeeded in their attempts to curtail the most dangerous prerogatives of the nobility, and by the destruction of the Aristocratic power, confirmed and strengthened the royal authority. They opened the eyes of the people to their true interests, which had been so long sacrificed to those of the nobility. The nation, torn by intestine commotion, sought for a support, which they could only find in a sovereign, always armed, and consequently in a condition to afford them protection: they accustomed themselves to consider the king as the *centre* of the state, as *the only point of union* to which every member of the community ought to tend. Experience of the past must necessarily have given strength and effect to an opinion which was found to be favourable to public tranquillity. Already had most of the great vassals of the crown begun to lose that tyrannical empire which they had ever been accustomed to exert over their inferiors, whom they rendered the slaves, and victims of their passions. It is true, indeed, that the encouragement of appeals from the courts of the barons to that of the king had, in earlier times, given the first blow to this monstrous despotism; but that custom, introduced for the purpose of counteracting the evil effects of the partial and unjust proceedings of the feudal jurisdictions, was confined in its influence; it extended only to particular cases, and consequently afforded relief only to a few individuals, without affecting the generality of the nation. Motives of greater efficacy were requisite to weaken and curtail the exorbitant power of the holders of extensive fiefs, and these motives were supplied by themselves. Their restless ambition, their reciprocal jealousies, their eternal dissentions, their frequent revolts, and their flagrant crimes, began to expose them to the indignation and even to the contempt, of their own subjects. That complication of calamities to which the people had so long been exposed; the many ruinous wars in which they had been compelled

* Villaret.

to engage; towns reduced to ashes, villages depopulated, and lands laid waste;—all these tended to demonstrate, beyond the reach of confutation, the horrid abuse which the feudal nobles had made of their power. The people, sorely oppressed by a multitude of petty tyrants, insensibly began to lose that respect they had been accustomed to entertain for their masters, and, feeling, at once, their situation and their consequence, resolved to resist a yoke which tyranny had rendered intolerable. The nobility could no longer secure any thing more than a constrained and precarious obedience; and they were only indebted, for the continuance of their power, to the feeble support of an ancient prejudice which a rising spirit of rational freedom was labouring to destroy. Whenever the princes of the blood, and the great vassals of the crown, were attacked, their dependents would only render them such services as they had hitherto found it impossible to abolish. The nobles had disdained to secure the affections of their vassals; and they were no longer possessed of sufficient authority to extort an implicit submission. The dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, and the count of Foix, were almost the only noblemen who still retained an absolute power in their respective territories; and their right to the possession of that power the sovereign contested, though he had never attempted to deprive them of it by exertions of violence. The authority of the rest was extremely limited, and soon died away. They were wholly unable to support a war; they could not even take up arms, without subjecting themselves to the risk of being tried as rebels, and condemned as traitors. The domains of the count of Armagnac and the duke of Alençon had been confiscated and seized, by a legal process; and no opposition had been made either to the sentence or its execution; whereas, but a few years before, it would have been necessary to subdue the confiscated territory by force of arms. Such was the rapid progress which the royal authority had already made; by the moderation with which it was exercised by Charles the Seventh, the nation were prevented from perceiving its whole extent; but under the succeeding reign its effects became more sensible.

Charles the Seventh was the first of the French monarchs who imposed a new tax, without the consent of the states general. This innovation did not excite the smallest murmur; because—say the French historians—the nation were convinced of the necessity of an impost, destined to maintain the tranquillity of the state; but it certainly tended to establish a dangerous precedent, as the power of imposing taxes without the consent of the people forms one of the leading features of despotism. Whenever a tax had been raised, before this period, for the payment of the troops, the provinces were previously applied to for their concurrence, and the duration of the impost was generally regulated by the necessity which gave rise to it; but when Charles established a standing army, he found it necessary to secure a regular fund, and therefore, of his own authority, rendered the impost, levied for that purpose, perpetual. The rectitude of his intentions and the prudence of his administration, having secured the confidence of his subjects, he met with no opposition to his plan; and, indeed, it must be observed,

to his credit, that he adopted every possible means to prevent any kind of imposition on the people. No more money was raised than was absolutely necessary for the purpose; and the tax was collected in the most unexceptionable manner; each parish chusing its own collectors. It was never augmented during the reign of Charles the Seventh; and under Francis the First it was still so moderate, that those who were rated highest could purchase an exemption for twenty sols each.

It cannot be supposed that the arts could make any rapid progress in times of tumult and disorder. The art of war, being most in use, was, of course, pursued with the greatest ardour; and some improvement appears to have been made in the means of destruction. The use of artillery had become common in France, and a separate fund of eighty thousand livres annually—equivalent to upwards of thirty-three thousand pounds sterling—was provided for the ordnance department. The author of the *Chronicles of France*,* mentions a cannon cast by John Maugué, at Tours, in 1478, that threw a ball of five hundred pounds from the Bastile to the bridge at Charenton.

It is probable that bombs and mortars were invented during this period. At the siege of Bourdeaux, Bureau, the master of the artillery, made use of certain flying machines—*engins volans*—with which he expected to reduce the town to ashes; and it appears that they produced the same effects as the bombs which are now in use. Several proofs adduced in support of this opinion may be seen in the *Memoirs of Literature*†; one of these will suffice to demonstrate its validity. Robert Valthurius, in a treatise on the military art, dedicated to Sigismund Pandolphus Malatesta, prince of Rimini, who died in 1475, ascribes to that prince the invention of the mortar and the bomb, the effects whereof he describes with such precision,‡ that it is impossible to mistake him. But if any thing resembling bombs had really been used in France during the reign of Charles the Seventh, it is certain they were soon laid aside, for we find no mention afterward made of that dreadful instrument of destruction, till the year 1634.

As soon as tranquillity was restored to the kingdom, the taste for literature revived. On the death of Charles the Seventh, the rector of the university of Paris offered to attend the funeral procession, with *five-and twenty thousand* students. But the progress that was made in the sciences was but ill proportioned to the ardour with which they appear to have been cultivated; indeed, in no one branch of literature, is it possible to discover the smallest symptom of improvement.

The admirable art of printing was invented during the fifteenth century, though where, or by whom is not precisely known. On reading Meerman, Mattaire, Marchand, Palmer, and some others, who have written on the subject, it appears most probable that Laurentius Coster, keeper of the cathedral at

* *Chron. de France*. tom. iii. fol. 240. † tom. xxvii. p. 206. ‡ *Inventum est quoque machinæ bujusce tunc, Sigismunde Paudulphe qua pilæ aeneæ tormentarii pulveris plenæ cum fungi aridi fomite urentis emittuntur.* Rob. Valthurius *de re militari*. p. 266, quoted in the twenty-seventh volume of the memoirs of the French academy.

Haerlem, conceived the first idea of printing, about the year 1430; and between that time and his death, which occurred in 1440, printed several small books in that city, with wooden types tied together with threads. As considerable emolument was likely to accrue from the knowledge of this art, Coster was anxious to prevent its promulgation, and to transmit it to his family; but in this he was disappointed, as, about the time of his death, John Geinsfleisch, one of his workmen, escaped from Haerlem, and taking with him some of his master's types, retired to Mentz, where, being encouraged and supplied with money, by John Fust, an opulent citizen, he began to print in 1441: two years after this man, or *his assistant*, John Guttemberg, is said to have invented metal types and to have set them in frames, an improvement of such importance, that the city of Mentz was thence induced to claim the honour of being the place where printing was invented.

But according to the accounts contained in the memoirs of the French academy, and in the historical treatise on the art of printing, written by M. Fournier, the invention of that art is to be solely ascribed to John Guttemberg, *a gentleman of Mentz*, who discovered it in 1440, during his residence at Strasburg, where the event is still commemorated by a jubilee, celebrated in the fortieth year of every century, called the *typographical jubilee*. Having spent his own fortune, and the fortunes of some of his associates who had entered into his schemes, in attempts to perfect the art he had discovered, Guttemberg retired to Mentz, his native place, where he took *John Fust* as a partner. The first work of consequence which issued from their presses was a Bible, bearing no date, but supposed to have been printed in 1450. The types, *although of wood*, were made to imitate writing so perfectly, that several copies were sold as manuscripts, at an exorbitant price. Fust disposed of several at Paris; where he was prosecuted for having sold a great number of the same work at different prices*. From Mentz this noble art, notwithstanding the pains which the inventor took to prevent its propagation, by exacting an oath of secrecy from all his workmen, was conveyed to other cities of Germany, Holland, and Switzerland, where presses were established nearly at the same time.

The improvement of casting metal types and setting them in forms is ascribed to Schoeffer, son-in-law to Fust. Fust and Schoeffer are said to have been the first printers who prefixed their names to the works they published; and the first book to which their name appeared was a Pfalter, in Folio, printed in 1457. The art of printing was introduced into France by Ulric Gering, Martin Krantz, and Michael Friburger, three printers of Mentz, who, on the invitation of William Fichet and John de la Pierre, doctors of divinity, went to settle at Paris. They had convenient apartments assigned them in the college of the Sorbonne, where they continued till 1483, when Gering took a house in the rue de Sorbonne, in which he remained till his death. This founder of French typography

* Villaret.

acquired a considerable fortune, one half of which he bequeathed, as a token of his gratitude, to the college of the Sorbonne.

As Charles the Seventh was of low stature and had very short legs, he generally wore such a dress as was best calculated for concealing the defects of his person. The fashion of long garments was accordingly revived during his reign; but, in the first years of the reign of Lewis the Eleventh, a total revolution occurred in the article of dress. The women, who had been accustomed to wear gowns* of an immense length, cut off their enormous trains, as well as their sleeves which swept the ground. For these ridiculous superfluities they substituted deep borders that were equally preposterous. On their heads they wore enormous caps surrounded with folds of silk or other light materials,—in the form of a turban—almost a yard in height. In the reign of Charles the Sixth, the head dresses of the women were so broad—being two yards in breadth*—that it was found necessary to make the doors wider in order to admit them; whereas now they were obliged to make them higher.

The change that took place in the men's dresses was not less remarkable. The long robes were succeeded by short jackets that scarcely reached the waist, which sat quite close to the body, and were fastened by a lace to the breeches, which were equally tight. The front of the breeches was decorated with an ornament bearing an exact resemblance to those parts which decency forbids to name, and for which it served as a case. These extraordinary decorations which were called *braguettes*, were ornamented with fringe and ribbands. To make themselves appear *broad-chested* the men wore false shoulders, called *mahoitres*; their hair was long before, so as to shade their eye-brows; and the fashion of wearing long pointed shoes was revived. Such was the fashionable dress of the fifteenth century. The contemporary writers, from whom this account is taken add that every body was eager to follow this extravagant mode of dress; that even men whose profession compelled them to pay more regard to decency in public were no longer ashamed of an affectation which ceased to appear ridiculous because it had become general; so that a grave personage, who had been seen in the morning with a long robe, paraded the streets in an afternoon "*dressed like an ape*." The same authors complain that private citizens adorned themselves with golden chains, in imitation of *kights*; that they were no longer able to distinguish the gentleman from the tradesman; and that valets as well as their masters, were covered with satin, damask and velvet. These particulars by no means tend to confirm the opinion of those who maintain that luxury is the most certain indication of opulence in a state. It is impossible to discover, in the history of the present period, any sources whence France could have derived superfluous wealth. The arts were still in their infancy; no progress had been made in industry; no establishment of new manufactures had taken place; her commerce was confined, and her navy in such a languishing state, that when any

* Villaret, tom. xxxvi. p. 367. Monstrelet, fol. 39. Col. 2. Pasquier, p. 578.

naval expedition was projected she was compelled to hire foreign vessels. Such was the situation of France, confined to her territorial riches; yet did she exhibit every external symptom of opulence. The precious metals, which were displayed with such ostentatious profusion, were then very scarce; as must appear from the price of every article of consumption, which sold, on an average, for ten times less than what it produced a century after. Soldiers were the only people who earned more money than men of the same class do now. That description of imposts, distinguished by the appellation of *tailles*, only amounted to seventeen hundred thousand livres, whereas, under the following reign, they were augmented to almost five millions. In the marriage-contract of Margaret de Rohan, daughter to the viscount de Rohan, and John, count of Angoulême, grandfather to Francis the First, it was mentioned, that the prince should be paid the sum of nine thousand crowns, part of his wife's fortune which amounted to twenty thousand: and in the same deed, the viscount, in consideration of this alliance, ceded to his son-in-law the possession of certain estates, reserving however, to himself the liberty of redeeming them on paying forty thousand crowns. These two sums put together formed a capital of sixty thousand crowns, or seventy five thousand livres, for the crown was then worth five-and-twenty sols Tournois. Such was the portion of a princess, whose grandson was destined to ascend the throne.

It was during the reign of Charles the Seventh, that the domain of the crown, which had been extremely limited since the death of Hugh Capet, began to experience a considerable augmentation. That prince, who on his accession to the throne, was confined to the possession of the Orleanois Touraine, Berry and a part of Foitou, left his successor the free and quiet enjoyment of the patrimony of his ancestors, encreased by the acquisition of all that part of France which extends from the confines of Poitou to the bay of Biscay.

LEWIS THE ELEVENTH.

A. D. 1461.] LEWIS was at Genépe when he received the news of his father's death, and the intelligence is said to have inspired him with a joy which he affected not to conceal; but though his eagerness to sway the sceptre was unquestionably great, it can scarcely be conceived, that a prince who was the most consummate hypocrite of the age, would have suffered symptoms of exultation, the most indecent and unnatural, to escape him; symptoms, too, which must have made the most unfavourable impression on all who witnessed them. This charge, indeed, appears to have been founded rather on a supposition of what Lewis felt

at the time, than on a knowledge of what he displayed: and it is worthy of remark, that, though it has been constantly advanced by later historians, it is not even mentioned by one contemporary writer*.

From Geneppe the king went to Maubeuge upon the Sambre, where he performed the first act of sovereignty, by summoning the governors of certain provinces to exact from the inhabitants an oath of allegiance, and to send him two deputies from each of the principal towns. He then proceeded to Avesnes, where he had appointed the duke of Burgundy to meet him. A report prevailed that the late king had taken some steps to deprive Lewis of his lawful inheritance; and, though the constitutional laws of the realm presented an insurmountable bar to such a proceeding, that prince, conscious he had given but too just grounds of offence to his father, seemed to entertain apprehensions that his secession would be disputed: at least, his conduct, and that of the duke of Burgundy, were calculated to authorize such an opinion. As the duke was to accompany the king to Rheims he summoned all the nobility in his dominions to meet him at Saint-Quentin; and the citation was so punctually obeyed, that no less than one hundred thousand armed men attended at the appointed rendezvous. Such a prodigious number of attendants rather bore the appearance of an hostile army preparing to achieve the conquest of a kingdom, than of the retinue of a sovereign going to receive the crown, and to take peaceable possession of the throne of his ancestors. But whatever apprehensions Lewis might have been led to entertain, they were speedily dispelled by the zealous loyalty which every class of people hastened to signalize. No sooner, however, was one object of apprehension removed, than another presented itself to his mind; for it was the fate of this prince to be incessantly a prey to suspicion, inquietude, and terror. the duke of Burgundy, at the head of an army of one hundred thousand men, appeared to be a dangerous friend. His benefactor in adversity had now become his vassal; and this change in their relative situations necessarily produced, at least on one side, a change of sentiment; the interests of the king were far different from those of the dauphin, when a fugitive, and in disgrace. The embarrassment of Lewis was greatly increased by the critical situation in which he was placed; since by betraying symptoms of distrust, must have inevitably have incurred the censure of ingratitude, and moreover exposed himself to the danger of making a formidable enemy, whose efforts he would have been wholly unable to resist. But he extricated himself from this dilemma by artfully insinuating to the duke of Burgundy, that the appearance of such a numerous army would, he feared, inspire his subjects with unfavourable sentiments, which at the commencement of his reign, it was peculiarly his interest to avert. The duke, who harboured no sinister intentions immediately dismissed his troops, and took the road to Rheims, accompanied only by four thousand of his nobles.

* Contin. de Montstrelet—Chronique de Saint Denis—Chronique de France—Preface de Commynes—Pièces justificatives—Histoire de Louis XI. par M. Duclos.—Histoire de la Ville de Paris—Registres du Parlement.

At Avesnes the king received the deputies from the principal towns, and from the sovereign courts of justice. A funeral service was celebrated in the church of that town for the repose of the late king's soul; and Lewis attended the ceremony, (accompanied by the duke of Burgundy; the counts of Charolois and Etampes; James of Bourbon, and Adolphus of Cleves) dressed in deep mourning; but as soon as the service was finished, he assumed the regal purple; not, as has falsely been asserted, in contempt of his father's memory, but in compliance with a custom which had been adopted in the early ages of the monarchy, and which his predecessors had invariably observed*.

Nothing remarkable occurred at the coronation of Lewis, which took place at Rheims, on the fifteenth of August, except that, before he was anointed, he insisted on receiving the honour of knighthood from the hands of the duke of Burgundy, which greatly surprized all the nobility; because, say the contemporary authors, "The king's sons were always knighted at the baptismal font." Indeed the marks of attention which he bestowed on the duke were carried to a degree of affectation which strongly favoured of insincerity. By his orders, the principal inhabitants of Rheims went to meet the duke at a considerable distance from the town; at the gates of the city, he was received by the archbishop of Rheims, who presented him with the keys; and a complimentary oration was delivered in his presence, in which it was observed, that to him were the people indebted for the preservation of their sovereign. During the whole time that the court remained at Rheims, all orders were received from the duke himself.

By these extraordinary marks of condescension, the king thought he amply discharged the debts he had contracted as dauphin; but the duke of Burgundy knew him too well to be deceived by his proofs of attention, and professions of friendship. "*That man,*" said he, speaking of Lewis to a person whom the count of Dammartin had sent to Rheims to entreat his good offices with the king, "*will not reign long without involving his kingdom in great troubles.*"

By the twenty-fifth article of the treaty of Arras† it was formally stipulated, that the duke of Burgundy should not, during his life, be compelled to pay homage to Charles the Seventh, *nor to his successors, kings of France*; and if in the said treaty, or in any other act whatever, the king had been stiled his sovereign, such title could have no effect on this total exemption from the duties of a vassal. If the king strictly adhered to a convention thus precise, he could have no possible right to exact homage from the duke, unless, indeed, the right of Charles to bind his successors had been called in question. The duke, however, in order to avoid all possibility of a dispute on the subject, voluntarily paid homage to Lewis, not only for those domains which he held of the crown, but for all his possessions generally and indiscriminately.

On the day of the coronation, immediately after dinner, the duke of Burgundy knelt to the king, and conjured him, by the sacred ties of religion and humanity,

* Villaret, tom. xvi. page 399.

† Tresor des Chartres.

to pardon all those who, in the preceding reign, had been so unfortunate as to incur his displeasure, and to continue in their different posts such officers as had served the king his father with fidelity. This salutary advice, delivered in the humble form of a supplication, Lewis would have done well to adopt; but he was too intent on the gratification of his resentment to comply with a request that interfered with his projects of revenge. His soul was a stranger to that christian virtue, the forgiveness of injuries. He affected, however, to be moved by the duke's entreaties, and accordingly promised to pardon what was past, excepting only, from the general amnesty, seven persons, whom he did not name. By means of this restriction, he reserved to himself the choice of his victims.

On the last day of August* Lewis made his public entry into Paris, where he was received by the inhabitants with every demonstration of joy, respect, and loyalty. When he arrived at the gate of Saint Denis, two children, representing angels, descended and placed a crown on his head. A herald, whose dress was adorned with the arms of the city, introduced to him five ladies on horseback, who represented the five letters which form the word *Paris*; and recited complimentary verses. *Actors*, representing the clergy, nobility, and the third-estate appeared in a vessel fixed against the gate, from the mast whereof issued a king, decorated with all the attributes of royalty. All the streets were adorned with pantomimical representations of mysteries; but the most extraordinary sight which attracted the new monarch's attention, was that of three beautiful girls, perfectly naked, stationed at a fountain by which he passed, in the character of syrens, singing rustic airs accompanied by musical instruments†. After the usual ceremonies were finished, the king repaired to the hotel des Tournelles, where he established his residence.

Lewis, on his accession to the throne, had entered his thirty-ninth year, an age when youth can no longer be pleaded in extenuation of error. The kingdom was in a flourishing and tranquil state; free from domestic commotions, and exempt from the danger of foreign invasion. The sovereign authority was more extensive and more respected than it had been under any one of his predecessors, since the elevation of the third race of kings. The errors of his own youth, and the wisdom and virtues of his father, might have served him as instructive lessons, pointing out what to avoid, and what to imitate. No monarch had ever succeeded to the throne with similar advantages, and under circumstances more propitious. It only depended on himself to become happy, by completing the felicity of his subjects; assured of their attachment, he might easily have commanded the esteem of the neighbouring powers, the admiration of his contemporaries, and the applause of posterity.

With the exception of a few individuals, whose laudable attachment to Charles the Seventh had excited the avowed hatred of his son, none of the great officers

* Mezeray, tom. vi. page 411.

† Villaret.

of state, or chief magistrates, had any reason to apprehend a removal from their stations, which they had long enjoyed with honour to themselves, and advantage to their country. The king had been hitherto silent on this head, but immediately after his entry into the capital, he made known his intentions. He deprived Juvenal des Ursins of the dignity of chancellor, which he conferred on Peter de Morvillers. John de Rohan, baron of Mantauban, was appointed to succeed John de Bueil, in the office of admiral, and William de Harcourt in that of chamberlain. The marshal de Loheac was succeeded by the bastard of Armagnac, who had just been created count of Comminges. The provost of Paris, most of the judges of the different courts, and the officers of the mint, also lost their places. It seemed as if Lewis had resolved to retain none of the servants of his father; and, from the apprehension that any one of them should elude his researches, he included them all in one general proscription.

Cousinot, bailiff of Rouen, a magistrate of great merit, who had rendered very essential service to the state, was imprisoned; and Chabannes, count of Dammartin, was obliged to conceal himself in order to avoid a similar fate. This almost total subversion of fortunes and dignities, kept the minds of the public in a state of continual agitation, while the person who occasioned it was not more tranquil himself. The prince who suffers the suggestions of caprice to silence the dictates of reason and equity, and whose conduct is influenced by the prevailing passion of the moment, can neither be happy nor free. wretched, indeed, must be his situation, who with the inclination possesses the ability to oppress.

Lewis was not more anxious to ruin all such as had enjoyed the favour of his father, than to protect those who had incurred his displeasure. On his accession to the throne, he ordered the duke of Alençon to be released, and he, soon after, restored him to all his former possessions, honours and dignities. John of Armagnac, who had been condemned by the parliament, also obtained the restitution of his confiscated territories. Such were the first exertions which Lewis made of his power; and but a short time elapsed before he found reason to repent a conduct, which was equally impolitic and unjust.

While he was thus occupied in incurring the hatred of his subjects, he spared no pains to establish harmony and tranquillity among his neighbours. By his urgent solicitations with the duke of Burgundy, he induced him to receive the count of Saint Paul into favour, and he likewise effected a reconciliation between that nobleman and the house of Croi; though he must have known that, by such a measure, he could not fail to excite the secret resentment of the count of Charolois. In short, before he had completed the first month of his reign, he had contrived to lay the foundation of an almost general discontent.

At length, Lewis left Paris to visit his mother at Amboise; but before his departure, he had an interview with the duke of Burgundy, to whom, in the presence of the princes of the blood, and many of the nobility, he renewed his pro-

feffions of friendship and esteem, repeating his declarations, that to him he was indebted for his crown and his life. The three princes parted with every appearance of mutual fatisfaction; and after this interview the duke returned to Flanders, and the count of Charolois repaired to Burgundy.

Among the numerous complaints preferred by the factious and discontented against the old administration, the want of economy in the management of the revenue, and the intolerable weight of taxes, had not been forgotten. Such accusations, indeed, have in all ages, and in almost all countries, been the instruments employed by wicked and designing men to seduce the people from their duty, by imposing on their credulity; knowing their aptitude to believe that all who are disaffected to the government, must be anxious to promote *their* welfare and to afford *them* relief. As these reports had been propagated by the adherents of Lewis, it was expected that, on his accession to the throne, he would rather diminish than augment the taxes; but almost immediately after he had received the intelligence of his father's death, he ordered a fresh tax to be levied throughout his dominions. On his arrival at Rheims, he made the most magnificent promises to the inhabitants, and solemnly swore that he would never subject them to any new impost; but when he left the town, he forgot his oath. The inhabitants, surprised to find the lease of the *Gabelles* and other *exactions*, publicly renewed, in direct violation of the king's promise, flew to arms, broke open the offices where the registers were kept, tore the registers, massacred the *revenue-farmers*, and burnt their contracts. This sedition, however, was soon repressed; eighty of the insurgents were seized by the troops; and six of them, with the leaders of the revolt, were hanged. The same spirit of opposition evinced itself in several other towns, particularly in Angers, Alençon, and Aurillac in Auvergne; but by timely exertions of vigour it was speedily quelled.

The king stopped but a few days with his mother, and then repaired to Tours, where he received a visit from the count of Charolois, on his return to Burgundy. That prince experienced the most extraordinary marks of distinction during his residence at the French court: Lewis, not content with defraying his expences, and those of his household, and with procuring him every amusement the age would afford, displayed an anxiety to gratify every wish he expressed. On his departure, he appointed him his lieutenant-general in Normandy, with a salary of six-and-thirty thousand livres. Before the count returned to Bruxelles, he went to take possession of his new government, where the inhabitants, by the king's express orders, paid him the same honours as if he had been their sovereign. But while Lewis thus loaded the count of Charolois with caresses, he secretly confirmed, in violation of the most solemn oaths, the alliance which Charles the Seventh had contracted with the people of Liege, the avowed enemies of the house of Burgundy.

Now that he was possessed of supreme power, and, consequently, free to display his humours without fear of contradiction, Lewis betrayed a decided preference for those dishonourable intrigues, and crooked systems of policy, to

which he had been addicted from his youth. Inconstant and capricious, his actions seemed to be regulated by the whim of the moment, without any regard to propriety, or consideration for the future*. Pope Pius the Second had made several vain attempts, during the late reign, to procure the abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction; and being acquainted with the disposition of the new monarch, who, while dauphin, had promised to give him satisfaction on that head, he ordered the bishop of Arras, whom he had recently appointed his legate *à latere* in France, to remind him of his promise. That prelate accordingly represented to the king, that, by a compliance with the request of his holiness, he would strengthen his own authority; that he would always be able to dispose of the livings, by his recommendation to the pope, who would be bound in gratitude not to refuse him any thing he might ask; that when the princes and nobility had no longer any influence in the elections, they would lose the only means they possessed of acquiring partisans among the clergy; and that there would always be a legate in France, to whom his majesty might apply for all the favours he wished to obtain from the holy see.

The kingdom of Naples, which had formerly belonged to the house of Anjou, had been usurped by that of Arragon, and was now possessed by Ferdinand, a natural son of Alphonso, the late king. The duke of Calabria, son to René, the titular monarch of Naples, Sicily, and Jerusalem, found the inclinations of the Neapolitans favourable to his pretensions; and the bishop of Arras, imagining that Lewis would be anxious to place his kinsman on the throne of Naples, assured him, that the pope had resolved to invest the duke with that kingdom. His holiness, indeed, had no such intention; but the prelate would have promised still more, had he deemed it necessary to the success of his project.

In short, the bishop exerted his eloquence with such effect, that the king, who ever displayed a willingness to revoke any act of his father's, granted all he requested. Had the pontiff himself dictated the letters of revocation, he could not have made use of expressions more favourable to the unlimited authority of the holy see, and more repugnant to the dignity of the throne, the rights and prerogatives of the Gallican church, the wisdom of the laws, and the honour of the magistracy. The king, after assuring the pope of his filial obedience, declared that he desired nothing more earnestly than to fulfil the promise he had made before his accession to the throne, to abolish the Pragmatic Sanction, which, having been established in a time of revolt, was injurious to the holy see. "Our councillor," says Lewis, alluding to the bishop of Arras; "has convinced us that this constitution, while it attacks your authority, tends to encourage the licentiousness of our prelates."—"Although most men of knowledge endeavour to dissuade us from our design, we have, according to your request, abrogated this Pragmatic Sanction, and cast it out from our dominions. Exert then your

* Du Tillet—Pasquier—Trésor des Chartres.—Cont. des Ordonnances—Loix Ecclesiastiques—Histoire Ecclesiastique—Histoire de l'Université—Histoire de Louis XI.—Preuves Justificatives de Philippe de Commines—Spicilegium.

“ power, in future, in our kingdom as you please ; and if any persons shall resist you, we promise your holiness, on the word of a king, to execute your commands, in spite of all opposition or appeal, and we will repress and restrain all those who shall disobey your orders *.” It was thus that the king, by the strongest demonstrations of unlimited obedience, answered the ambiguous caresses of the artful pontiff, who, in a brief addressed to the bishop of Arras, charged that prelate to assure his dearest son, the king of France, *that he began to feel an inclination to love him wonderfully* †.

But Lewis, who believed himself to be the most skilful and profound politician of the age, had soon the mortification to find, that he had been duped by the pope ; for Pius, having obtained his ends, refused to ratify the engagement which his legate had contracted for placing the duke of Calabria on the throne of Naples. Enraged at the discovery, he resolved to turn the pontiff’s arts against himself ; and he accordingly suffered his parliament to carry into execution the Pragmatic Sanction, which he had so solemnly revoked.

While the king was at Tours, he received ambassadors from the duke of Brittany, who came to regulate the form of homage their sovereign was to pay for his duchy ‡ ; this point being settled, the duke himself went to Tours, and submitted to the usual ceremony. The king, who was jealous of his intimacy with the count of Charolois, spared no pains to gain his confidence. In the hope of attaching him to his interests, he declared him his lieutenant-general in Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Normandy, although he had just conferred the government of this last province on the count of Charolois. If his object was to sow dissension between the two princes, he did not reap from this shallow artifice the advantage he expected. Soon after the duke’s departure, the king repaired to Brittany, under pretence of performing a pilgrimage to the shrine of some saint ; but the real object of his journey was, to examine the state of the duchy, and to promote a marriage between Frances of Amboise, duchess-dowager of Brittany, and the duke of Savoy § ; but the duke of Brittany, aware of his designs, found means to prevent their execution.

Previous to his journey to Brittany, the king had assigned the duchy of Berri, as an appanage to his brother Charles, with the usual clause of reversion to the crown in default of male heirs ; and accompanied by a promise to make some more ample provision for him at a future time. This promise supplied the young prince with a pretext to prefer such claims as best coincided with his ambitious plans ;

* “ Dum per pragmaticam ipsam summa in ecclesia tue sedis autoritas minuitur, praelatis in regno nostro quoddam licentie templum per illam praestruitur . . . utere igitur deinceps in regno nostro potestate tua ut voles . . . quod si forte obtinentur aliqui aut reclamabunt, nos in verbo regio pollicemur tue beatitudini exequi tua mandata omni appellationis aut oppositionis obstaculo prorsus excluso, eosque qui tibi contumaces fuerint pro tuo iussu comprimemus et refrœnabimus.”

Preuves de Commynes, p. 357.—M. S. de la Bib. Roy.

† Spicil. Miscellan. Epist. Diplom. . .

‡ D’Argente—Hist. de Bret.—Nouv. Hist. de Bretagne. l. 18.—Preuves de L’Hist. de Bret.—Tres des Chart.

§ Preuves Justif. de Com-

mines—Preuves de L’Hist. de Bret.

and a pension of twelve thousand livres, in addition to his duchy, being deemed an insufficient income for the son of a king, the public, disgusted with Lewis, loudly exclaimed against that monarch's injustice to his brother.

The conduct of Lewis to Anthony de Chabannes, count of Dammartin, was calculated to encrease still farther the popular discontents. That nobleman, tired with the life of a fugitive, repaired to court, and desired the king would immediately order him to be tried with the utmost rigour of the law. He was charged with having falsely accused the king, while he was dauphin, of having conspired against his father; and on this charge his judges were base enough to pronounce him guilty of high treason, in consequence of which he was condemned to die; but Lewis changed his punishment into perpetual imprisonment, and he was accordingly committed to the Bastile; his effects were confiscated, and most of his estates were given to Charles de Melun, governor of Paris, who had been chiefly instrumental in procuring his condemnation.

A. D. 1462, 1463.] Margaret of Anjou, the unhappy queen of England, had embarked for the continent, some time after the fatal battle of Tooton, to solicit succours and assistance from her foreign connections. She paid a visit to the king at Chinon, who expressed the greatest concern for her misfortunes. During her residence at the French court, she stood godmother to the only son of Charles, duke of Orleans, by Mary of Cleves, his third wife: the king was the godfather, and he gave his own name to the young prince, who afterward ascended the throne of France, under the appellation of Lewis the Twelfth. But, notwithstanding the professions of friendship which the king made to Margaret, all he could be persuaded to grant to her earnest solicitations, were a loan of twenty thousand livres, and a supply of two thousand troops, under the command of Brezé, seneschal of Normandy, who is said to have entertained for the queen more tender sentiments than pity and compassion*. With this inadequate succour—for which too, the interested monarch made her sign, in her husband's name, a truce for one hundred years, and a promise to restore the city of Calais; Margaret embarked for England about the end of the year 1462; and, after a tedious and tempestuous passage, arrived off Tinnmouth; but being prevented from landing there, she again put to sea, and her fleet being overtaken by a storm, many of the ships were stranded near Bamburgh Castle, and the vessel in which the queen was, with difficulty, reached the port of Berwick. The French troops effected a landing in Holy Island, where they were soon attacked by a superior force, and most of them either killed or taken; but their leader, with some other officers, made their escape, and joined the queen†.

The defeat of the royalists at Hexham completed the misfortunes of Margaret, who, after that battle, sailed from England with her son, and a chosen band of faithful followers, and arrived safe at Sluys in Flanders. The duke of Burgundy received her with great hospitality; and, after loading her with valuable

* Villaret. tom. xvi. p. 456.
Stow, p. 416.

† Monstrelet, tom. iii. p. 91.—Hall, ed. 4. fol. 2.—

presents, sent a guard to escort her into Lorrain, where her brother, the duke of Calabria, then resided. Brezé, who was present at the battle, effected his escape to Alnwick, where he was besieged, and, after a brave resistance, consented to surrender the place, on condition of being permitted to return to France with the small remains of his troops.

A revolt of the Catalonians, who had renounced their allegiance to Juan, king of Arragon—a monarch stained with the blood of his own son—and invited the king of Castile to become their sovereign, now attracted the attention of Lewis. He, at first, promised protection to the insurgents; but, seduced by the offers of Juan, he had a conference with that monarch between Mauleon and Sauveterre, on the confines of Navarre, where a treaty was concluded, by which Lewis engaged to assist the king of Arragon with a loan of three hundred and fifty thousand crowns, and a supply of seven hundred lances; and the important counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne, subject to redemption, were transferred to him as a security for the money he advanced. These the king immediately annexed to the domain of the crown, in virtue of the pretensions of his mother, Mary of Anjou, sprung from Yolande of Arragon; but he soon after transferred them to the count of Foix, as an indemnity for his claims to the kingdom of Navarre, founded on the rights of his wife, Leonora, who had poisoned her eldest sister Blanche.

The assistance of Lewis proved of little advantage to the Arragonian monarch, who was defeated in all quarters, by the active exertions of his opponent, Henry the Fourth, king of Castile, surnamed the Impotent. But this last prince was at length persuaded by his ministers, who had been seduced by Juan, to submit their dispute to the arbitration of the French king; who pronounced a decision, equally displeasing to both parties, and which was respected by neither. An interview, on the frontiers of their respective dominions, having been agreed upon between Lewis and Henry, the former repaired to Saint Jean de Luz, and the latter to Fontarabia. They advanced to the opposite banks of the Bidassoa, which separates France from Spain; and their contrasted appearance strongly attested the difference of their dispositions.—Henry, luxurious, magnificent, and vain, was arrayed in the richest stuffs, embellished with gold and precious stones, and attended by a numerous train, all equally brilliant. The sails of the barks, which conveyed them to the French side of the river, were also decorated with a profusion of the precious metals. Lewis, whose pride, certainly less respectable, was displayed in a studied affectation of the opposite extreme, had increased the natural uncouthness of his person, by a dress the most vulgar and unbecoming. His under garment, which sat close to his body, was made of coarse cloth; and over it he wore a doublet of fustian. His hat was extremely small, resembling the *calotte*, usually worn by priests, and decorated with a leaden image of the Virgin. The few nobles who attended him, imitated their master in the meanness of their dress. But the wealth which Henry had expended in his sumptuous preparations, Lewis employed to bribe the ministers of Castile—for the art of

making traitors always formed a leading feature in his illiberal and dishonest system of policy. The two monarchs had a short conference together; and, after a formal renewal of the ancient treaties between the two crowns, they parted with a thorough contempt of each other.

The king had lately resigned all his pretensions to the duchy of Luxembourg, in favour of the duke of Burgundy; as well as to the restitution of the sum of fifty thousand crowns, which his father had paid to the duke of Saxony, and his co-heirs, for the renunciation of their claims. But while he appeared thus anxious to court the favour of Philip, he observed a very different line of conduct with his son Charles. Uneasy at the intimate connection which subsisted between that prince and the duke of Brittany, he incessantly laboured to promote a breach between them, or at least, to counteract the dangerous designs which he imputed to them, by creating embarrassments which might divert their attention elsewhere. He bestowed every mark of distinction on the lord of Croi; not content with raising him to the high office of Grand Master, he ceded to him the town and territory of Guines; and, convinced that nothing could give greater offence to the count of Charolois, he ordered this extraordinary instance of his favour to be published by sound of trumpet, in the streets of his capital. He also extended his protection to every person indiscriminately, who had incurred the displeasure of Charles. To this period may be traced the origin of that inveterate enmity which soon prevailed between those rival princes, and which only expired with life.

The duke of Burgundy had flattered himself that the unconditional homage which he had paid to the king, would be considered rather as a mark of respect, than as an essential obligation; and that no duties of vassalage would be required from him that could tend to derogate, in any degree, from the character of an independent prince, which he had so long maintained, and was still determined to preserve*. Some English ships of war having been seen cruising in the channel, the king sent an ambassador to Lewis to summon him to declare war against Edward, and to publish an express prohibition to all his subjects to afford that prince any kind of assistance. This was a mere pretext to sound the intentions of the duke, since, in the present state of affairs, no dread of an invasion could possibly exist. The most important, and indeed, the real object of the embassy, was to engage Philip to permit the establishment of the Gabelle in his dominions; a proposition which he rejected in the most positive terms. He even sent the lord of Chimey to the king to complain of this conduct, and to beg he would, *for the love of him*, desist from a pretension which he could never admit.

The Burgundian envoy remained some time at the French court before he could procure an audience of the king. At length, tired with the delays which he was made to experience, he placed himself at the door of the king's apartment, and re-

solved not to quit his post until he had fulfilled his commission. The monarch, no longer able to avoid him, for once suffered his impatience to get the better of his policy, and exclaimed, "*What sort of man then is this duke of Burgundy? Is he different, or made of different metal from all the other princes and nobility of my kingdom?*" "Yes sire," replied Chimey, "*the duke of Burgundy is indeed different, and made of different metal from all the other princes of your kingdom, or of the neighbouring countries, for he kept you safe, and supported you against the will and pleasure of king Charles your father, whom God pardon, which none of the other princes had either the inclination or spirit to do.*" The king, confused at this unexpected reply, immediately returned to his apartment. The count of Dunois, approaching the lord of Chimey, asked him how he had dared to express himself with such freedom to a prince so absolute as Lewis the Eleventh. "*Had I been fifty leagues from hence,*" replied the brave Burgundian, "*and had thought that the king wished to say to me what he has just said of my master, I would have instantly returned to make him the same answer as I have just made him.*" As neither the king nor the duke deemed it prudent to come to an open rupture, this affair was attended with no farther consequences.

Convinced of the impossibility of enforcing his pretensions by arms, Lewis appeared to renounce them; and this tacit disavowal satisfied Philip, who was already too much harassed by the indocility of the count of Charolois, to think of encreasing his embarrassment by involving himself in fresh difficulties. The favour shewn to the house of Croi was still the cause of that division which prevailed between the father and son. As the duke advanced in years, the influence of his favourites encreased; and as Lewis, by his liberal donations, had attached those favourites to his interest, he might probably have obtained what he asked, had not the establishment of the Gabelle been attended with difficulties almost insurmountable. The bare proposal to levy that impost had formerly occasioned a general insurrection in the Low Countries.

But Lewis was more successful in another negotiation with the duke of Burgundy, the object of which was, to procure the restitution of those towns on the river Somme, which had been ceded by Charles the Seventh, at the treaty of Arras: and which, in effect, rendered Philip master of Picardy. The measure was opposed by the count of Charolois; but the influence of John de Croi, the duke's minister, and the king's friend, prevailed, and four hundred thousand crowns were given to recover these valuable pledges. Even in this transaction, Lewis displayed his duplicity: he had promised to retain the officers appointed by the duke as governors of these towns; but no sooner was he in possession than he displaced them, and, at the same time, nominated others, whom he knew would be equally acceptable to Philip.

Soon after this negotiation was completed, Lewis lost his mother, Mary of Anjou, who died on the twenty-ninth of November, 1463, in the sixtieth year of her age. The exemplary conduct, the signal virtues, and fervent piety:

of this amiable princess, had attracted universal respect and esteem; and her loss was deeply regretted by the nation. Her death, indeed, could not have happened at a more unfortunate period; for as the king paid considerable deference to her advice, she might, possibly, have been able to prevent those troubles of which his improper conduct and restless disposition had laid the foundation. Since his accession to the throne, Lewis seemed to have wholly neglected an art the most easily acquired, and the most necessary for a monarch to learn, that of securing the affections of his subjects.—The prince who seeks to confirm his power by the influence of fear, at once betrays the tyrant and the fool; alike ignorant of his duties and his interest, he is equally a stranger to the obligations imposed on himself, and to the feelings implanted in the heart of man; fortunately for the happiness of the world, such a flagrant violation of moral rectitude generally carries its own punishment along with it. It cannot be too often repeated, nor too strongly impressed on the minds of monarchs, that the love of the people constitutes the surest and firmest support of the throne.

Lewis, by his conduct, had naturally excited the detestation of the French; and being conscious that he merited their hatred, he was in continual dread of feeling its effects. Tormented by the most alarming apprehensions, he was incessantly employed in the adoption of means for averting the storm that threatened him. The malecontents were numerous; and, headed by the princes of the blood, and the chief nobility, they only waited for a favourable opportunity to give a free scope to their resentment. The king, meanwhile, though sensible of his danger, knew not *who* were his enemies; he had been apprized, that secret associations were formed in different parts of the kingdom; but all his endeavours to discover the members of them had proved inefficacious.

The pensioners whom Lewis maintained at the Burgundian court assured him, that he had nothing to apprehend from Philip, at least, so long as the misunderstanding continued to subsist between that prince and his son. The duke had already addressed some complaints on this subject to the states of Flanders assembled at Bruges; and deputies were appointed to wait on the count of Charolois, and invite him to return to court. The count received them with kindness; and after he had explained the cause of his discontent, complied with their invitation, and went to his father at Bruges. But this reconciliation proved of short continuance. The same subject for dissention still subsisted; the count's aversion for the house of Croi was insurmountable; he had declared them to be his mortal enemies; he had openly accused them of conspiring against his life; and he even seemed directly to include the king in his accusations, by observing, that he would not designate the most dangerous enemies who sought for his death, on account of the horror that must necessarily be experienced if he named them.

Thus relieved from all dread of interruption from that quarter, Lewis resolved to direct his attacks against the duke of Brittany, who, next to Philip, had inspired him with the most serious apprehensions*. His conduct in this respect was

* D'Argentre--Hist. Mod. de Bretagne--Preuves Justific.

influenced as much by the personal hatred he had conceived against the duke, as by the dread of the connection he knew to subsist between Francis and the count of Charolois. In order to take the duke of Brittany by surprise, he had sent a strong body of troops, in different detachments, and at different times, to the frontiers of the duchy; and all his measures were adopted, and plans conducted with so much secrecy, that the duke was not apprized of the danger which threatened him, till the arrival of the French chancellor, Peter de Morvilliers, who was sent to inform him, that the king, "forbade him in future to entitle himself, "*duke by the grace of God*; to coin gold; to levy extraordinary taxes in his dominions; to exact from his vassals the accustomed homage, and to receive "the oaths of allegiance from his prelates." In case of a refusal to comply with these despotic mandates, the chancellor had orders to declare war against the duke.

Francis, who was a weak though a generous prince, was extremely embarrassed at this unexpected declaration; destitute of troops, he affected to submit to the power he was unable to oppose, and, by the advice of Tannegui du Chastel, who, at the death of Charles the Seventh, had engaged in his service, he told the chancellor, that he did not refuse to comply with the king's demands, but that they related to objects of such importance, that his consent alone would be insufficient to ensure their accomplishment; that the laws of the country required the concurrence of the different orders of the province; and that he therefore besought his majesty to allow him time to assemble the states, that he might communicate his intentions to them, since by adopting a different line of conduct he should deceive the king, which he would not do on any account. This appearance of condescension so fascinated Lewis, that he granted the duke a delay of three months, and immediately dismissed his troops.

The count of Maine, and four other commissioners, were appointed to regulate the affairs of Brittany. The principal accusations preferred by Lewis against the duke, are too curious to be omitted, inasmuch as they display the character of the monarch, and the true motives by which his conduct was influenced in the present instance. He complained, "That while he was dauphin, the duke "had refused to lend him four thousand crowns; that he had given him no "assistance in the war with the Catalonians; that he had seized the temporalities "of the bishop of Nantes, *which was a thing unexampled in the christian world,* "since bishops took the precedency of dukes, and could not possibly become their subjects; "that he had given orders to his vassals to take up arms; and that the duke's "attorney had declared, at Rome, that his master was no subject of the king's, "and that he would rather receive the English in his dominions than the French." There were several other charges, to all of which the duke replied: delays were necessarily occasioned by this means; and, before the matter could be brought to a decision, the king's attention was called to another quarter, which compelled him to defer the gratification of his resentment to a future period.

Lewis had received information that ambassadors from the count of Charolois had attended an assembly of the states at Nantes, where they had renewed, by two separate treaties, the alliance between Charles and Francis. The count of Saint Paul, and his brother, James of Luxembourg, Tanneguy Duchastel, Genlis and Romillé, vice-chancellor of Brittany, were the agents employed to conduct this secret negociation. Lewis, resolved at all events to penetrate the mystery, cited the count of St. Paul and Genlis to appear before him, to do homage for certain estates which they held of the crown of France. After some difficulty the latter obeyed the citation; but Lewis had the mortification to find all his stratagems for discovering the secret eluded, and all his efforts to detach the count of Saint Paul from the interest of the count of Charolois, fruitless and unavailing.

While the king was thus employed, the number of his enemies daily encreased. The duke of Brittany no sooner found himself extricated from the embarrassment into which he had been so unexpectedly thrown, than, in conformity to the advice of Duchastel, he began to think of providing against any future attack. He wrote to all the princes of the blood, and chief nobility; and his letters which were conveyed by messengers disguised like monks, contained the most urgent exhortations to unite in defence of the common cause. He warned them of the king's intention to destroy them all one after the other; observing, that they might judge, by the treatment which he had recently experienced, of the fate that awaited them; and that the only means of preventing a disgrace which threatened them all individually, was to act in concert, for the purpose of resisting oppression. The general discontent which prevailed in the kingdom had sufficiently prepared the minds of the public for the impressions which the duke wished them to receive. His emissaries returned with the most positive assurances of efficacious support from all those whom he solicited to enter into his projects. The confederates reciprocally exchanged vows of fidelity; and the king might count for his enemies most of the princes of the blood, and the principal nobility of the kingdom.

A. D. 1464.] Nothing was now wanting to complete the danger to which France was exposed of a total revolution, but the junction of the duke of Burgundy. Hitherto that prince, who was fond of repose, had refused to enter into this formidable association. It even seemed impossible to persuade him to such a measure, notwithstanding all the efforts of his son for that purpose. One false step, however, produced what the most urgent solicitations had failed to effect. The king having received information that the vice-chancellor of Brittany had performed several voyages to England, Holland and Flanders, thought it would be easy to discover the views of the princes, if he could once get their agent into his power; he therefore formed the design of seizing Romillé, who was then in England, on his return to Brittany. This commission was entrusted to the bastard of Rubempré, a man of bad character; and a small vessel was accordingly prepared for him, whose crew consisted of forty determined men.

Rubempré, after cruising some time in the channel, put into the port of Gorkum, a small town in Holland, situated on the river Waal, where the count of Charolois had arrived a few days before. As it was highly improbable that Rubempré should station himself at the extremity of Holland, in order to intercept a vessel on her way from England to Brittany, it has been *conjectured**, that he had received intelligence that Romillé was to pay a visit to the count on his return. Be that as it may, Rubempré having landed with a part of his crew, was known, seized, and thrown into prison, under pretence that he had come to Gorkum with the design to carry off the count, and deliver him up to Lewis.

Most of the modern historians of France, and some contemporary writers †, have attempted to justify Lewis from this accusation; but all they have been able to alledge in his favour, rather tends to involve the matter in obscurity than to prove his innocence. Appearances were most certainly against him. The character of the bastard of Rubempré; the profound secrecy observed even by his crew, who received orders to pay him implicit obedience; the place fixed on for the execution of the plan, at which the count of Charolois had but recently arrived; the conduct of Rubempré, who was seen loitering about the count's house, and examining every part of it; his alarm, which had led him to take refuge in a church, when he thought he was discovered; add to these considerations, the illiberal policy of Lewis, who had recently caused Philip, second son to the duke of Savoy, to be arrested, and sent to Loches, where he was confined for five years, although he had come to the court of France on an express invitation from the king, and under the protection of a safe conduct—this combination of circumstances forms strongest presumptive proof of the guilt of Lewis; a proof which his own disavowal of the deed is wholly insufficient to overturn.

At the very time that this plan was discovered, the frontiers of Picardy were lined with French troops. The king had repaired to Hesdin, to visit the duke of Burgundy, who received him with all the honours that were due to his rank. He there requested Philip to consent to the restitution of Lille, Douay, and Orchies, which had been pledged to the ancient counts of Flanders for four hundred thousand livres Tournois, and an annual tribute of ten thousand; but the duke replied, that those towns had been ceded by the king of France to his grandfather, Philip, duke of Burgundy, on his marriage with Margaret, heiress to the county of Flanders; and that it was specified in the deed of conveyance, that they should only revert to the crown in default of male heirs on the part of Philip. Some other demands preferred by the king were likewise rejected. The duke, on his side, requested the king to receive the count of Charolois into favour; to desist from exacting an engagement from the Flemish and Burgundian nobles, on their performance of homage, to serve him *against all men living*;

* Villaret, tom. xvii. p. 34.

† Coutin. de Monstrelet, vol. iii. fol. 103.

and, lastly, to fulfil several articles of the treaty of Arras, which had not yet been carried into execution. Lewis immediately left the duke without giving him any answer, and the next day set out for Abbeville. After remaining a short time at that city, he went to Rouen, and from thence returned into Ponthieu, and stopped at the village of Novian, near the forest of Cressy, six leagues from Hesdin, where the duke still remained. The two princes did not visit, and all the correspondence that passed between them was carried on through the means of Anthony de Croi. This coolness subsisted till the tenth of October, when the king sent word to Philip, that he would pay him a visit the next day.

The count of Charolois, who had just caused Rubempré to be apprehended, hastened to inform his father of the circumstance; for which purpose he dispatched Oliver de la Manche, an officer of his household, with a letter to the duke, containing a particular account of the conspiracy which, he said, he had detected. He not only accused the king of an attempt to seize his own person, but added, that it was also his intention to get the duke of Burgundy himself into his power; that it was with this view he had advanced so near to the place of the duke's residence; and that he had stationed several bodies of troops on the banks of the Somme, who were ready to assemble at the first notice.

Philip received the count's letter on the very day which the king had appointed for his visit. Not thinking himself in safety at Hesdin, where he expected every moment to be surrounded, he hastened to St. Paul, in Artois, leaving the town to the care of his nephew, Adolphus of Cleves, with orders to receive the king in case he kept his appointment; but Lewis, being apprised of his retreat, returned to Normandy. The news of the project which had been formed for seizing the duke of Burgundy, and the count of Charolois, was soon rendered public by the pains that were taken to promote its circulation. The count's emissaries made it the theme of their conversation in all companies; the clergy made the pulpits resound with it; and the intelligence was quickly conveyed to foreign courts. Meanwhile, Montauban, admiral of France, wrote to the lord of Croi, to engage him to hush up the affair,* and to release the bastard of Rubempré; but that nobleman sent back the letter, and refused to interfere in the business.

The king spared no pains to counteract the effects of these injurious reports. He summoned the deputies from the city of Rouen to attend him, and caused an apologetical discourse to be pronounced in their presence by the chancellor, containing a justification of his conduct, and a contradiction of the charge that had been preferred against him. Not content with this, he determined to demand satisfaction of the duke of Burgundy for the affront he had sustained, and for this purpose he sent the count of Eu, the archbishop of Narbonne, and Morvilliers, the chancellor, to Lille, where the count of Charolois had already arrived. The common danger to which they had been exposed, had produced a reconcilia-

tion between Philip and his son. The duke gave audience to the French ambassadors the day after their arrival, when he was addressed by Morvilliers, who began his speech by reproaching the duke of Brittany, who, he observed, had solicited the alliance of the English, the ancient enemies of the crown, and had, consequently, incurred *the forfeiture of his life and property*, as being guilty of high treason: that the king, being informed that this prince had sent the vice-chancellor of Brittany to England, had thought himself entitled to impede the progress of such a negotiation, for which purpose he had commissioned the bastard of Rubempré to intercept "that pernicious agent of the duke's evil designs" on his return to Brittany: that the count of Charolois, not content with violating the laws of nations, by imprisoning a man who was entrusted with a commission from the king, had caused it to be reported, that Rubempré had gone to Gorkum for the purpose of seizing his person: that Oliver de la Manche, who had been sent by the count to his father, had been careful to propagate these injurious reports in all the towns through which he passed: that a monk of Bruges had had the temerity to accuse his majesty, in a sermon, of an attempt on the liberty of the duke and his son: that the duke's hasty departure from Hesdin, afforded a sufficient proof, that this odious accusation had experienced too much credit: and that the king was of opinion, such a proceeding could originate with no other than the count of Charolois, who was doubtless discontented at the loss of his salary as lieutenant-general in Normandy. Morvilliers concluded his harangue by demanding, in the king's name, that Oliver de la Manche, and the monk, should be delivered up to him, in order to be punished as calumniators; and that the bastard of Rubempré should be set at liberty. While the chancellor was speaking, the count of Charolois exhibited evident marks of impatience, and was repeatedly on the point of interrupting him; but his father interfered, and ordered him to defer his reply to the next day, and, for the present, to leave the task of defending his conduct to himself.

The duke then addressed the ambassadors, and began by declaring, in the most positive terms, that he could not release Rubempré, since he had been arrested in Holland, a principality independent of the king: he then observed, that Oliver de la Manche was an officer of the count's household, that he would enquire into his guilt, and administer justice accordingly; and, that the monk was "a man of the church, whom he would not touch on any account."—"I wish every one to know," (continued Philip with warmth) *that I never made a promise to man or prince but I performed it to the utmost of my power.*" To soften this reproach, which appeared to be indirectly addressed to Lewis, he added, with a smile, "Tell the king, *I never broke my word, except with the ladies.*" Philip, it seems, was of a facetious disposition; in another part of his answer he observed, "If my son be *suspicious*, he does not take after me, who never entertained *suspensions* of any man; but he takes after his mother, who often *suspected* me of loving other women." Philip concluded his reply by complaining that the king, on almost all occasions, failed to keep his word. A knight then exclaimed, "My lord,

“ who is here present, only holds the duchy of Burgundy, with the counties of Flanders and Artois, of the king ; but he possesses, out of the kingdom, the duchies of Brabant, Luxembourg, Limbourg, and Lotrich ; the counties of Burgundy, Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Namur ; besides many other extensive lordships, all of which he holds of God alone, although he be not a king.” “ I would have it known,” interrupted the duke, “ *that I could have been a king, had I chosen it.*”

At the conference that was holden on the succeeding day, the chancellor of France renewed his complaints, and repeated his demands of satisfaction ; but the duke persisted in the answer he had already delivered, only adding, that he could not disapprove of his son’s conduct, in apprehending Rubempré, who, by his strange behaviour, had laid himself open to suspicion ; that if that ci-devant adventurer, on whom the title of king’s envoy had been conferred, was really innocent of the crime imputed to him, he had nothing to apprehend ; and that, at all events, he might depend on justice being done him.

At length the count of Charolois having obtained permission to speak, began by justifying the duke of Brittany, between whom and himself, he acknowledged, a close alliance subsisted, but it was a connection of such a nature, as could by no means affect the king. He declared, that he did not complain of the loss of his salary, as lieutenant-general in Normandy, of which he had never received more than one quarter ; for that since he had recovered his father’s favour, he could very easily dispense with the benefactions of any other person. He observed, that the bastard of Rubempré, whom he had ordered to be imprisoned, was a man of infamous character ; that if he were really “ *the king’s legate,*” as the ambassadors had asserted, he ought to have paid him a visit on his arrival at *Gorkum*, which was certainly not a proper place for the purpose of watching a man on his return from England to Brittany ; and that it was not probable the duke’s envoy should pass through that town on his way home.

At the last audience the chancellor renewed his demands for the release of the prisoner, with which the duke peremptorily refused to comply, telling him that he would soon send ambassadors to the king, and that he hoped his majesty would expect nothing farther from him. Such was the issue of an embassy, into the particulars of which it was necessary to enter, that the reader might be enabled to form some judgment of an affair, which had a considerable influence on the commotions which soon after appeared. When the ambassadors took leave of the count of Charolois, he said to the archbishop of Narbonne, “ Recommend me most humbly to the king’s favour, and tell him, that he has made the chancellor *trim me* ; but that before the expiration of a year, he will repent his conduct.” These threats, which were faithfully reported to the king, ought to have opened his eyes ; but they had a very different effect on him ; he thought that he had nothing to fear from a prince, who had recourse to vain bravadoes, and whose resentment exhaled in words.

Meanwhile the French malecontents daily acquired fresh strength, and additional

confidence; and so disgusted were the people with the tyrannical government of Lewis, that the disaffection appears to have extended from one extremity of the kingdom to the other. Still Lewis was in the dark as to the authors of these dangerous commotions; and, if we except the duke of Burgundy and count of Charolois, he was surrounded by enemies the more dangerous, as they were all unknown to him. The intelligence he received from different quarters increased his alarms, but gave him no information. Though the conspiracy was formed in his capital, at his court, nay almost in his presence, yet he did not perceive it. Contemporary writers relate, that the confederates frequently met in the cathedral at Paris; where a green silk lace, fastened to the girdle, served as their mark of distinction. It seems wonderful, that a secret which had been imparted to so many persons, should be inviolably preserved for so long a space of time. The duke of Bourbon, one of the leaders of the conspiracy, had passed some time at court, in order to watch the king's motions. On his departure, he repaired to Lille, in order to fix the wavering resolution of the duke of Burgundy, who had hitherto refused to declare himself, notwithstanding the urgent solicitations of his son. And he probably would have continued to temporize but for the arrival of the duke of Bourbon, who was himself displeased with the king, for having refused to promote him to the dignity of constable. This nobleman, who was nephew to the duke of Burgundy by his mother's side, had acquired a great ascendancy over the mind of Philip. He now represented to him, in such strong terms, the danger to which all the princes were exposed, from a monarch, unjust and ambitious, who only sought to raise himself by humbling them; he urged, with so much energy, the necessity of uniting their efforts against a power that daily became more formidable, that the duke, at length, consented to levy troops, and to send orders to his vassals to arm. This was all that the count of Charolois required, from the conviction, that such a proceeding constituted an engagement, which precluded the possibility of retraction. He now found himself at the head of all the forces in his father's dominions, and this important command rendered him, in a certain degree, independent on paternal authority. The first exertion of his power was directed against the lords of Croi, whom he declared his personal enemies, as well as enemies to the state; commanding them, under pain of death, to quit the court, and the service of his father, whose favour and confidence they had abused. The order was so peremptory, that they thought it prudent to submit, and accordingly left the country, without even daring to take leave of the duke. Philip, notwithstanding the debility occasioned by the natural infirmities of age, which had almost destroyed the vigour of his mind, was no sooner apprized of his son's imperious conduct, than he flew into a most violent passion. In the first transport of his rage he seized a spear, and rushing out of his apartment, ran from room to room, exclaiming aloud, that he would soon see whether his son would have the audacity to kill his officers in his presence. His servants had the prudence to conceal the keys of the palace gates; and while he was insisting on having them broken open, his sister, the du-

chefs of Bourbon, came up with the ladies of her retinue, and with some difficulty prevailed on him to return to his chamber. During three weeks he would not suffer any one to mention his son's name to him; but having attended a public sermon on the forgiveness of injuries, he was moved by the arguments employed by the christian orator, and, at length, consented to a reconciliation with the count.

A. D. 1465.] The king, convinced of his imprudence, in having allowed time to the duke of Brittany to make preparations for resisting his attack, now resolved to dispossess him of his dominions; but before he would proceed to extremities, he deemed it necessary to offer some kind of excuse for his conduct. With this view he convened an assembly of the nobles at Tours, which was attended by the king of Sicily; the dukes of Orleans, Bourbon, and Nemours; the counts of Angoulême, Eu, Maine, Nevers, St. Paul, Penthievre, and Tancarville, with many others of the principal nobility. The chancellor Morvilliers, and Dauvet the attorney-general, explained the charges exhibited against the duke of Brittany, and the arguments which had been offered in his defence. This artful manner of submitting the question to the decision of the assembly, seemed the most likely means of securing all their suffrages. They, accordingly, expressed their unanimous approbation of the king's resentment, and all joined in condemning the duke, though many of them had already entered into engagements with him. The next day the king himself addressed the assembly; his speech contained an apology for his own government since his accession to the throne, and an attack on the administration of the preceding reign. The king of Sicily assured him, in the name of the assembly, that they were all entirely devoted to his service; though, at the same time they offered their mediation to engage the duke of Brittany to return to his duty.

But though Lewis appeared to pay so much deference to the opinions of his nobles, he very soon took an opportunity of convincing them, that by so doing he had imposed on himself a constraint which his haughty disposition could but ill brook. Before the dissolution of the assembly, Charles, duke of Orleans, deceived by the appearance of mildness which Lewis had assumed, determined to intercede for the duke of Brittany; he accordingly spoke in favour of that prince, and endeavoured to extenuate the faults of which he was accused. The age, services, unshaken fidelity, and irreproachable conduct of the duke of Orleans, had given him the privilege of delivering his sentiments with manly freedom. Conscious of this, he ventured to remonstrate against some of the numerous abuses which prevailed in the government. Lewis, who had pronounced a panegyric upon himself, could not bear with patience any reflections which tended to convey an indirect censure on his own conduct; his ear, unaccustomed to the voice of truth, was shocked at its awful sound. He loaded the venerable prince with the most insulting reproaches, publicly accusing him of harbouring criminal designs, and of taking the part of insurgents, in opposition to his sovereign. The duke immediately withdrew; and as his mind was too sensible of dishonour, he sunk.

beneath the pressure of unmerited insult, and on the fourth of January expired, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, regretted by the whole nation. Besides two daughters, one of whom was abbess of Fontevraud, and the other wife to John de Foix, viscount of Narbonne, the duke left, by his third wife, Mary of Cleves, one son, named Lewis, who had been affianced, in the preceding year, to Jane, the infant daughter of the king.

The duke of Brittany, apprized of the king's intentions to invade his dominions without delay, again endeavoured to ward off the blow by negotiation. The confederates had at length completed their long projected scheme, and only waited for the signal to declare themselves. At such a conjuncture every moment was precious: the duke therefore dispatched Tanneguy Du Chastel and the vice-chancellor of Brittany, to Lewis; and in order to gain time, these ambassadors acceded to whatever the king required of them. The duke engaged to comply with most of his demands, and very soon to pay a visit to the king at Poitiers. Lewis again suffered himself to be deceived, and trusting he had at length brought the duke to accede to his own terms, he loaded his ambassadors with caresses; and set out on a pilgrimage to Notre-Dame du Pont, in the Limousin.

As soon as the king was gone, his brother Charles, duke of Berry, accompanied by the lord of L'Escun, joined the Breton ambassadors, who had waited for him at some distance from Poitiers, and fled to Brittany; breaking down all the bridges he passed on the road, from the apprehension of being pursued. The retreat of Charles was the signal of revolt; and the flames of civil discord accordingly burst out in every part of the kingdom, almost at the same instant.

A manifesto was immediately published in the name of the duke of Berry, who, it must be observed, was only in his seventeenth year, explaining the motives of his flight. "He had left Poitiers," he said, "because he had been "apprized of the calamities which prevailed in the kingdom, through the misconduct of the king's ministers, who made justice subservient to their caprice, "and compelled the judges of the parliament, and other tribunals, to pronounce "such sentences as they chose to dictate." After stating some other grievances, which, he said, dishonoured the kingdom, and exposed it to the contempt of foreign powers; he concluded by observing, that his sole object was to procure the dismissal of evil counsellors, and to relieve the people from oppression. All the other princes of the blood distributed manifestoes to the same purport; and as the *avowed* object of the confederacy was to enforce a salutary reform in the government, with a view to establish the happiness and welfare of the nation, on a solid and permanent basis, they gave it the high-sounding title of THE LEAGUE FOR THE PUBLIC GOOD.

Lewis resolved to direct his first attacks against the duke of Brittany; and, with that view, he wrote to the duke of Bourbon to raise a body of troops in his domains, and join with him without delay. But he was greatly surprized to re-

ceive an answer from the duke, in which he not only refused, in the most peremptory terms, to comply with his orders; but proceeded to load him with the most bitter reproaches, directing his censure against every act of his government; accusing him of having substituted his own arbitrary will for the laws of the realm; of keeping the princes of the blood, and the most distinguished of the nobility, at a distance from his person; of prostituting his confidence to men who were unworthy to enjoy it; and of treating with contempt all remonstrance and advice. He then told him, that with a view to correct these flagrant abuses, and to relieve an oppressed people, the princes and nobles had entered into a confederacy, in order to enforce a change of measures, which would equally tend *to his own good, and to the good of his crown*. The duke, at the same time, took possession of the treasury, seized all the money he found there, and put the receiver-general of the finances under arrest.

Although the duke of Bourbon, in his answer to the king, had not mentioned the names of the confederate princes, they soon made themselves known. John, duke of Calabria, Lorraine, and Bar, being discontented with Lewis for having refused to assist him in the conquest of Naples, was one of the first to take up arms, notwithstanding the exhortations of his father, the king of Sicily. The duke of Nemours, the lord of Albret, the count of Dunois, and even the duke of Alençon, and the count of Armagnac, who were indebted to Lewis for the restitution of their honours and estates, were among the chiefs of the league, which was soon strengthened by the presence of the count of Dammartin, who effected his escape from the Bastille.

While the princes were engaged in collecting their troops, the most formidable of all the confederates, the count of Charolois, had already assembled all the forces of the Low Countries, and just sent orders to the marshal of Burgundy to summon the nobility of that province, as well as of Franche-Comté, to march at a moment's warning. Hitherto the duke of Burgundy had been a stranger to the true object of the league; he had given his consent to levy troops, for the purpose of securing the tranquillity of his own dominions against the restless ambition of the king, and had expected that the confederates would act merely on the defensive *. But as soon as the count of Charolois had made every necessary preparation, he informed his father of his intention to invade France; telling him, that all the chiefs of the confederacy, united by the strong ties of interest, were eager to revenge their common injuries; that their place of rendezvous was under the walls of Paris; and, that all their plans were so well concerted, it would be impossible for the king to resist their efforts. The duke, at this period, received the duke of Berry's manifesto, accompanied by a private letter from that prince, which immediately removed his scruples, and superinduced his consent to the adoption of decisive measures. When the count

* Villaret.

took leave of his father, before he joined the army, the old duke said to him, "*Do your duty, my son; behave valiantly, and prefer death to flight.*"

All the malecontents in the kingdom hastened to join the confederates. The veteran troops, the most courageous officers and the most experienced commanders quitted the king's service, and enlisted under the banners of his opponents. Never had the kingdom been threatened with a revolution more sudden and complete. From the extremity of Holland and Zealand, from the frontiers of Germany, and the banks of the Maese, to the foot of the Pyrenees, the whole strength of the monarchy was united to crush the king. Nothing could have saved Lewis from destruction, had the conduct of his enemies been equal to their resentment.

Amidst this alarming concurrence of circumstances, the genius of Lewis, active, penetrating, and peculiarly calculated to extricate him from difficulties, eminently appeared. He had concluded various treaties with the German and Italian princes; but the only one of his allies on whom he could depend was Francisco Sforza, duke of Milan, one of the most skilful politicians, and greatest generals of the age, who had usurped that duchy from the house of Orleans. To this prince, Lewis had ceded the lordship of Genoa, and the town of Savona, to be holden, as fiefs, of the crown of France; on which condition Sforza had accepted them, and his ambassadors had done homage for them to the king in his name.

Lewis immediately issued orders to the governors of the different towns and fortresses in his dominions, to defend them to the utmost against the attacks of the confederates. Charles de Melun, governor of Paris, armed the citizens of the capital, who, for once, signalized their loyalty and zeal. The city was put in the best possible state of defence; the chains were fixed at the ends of the streets; all the gates but two were blocked up; and provisions provided for several months. Some days after these precautions had been taken, the marechal de Gamaches reinforced the garrison with a strong body of regular troops. The king was so well pleased with the conduct of the inhabitants of Paris, that he sent four of his principal officers to return them thanks for the zeal they had displayed; and, at the same time, to inform them, "*that the Queen intended to lie in at Paris, as she preferred that city to all the cities in the world.*" The counts of Nevers and Eu had orders to defend the towns on the Somme, and to oppose the count of Charolois, who was expected to make his first attack in that quarter; while the count of Maine led a considerable detachment into Normandy, to deter the Bretons from insulting the frontiers of that province. The king, at the same time, published a declaration, promising a free pardon to all who, before the expiration of six weeks, should quit the rebel army, and return to their duty.

Lewis, after these preparatory measures, the only ones which, under such circumstances, he could adopt, placed himself at the head of his army, which consisted of fourteen thousand well-disciplined and experienced troops. As he

intended first to attack the duke of Bourbon, the least powerful of the confederates, he marched, with great rapidity, through Poitou and Berry, and, after making an unsuccessful attempt upon Bourges, entered the Bourbonnois, to the great astonishment of the duke, who was totally disconcerted by such an unexpected attack.

When the duke of Bourbon first raised the standard of revolt, he had wholly forgotten to provide for his own safety. He had but few troops; his towns, ill garrisoned, and badly fortified, were exposed to the attacks of a formidable army, for the king's forces were, by this time, increased to twenty-five thousand men. In such emergency, his only alternative was flight or submission. The duchess of Bourbon, who was sister to the king, went to meet her brother, and exerted her influence with so much zeal and address, that she prevailed on him to listen to terms of accommodation. The arrival of the duke of Nemours, with a body of troops, and of another detachment, sent by the marshal of Burgundy, which was speedily to be followed by a more considerable force, rendered the duke difficult as to the conditions of the treaty, and proved the means of prolonging the negotiation. He consented, however, to disarm; but he broke this convention as soon as he found that the count of Armagnac was hastening to his assistance, at the head of six thousand horse. The truce was, accordingly at an end; and the king, vexed at having lost so much time, pressed the confederates with vigour and effect. The duke, though supported by the count of Armagnac, the duke of Nemours, and the lord of Albert, was compelled to fly before the royal army, and soon found himself reduced to the necessity of quitting the Bourbonnois, and shutting himself up, with his allies, in the town of Rom. Lewis immediately formed the siege of that place; with the resolution, at all events, to bring the war to a speedy conclusion; the princes were obliged to submit, and to conclude a truce, during which it was agreed to adopt the necessary measures for effecting a general pacification: they engaged to declare against the other chiefs of the confederacy, should they still persist in their revolt, and also to make the duke of Bourbon, who during the negotiation had fled to Moulins, sign these conditions. The king could not place much reliance on the execution of a treaty which was only conditional, and which, in fact, was soon violated; but the accounts he received of the motions of the count of Charolois and the duke of Brittany, did not permit him to prolong his stay in that quarter. He left a few troops to keep the duke of Bourbon in awe on the side of Auvergne and Berry, while Galeazzo, son to Francisco Sforza, his friend and ally, laid waste Le Forest and Le Beaujolois.

The count of Charolois, with an army of twenty-six thousand men, advanced towards the river Somme, while the duke of Brittany directed his march to the banks of the Loire. The confederated princes had fixed their rendezvous in the isle of France, which was destined to be the scene of action. The king's object was to prevent a junction, on which the fate of the kingdom evidently depended. At a conjuncture thus delicate, when the smallest delay might be productive of

the most important effects, the count of Vendome rendered the most essential service to Lewis, by refusing a passage through his territories to the Breton troops. This impediment, by occasioning a loss of time, proved highly prejudicial to the interests of the confederates.

The Burgundian army passed the Somme at Bray; and the count of Nevers, and the marechal de Gamaches, who had thrown themselves into Amiens with two thousand men, in the expectation that the count of Charolois would form the siege of that city, sallied forth for the purpose of harrassing the enemy on their march; but finding all their efforts frustrated by the vigilance of the count, the marechal made the best of his way to the capital.

The count of Charolois met with but few obstacles to impede his progress. The towns of Picardy did not openly declare in his favour, but they admitted his troops, and supplied them with provisions. Nesle, Roye, Montidier, Beaulieu, and Pont-Saint-Maixence, were either taken by surprize, or else surrendered on the first summons. In all those places, the count, styling himself lieutenant-general of the kingdom, under the command of the duke of Berry, published a general abolition of imposts, accompanied by a declaration, that the sole object of the confederated princes was to promote the public good, by effecting a reform in the government. The count continued his march to the isle of France, where he halted, and established his head-quarters at Saint Denis. He there expected to find the body of troops which he had ordered the marechal of Burgundy to levy in that province, and likewise to be met by the duke of Brittany, according to appointment, and his astonishment could only be equalled by his disappointment, when he had heard that the duke was still at Nantes, and that the forces from Burgundy, finding every passage occupied by the royalists, could not possibly join him. Enraged at this unexpected check, he would have returned to Flanders, had he not been restrained by shame. Romillé, the vice-chancellor of Brittany, who was with him, endeavoured to moderate his anger, by assuring him, that his master would speedily join him with a powerful army. That minister had several *blank letters*, signed by the duke, which he filled up with false intelligence; by which artifice he amused the count, and induced him to give up all thoughts of a retreat, which must have entirely disconcerted the plans of the confederates.

It was proposed, in a council of war, to endeavour, by a general assault, to get possession of the capital; but the town was too well fortified to hazard such an attempt. The count of Charolois drew up his troops in order of battle, within sight of the ramparts, in the hope of intimidating the inhabitants by a display of his power, and of reviving the ancient factions of the Burgundians, of which the remains were still perceptible; but this manœuvre failed of success. The marechal de Rohaut made a sally, but was driven back with some loss. A few days after, the count sent four heralds at arms to the gate of Saint Denis, to demand provisions, and a passage for his troops; while he attacked the suburb of

Saint-Lazarus, and had nearly forced the barrier, when the arrival of the troops compelled him to retreat.

The king had sent word to the Parisians, by Cousinot, bailiff of Rouen, that he would soon come to their relief with his whole army; and, indeed, he considered the preservation of the capital as the most important object of the war. The count of Charolois had ordered some of his emissaries to introduce themselves into the town, and sound the disposition of the inhabitants. One of these agents, a canon of Arras, was discovered by the marshal, who allowed him to return to the Burgundian camp, on condition that he would tell the count that letters had just been received from the king, containing positive information, that he would be at Paris in four days, and *then it would be seen who was strongest*. The count pretended to disbelieve the intelligence, observing, that the marshal had deceived him too often already.

The Burgundians called another council of war, to deliberate on the measures to be pursued at the present conjuncture. Many officers were of opinion, that it would be most prudent to return, since their allies had not fulfilled their engagement; and they observed, that if they deferred their retreat, they would find all the passages closed, from their neglect to secure the frontier-towns of Artois and Picardy*; but the count of Charolois rejected these timid proposals, and immediately gave orders to his troops to hold themselves in readiness to march, to meet the duke of Brittany. With this view he forced a passage over the bridge of Saint Cloud, and crossed the Seine, in full expectation of being speedily met by the Breton troops.

The king, meanwhile, had left the Bourbonnois, and was advancing, by rapid marches, with the resolution to prevent a junction that must give a decided superiority to his enemies. He called a council, in order to determine whether it would be most prudent to attack the duke of Brittany, who was the weakest of his adversaries, and whose defeat might intimidate the allies, or to march immediately against the Burgundians. The king adopted the latter opinion, the most dangerous to follow, but yet the most decisive; since, by obtaining a victory over the count of Charolois, the dissolution of the league, of which he was the principal support, might, it was conceived, be easily effected. The monarch's advice was unanimously embraced, except by Brezé, seneschal of Normandy, who maintained a contrary opinion: he observed, that the count of Charolois was at the head of an army who idolized him; and every man of which would deem it his duty to sacrifice his life in his defence: that the case was very different with the duke of Brittany, whose troops were less devoted to their leader, and many of whom, having served under Charles the Seventh, would feel a repugnance at fighting against his son, and might reasonably be expected to desert to the royalists; and that, by conquering the Bretons, the duke of Berry, whose name afforded a specious pretext to the measures of the confederates, would fall into the

* Phil de Commines.

king's power. These reasons, however, proved insufficient to shake the king's resolution. Brezé was even accused of timidity; but to such accusations the gallant veteran replied, "That if a battle ensued, he would convince his accusers" his soul was a stranger to fear, and that his advice to the king had been influenced by the purest sentiments of loyalty.

The royal army arrived at *Châtres*, now *Arpajon*, at the same time that the Burgundians reached Longjumeau. The count of Saint Paul, who commanded the van of the latter, advanced as far as Montlhery, where he first received intelligence that the king was within half a day's march of him: he immediately communicated this information to the count of Charolois, who chose the plain of Longjumeau for the scene of action, and ordered the count of Saint Paul to quit the post of Montlhery, and join the main body.

On the sixteenth of July (1465) the two armies came in sight of each other, prepared to decide the fate of the monarchy, and the fortune of Lewis. The royal army was composed of warlike troops, well-appointed, and well-disciplined; the Burgundians, though superior in numbers by one-third, were more formidable in appearance than effect: the nobility, long accustomed to repose, were wholly inexperienced in the art of war; few of the troops had seen any service; and most of the men at arms were ill-equipped, and undisciplined.

Lewis, reflecting on the fatal consequences of a defeat, was still at a loss how to act. On the evening of the fifteenth, he had called a council of war, in which it was decided, that the troops should continue their march to Paris, and avoid an action, unless the enemy should attack them on the road. The seneschal of Normandy had strenuously opposed this plan; which made Lewis ask, "Whether he had not subscribed the league of his enemies?" "They have, indeed," my signature," replied Brezé, "but my person is your's." As he left the council he was heard to say, that he would bring the king and the count of Charolois so near to each other, that it should require the exertion of wonderful skill to prevent them from meeting; and he was the better enabled to perform this promise, as the command of the van of the army was entrusted to him.

Some awkward manœuvres in the Burgundian army made the count of Charolois lose the opportunity of attacking the French as they passed through the wood of *Torsou* into the plain. The royalists, therefore, had ample time to range themselves in order of battle behind a thick hedge, that was skirted by a wide ditch. The king drew up his troops in three divisions, forming a centre, commanded by himself, and two wings, which he entrusted to the conduct of Brezé, and the count of Maine.

The whole morning of the sixteenth was passed by the two armies in observing each other's motions. The royalists, who had but little artillery, were extremely galled by the enemies' fire. The count of Charolois, having flattered himself that the king would begin the attack, had ordered his archers, who were placed in the van, to fix stakes, pointed with iron, in the ground before them, to check the enemy's cavalry; but finding the royalists determined to remain where they were,

he changed his plan, and about one o'clock gave the signal of attack. But the troops, instead of advancing slowly towards the enemy, as they were ordered to do, rushed impetuously forward through the fields of standing corn which lay between the two armies; so that when they reached the spot where the French were stationed they were quite out of breath. The count of Saint Paul, however, and the lord of Ravestein, who commanded the left wing of the Burgundians, attacked the French with great fury. Brezé was killed at the first onset; but, undismayed by the loss of their leader, the troops sustained, with great resolution, the impetuous efforts of the enemy, until the king came to supply the place of the seneschal: inspirited by the presence of their sovereign, they pressed the Burgundians in their turn, and after an obstinate contest, in which Saint Paul and Ravestein signalized their courage, compelled them to retreat to their camp. While the king defeated the left wing of the Burgundians, the count of Charolois attacked the centre division of the royalists, which he soon routed, and pursued the fugitives half a league beyond the village of Montlhéry. He thought himself sure of the victory, when he was told, that the French, after defeating his left wing, were advancing to attack him, and that if he did not speedily retreat, he would be inevitably surrounded.

The king, meanwhile, having returned to the field of battle, where he had to sustain a fresh attack from a body of troops, commanded by the bastard of Burgundy, which had not yet engaged. In this conflict, most of the archers of his guards were slain, and his own horse was killed under him, by the bastard himself. This accident occasioned a general alarm, and it was believed that the king was dead; but his guards rescued him from the enemy, and carried him in their arms to Montlhéry, where such of his troops as had not been totally dispersed, rallied. Lewis was in the castle of Montlhéry with his guards, when the count of Charolois, on his return from the pursuit, passed by the gates; and that prince must inevitably have been taken, since he had very few attendants with him, had a proper force been sent to attack him; but only fifteen or sixteen archers were employed on a service of this importance, and the count defended himself against them with incredible valour: notwithstanding his exertions, however, his attendants were almost slain; and Saint Belin, bailiff of Chaumont, laying hold of him, exclaimed, "Yield, my lord, I know you well; do not lay us under the necessity of putting you to death." At that instant, a man at arms, extremely well mounted, arrived to his assistance, and rushing on the French archers, slew most of them, and put the rest to flight. The count immediately hastened to the field of battle, and knighted his deliverer. He had scarcely time to collect a few of his men, before the king returned to the charge, and he again found himself in danger of being surrounded. Perceiving the count of Saint Paul at a distance, with a part of the left wing, which he had rallied, he sent to him to quicken his pace, but the count continued to move slowly forward; and this manœuvre, as Duclos judiciously observes, saved the Burgundians from destruction. The corps which Saint Paul commanded did not, when the prince first perceived him, exceed

fifty men; but by the slowness of his pace he had given time to others to come up with him, so that when he joined the count of Charolois, he was accompanied by no less than eight hundred men at arms. This unexpected succour enabled the prince to renew the combat, and even gave him an advantage, in point of numbers, over the king, who in vain employed the most courageous efforts to recover the superiority he had lost. Three times did he rally his troops; but being deserted by the count of Maine, and the admiral de Montauban, who fled with their respective detachments, the contest became very unequal, and had not the day been so far advanced, he must probably have sustained a total defeat.

The combatants were at length compelled to separate, by the approach of night. The king retired to Montlhery, while the count of Charolois remained in his camp. They had both displayed the most unequivocal proofs of personal valour, though their exertions were but ill seconded by their troops. It would be difficult to say which obtained the victory; certain it is, that they both thought themselves defeated at the time; though, the next day, each of them claimed the honour of the triumph*. In the course of the battle, in which neither skill nor order had been displayed, both the French and Burgundians committed a multiplicity of errors, alternately exhibiting exertions of heroic valour, and acts of the basest cowardice. Lewis, though brave himself, viewed with indifference the courage of others. "He frequently deprived one man,"—says Commines—"of his place and estates, for having run away, to confer them on another, who had run ten leagues farther." The same author relates, that a statesman in the royal army fled as far as Luzignan without stopping; while a man of distinction on the Burgundian side quitted the field, and galloped with equal speed to Quesnoy. The loss on both sides, at the battle of Montlhery, did not exceed three thousand six hundred men. A party of the Burgundian fugitives were intercepted by the Parisians, and all of them massacred or taken prisoners. The booty acquired by the assailants on this occasion is said to have been estimated at two hundred thousand crowns of gold†.

The king, overpowered by fatigue, with a mind labouring under the most dreadful anxiety, could not contemplate, without horror, the danger of his situation. He had but a very small number of troops with him, and he was wholly ignorant of the state of his enemies, who, he had every reason to believe had obtained a complete victory. Montlhery was not a post of sufficient strength to resist the attacks of a victorious army, he therefore resolved on an immediate retreat; and the darkness of the night favouring the attempt, he had the good fortune to arrive safe at Corbeil early the next morning.

While Lewis was thus anxious to fly from the Burgundians, a council of war was called by the count of Charolois, at which it was proposed by the count of Saint Paul to burn all the baggage, and retire with precipitation into Burgundy.

* Villaret, tom. xvii. p. 94.

† Idem.

This proposal was unanimously adopted by all the officers present, except the lord of Contay, who maintained, that it would be impossible to execute such a plan, since it would expose the prince to the danger of being deserted by all his followers; that most of them, being natives of the Low Countries, would retire to that quarter, on the very first orders they received for decamping; that it would be infinitely more eligible to run the risk of a second battle, than to incur the danger of a general defection; and, in short, that the only alternative now left them, was conquest or death. The count of Charolois immediately embraced an opinion so consonant with his courage, and general orders were accordingly issued to prepare for action at break of day; but at the time appointed for a renewal of the conflict, the flight of Lewis was first discovered by the Burgundians, who asserted their claim to victory, by passing the whole day under arms. The king, on his side, advanced the same pretensions, though on what they could be founded it is impossible to conceive. As he had left the enemy masters of the field, he thought to obviate that plausible objection to his claims, by the ridiculous observation, that "it was not to be wondered at that the count of Charolois should remain in the fields, since he had neither town nor fortress to afford him shelter." It must be confessed, however, that neither party had much cause for exultation; though both of them secured by the conflict the same advantage they had hoped to derive from victory: the king had opened himself a passage to the metropolis; and the count of Charolois had removed all obstacles to his junction with the duke of Brittany, who had just arrived at Etampes.

Lewis entered Paris on the eighteenth of July, two days after the battle; when he supped with Charles of Melun, and several of the nobility, and some of the *citizen's wives* were admitted to his table. Though on his arrival he was only accompanied by one hundred horse, he was soon joined by so many of his troops, that, being unable to find quarters for them all in the city, he was under the necessity of forming a camp on the banks of the Seine. He expressed his determination to collect his scattered forces, and once more to try the fortune of war; but he was soon induced to give up a design, which prudence forbade him to accomplish. His present object was to provide for the safety of the capital. Some partizans of the league having been arrested, were immediately put to death; and the monarch attended their execution, and urged the executioner to perform his duty with spirit and effect.*

Influenced by the same motives, he courted the affection of the Parisians with incredible zeal, neglecting no measure which his sagacity could suggest for the acquisition of popularity. He visited all the principal citizens, entered into familiar conversation with them, and admitted them to his table: he also abolished most of the imposts, and confirmed the privileges of the city. At the suggestion of William Chartier, bishop of Paris, six citizens, six members of the university,

* Chron. de Saint Denis.

and six judges of the parliament, were appointed to manage the most important and most urgent business of the state. When the king had regulated all these matters, he went into Normandy, with a view to arm the nobility, and to bring back with him most of the troops which he had left for the defence of that province, which, from the absence of the duke of Brittany he no longer conceived to be in danger.

Meanwhile the count of Charolois having collected his forces, which had been dispersed at the battle of Montlhery, and effected a junction with the Bretons, advanced towards Paris, accompanied by the dukes of Berry and Brittany. The duke of Burgundy had sent a considerable body of cavalry, under the command of Saveuses, to join him at the gates of the capital: he was farther reinforced by the duke of Bourbon; the count of Armagnac; the duke of Nemours; and the lord of Albret. The duke of Calabria, too, hastened to join the confederates with a small body of well-disciplined troops, who had served under him in the Italian wars, and five hundred Swiss infantry, the first ever seen in France. The isle of France was scarcely capable of containing this immense army, the cavalry whereof amounted to one hundred thousand men. As the princes, in hope that the inhabitants would admit them into the capital, wished to spare their property; they made their troops observe the strictest discipline; except the forces of the count of Armagnac, who, receiving no pay, were compelled to live at discretion; and these were stationed in the province of Brie, which they laid waste.

The Parisians having taken the bridges at Saint Cloud and Charenton, at the time of the battle of Montlhery, the count of Charolois caused a bridge of boats to be constructed, over which his troops passed the Seine: he then retook Charenton and Saint Cloud, and formed a semicircular camp, commanding all the northern part of the city, while the king's troops were stationed on the opposite side. The loss of Charenton might have occasioned a scarcity of provisions in the capital, but such care had been taken to provide an ample stock, that no apprehensions of that kind were entertained.

Though all the efforts which the count of Charolois had hitherto made to obtain admission into Paris, had proved fruitless, yet he did not despair of finally accomplishing his project. He thought that the name of the duke of Berry, on whom the confederates had conferred the title of regent of the kingdom, joined to specious promises the hope of a salutary reform; and, that the presence of a formidable army, commanded by the most distinguished captains in France, would intimidate or seduce the inhabitants of the capital, and engage them to declare in favour of a league, which had for its object the public good. It was resolved to demand a conference with the Parisians, in order to explain to them the motives which had determined the princes to take up arms; for this purpose, letters signed by the duke of Berry, were sent to the parliament, the municipal body, and the university, inviting them to appoint deputies for conducting a negotiation.

Deputies were accordingly chosen, who proceeded to the Burgundian camp, under the conduct of the bishop of Paris, where they were received by the duke of Berry, as the representative of the sovereign, attended by the count of Charolois, the dukes of Brittany and Calabria, and others of the princes and nobility. The count of Dunois addressed the deputies in the name of the confederated princes, "Who," he observed, "had long considered, with attention, the manners of Lewis, who not only oppressed the people by superfluous taxes, and the exaction of unusual services, but treated them with the same contempt which he bestowed on all the nobles of the realm, and deprived them of all authority. They reproached him with making his own will the sole rule of his actions; *he was the law, the judge, and the parliament.*" The count remarked, "That he only sought to secure his power by the force of arms, and the exertions of his troops; that his person was surrounded, and his favour monopolized, by persons of the lowest extraction, who were meanly obsequious to his wishes, and passively obedient to his commands, on which account he raised them to an equality with the princes of his blood: that the kingdom was filled with spies and informers, so that no man's life nor property was secure: that suspicions the most frivolous were admitted as sufficient for punishing the citizens with exile or death: that the wild beasts enjoyed greater freedom and safety in France than men: that the wealth of the kingdom was thrown away on persons destitute of honour and probity: that they alone obtained pensions; and that the period was arrived, when almost *all the property in the kingdom was at the disposal of one man*: that these numerous abuses had induced the princes to take up arms, and to repair to Paris, to take the general opinion of the French, and to call an assembly of the states, in order to correct the vices which prevailed in the government: that Lewis was indeed their king, but that it became their dignity to exhort and admonish him to follow the steps of his predecessors, to conform to the laws, and to have compassion on the people.*"

The deputies, on their return, repaired to the town-house, and reported the result of their conference to the inhabitants; adding, that the princes threatened to lay waste the environs of the capital, if they still persisted in refusing them admission. After some deliberation, it was agreed, that the deputies should return to the princes, and assure them, that if they would bind themselves by an oath, to commit no kind of violence, and to pay for every thing they wanted, they were willing, with the king's consent, to admit them into the town.

At this juncture, the admiral de Montauban arrived at Paris, with a strong reinforcement of troops; and advice was received, at the same time, that the king might be soon expected. In fact, he arrived a few days after, accompanied by the count of Maine, and all the troops he could collect in Normandy. Lewis being informed of the negotiations which had been carried on in his absence, was

* Villaret.

extremely enraged at the inhabitants for having presumed to deliberate without his orders, on the proposals of the princes. He did not, however, think it prudent to give a full scope to his resentment, but contented himself with passing a sentence of banishment on the principal conductors of the negotiation. He took the government of Paris from Charles of Melun, and bestowed that post, which at this period he considered as the most important one in his gift, on the count of Eu.

On the king's arrival, the royalists, who had hitherto stood on the defensive, made frequent sallies on the enemy, though Lewis was careful not to risk a decisive action. The confederates, finding there were little hopes of reducing the capital, began to be tired of the war; the count of Charolois, too, was anxious to return to the Low Countries, where the people of Liege, at the instigation of Lewis, had committed the most dreadful depredations. The consequence of this disposition was, the conclusion of a truce for some days, during which it was proposed to effect a final accommodation. The truce, however, was ill observed, especially by the confederates, whose troops, no longer submissive to the restraint of discipline, laid waste the environs of Paris. The king himself could scarcely contain his troops within the bounds of moderation; those who were stationed in the vicinity of the metropolis did as much damage to the farmers as the enemies themselves did; while the garrison of Paris, rendered insolent by a consciousness of their own importance, treated the citizens with a degree of pride and insolence, that, under the present circumstances, it was difficult to repress*.

The count of Saint Paul having requested the king to grant him a conference without the walls, Lewis met him near the ramparts; and on his return he assured the Parisians, that they would not be long troubled with the Burgundians. An attorney who was present when he made this declaration, exclaimed, "That may be, sire; but meanwhile they are entering our vineyards, and eating our grapes, and we are not able to prevent them." "It is better," replied the king, "that they should enter your vineyards, and eat your grapes, than that they should enter Paris, and take your money, and your plate, which you have concealed in your cellars, and even in the bowels of the earth."

Serious negotiations for a peace were now carried on by the count of Maine, and the lord of Précigny, second president of the parliament of Toulouse, on the part of the king; and the duke of Calabria, and the counts of Saint Paul and Dunois, on the part of the confederates. As Lewis was resolved to effect an accommodation at all events, he only started difficulties the better to conceal his real designs. The princes were so exorbitant in their demands, that had he

* The insolence of the soldiers may be collected from the following account of a contemporary author: "Neither the wealth which Paris contains," said they to the citizens, "nor the town itself, belongs to those who reside in it, but to us soldiers; and we would have you to know, that in spite of your faces, (*malgre vos visages*) we will keep the keys of your houses, and turn you and yours into the street." Of their licentiousness, the following extract, from the same author, may convey some idea: "The same day two hundred archers arrived at Paris, under the command of captain Mignon; and they were followed by eight bad women on horseback, accompanied by a monk, who was their confessor." Chron. de Saint Denis.

granted them without hesitation, the sincerity of his conduct might have been justly suspected. Philip de Commines assures us, that he had been advised by his friend, the duke of Milan, to grant every demand which the confederates might be tempted to make, in order to dissolve the league, and to leave it to time to supply him with the means of breaking his promises. A scheme of this nature, in which honour and justice were sacrificed to policy, required no uncommon exertion of genius to invent; and it was so consonant to the disposition of Lewis, that it must naturally have occurred to him.

The only point which was suffered to protract the conclusion of the treaty, was the augmentation of the duke of Berry's appanage. The princes insisted, that the province of Normandy should be ceded to him; but with this demand the king could not prevail upon himself to comply. The situation of that province, which on one side joined the dominions of the duke of Brittany, and on the other extended to within a short distance of those towns on the river Somme, the restitution of which was now required by the count of Charolois, rendered it of the utmost importance; as the possession of it would make it an easy matter for the three princes to join their forces at the first signal, and thus keep the king constantly besieged, as it were, in the centre of the kingdom. Instead of Normandy, Lewis offered to cede the provinces of Champagne and Brie to his brother, reserving only to himself the towns of Montereau—Fautyonne, Meaux and Melun. His offers, however, were rejected, the negotiations broken off, and hostilities renewed.

During this war, a custom prevailed, of which we find no example at any earlier period of the French history. The prisoners were exposed to public sale. The chroniclers of the times relate, that several Calabrians were sold at *six sols six deniers per head*. They were purchased with the view to make a profit by their ransom; and such of the unfortunate victims as were unable to pay their ransom, or as nobody claimed, were hanged. This was a new branch of commerce, the accursed offspring of avarice, which, like some that are still suffered to subsist, tended to gratify the rapacity of individuals, in contempt of religion, and at the expence of humanity!

The confederates were induced, by a scarcity of provisions, to renew the negotiations for a peace; but when it appeared on the point of conclusion, some new incidents occurred to break off the conferences. The governor of Boulogne-sur-Mer had just been executed for a design to set that town on fire, and during the confusion which such an event must necessarily occasion, to surrender the place to the English. Saveuses, a Burgundian general, having frequently obtained permission to go to Peronne to see the count of Nevers, took an opportunity of introducing six hundred men into the town during the night, with whose assistance he secured the citadel. The count of Nevers was suspected of being an ac-

§ “ On Sunday, at break of day, seven men came to the Boulevard, near the tower of Billy, who had been taken by the Burgundians, and by them condemned to be hanged, because, since they had been taken, nobody had offered to purchase them.” *Additions a la Chronique de Monstrelet.*

accomplice in the plot, though he was made prisoner and sent to the castle of Bethune. Lewis Sobier, governor of Pontoise, delivered that place to the duke of Brittany, who, a few days after, was admitted, by a similar instance of treachery, into Evreux. The duke of Calabria took Gisors, and the duke of Bourbon reduced Rouen.

In preceding wars, occasioned by internal dissensions, the nation had been reduced to a more deplorable state; but it never was sunk so low, in point of degradation, as at present. Falsehood and treachery appeared on every side, nor was the dark prospect relieved by a single act of virtue*. The French historians have neglected to trace the source of this national corruption; but surely it may, with justice, be ascribed to the shameful depravity of the monarch himself: destitute of truth, honour, or probity, Lewis made dissimulation his study, and gloried in deceit. That the conduct of a sovereign has an essential influence on the manners of a people, cannot be denied; the dispenser of honours and rewards, his favour must be courted by such men as are known to correspond with his taste, and coincide with his wishes: when absolute,—punishment, too, must be avoided by a similar attention to his will and caprice; thus are habits, as it were, imperceptibly contracted; and, though in every nation there are, doubtless, many individuals who escape the general contagion, who acquire not the general bias, yet, from the natural propensity of man to imitate his superiors, the impulse soon becomes universal, and constitutes what may justly be termed the national character. On the minds of those who are born to fill the elevated station of royalty, this important consideration cannot be too strongly impressed; let them reflect, *most seriously* reflect, on the full extent of their influence: not an action they commit is unobserved, or indifferent; their vices may tend to involve thousands in guilt; their virtues may prove the means of happiness to millions; when *such* motives to rectitude are duly *weighed*, they must be found irresistible. It is thus that, by the all-wise dispensations of Providence, to the enjoyment of a superior station the discharge of superior duties is *invariably* annexed.

Pressed on all sides, surrounded by enemies or traitors, the king resolved to extricate himself from a situation thus dangerous, by concluding a peace, which he resolved to break as soon as circumstances would permit. It was necessary, indeed, to adopt some decisive measure, for he received daily information of plots formed against his person. The enemy had found means to circulate seditious libels, in which neither the king nor his ministers were spared; and a disposition to tumult appeared in the capital, where Balue, bishop of Evreux, the king's confidential friend, was attacked, and wounded; and that prelate was only indebted for his life to the swiftness of his mule.

Lewis now granted all the demands of the confederates, and even seemed to anticipate their wishes. He told the count of Charolois, who, notwithstanding a cessation of arms which had been agreed on, had made an attempt on the town

* Villaret.

of Beauvais, that if he were not satisfied with the conditions proposed, he was willing to add the entire cession of the Beauvoisis. At length peace was concluded on the following terms * :—The duchy of Normandy was seized as an appanage, to the duke of Berry, together with the sovereignty of the duchies of Alençon and Brittany. The count of Charolois obtained all the towns on the Somme, which had been formerly pledged to the duke of Burgundy, to be enjoyed by him and his immediate successor, after whose death they might be redeemed by the king of France, on the payment of two hundred thousand crowns of gold : Lewis likewise ceded to the count, as a perpetual inheritance, the districts of Peronne, Roye, and Montdidier, with the counties of Guines and Boulogne-sur-Mer. The duke of Calabria acquired the towns of Moulon, Sainte-Menehould, Vaucouleurs, and Epinal, a guard of five hundred lances, to be maintained at the king's expence, and the sum of one hundred thousand crowns towards defraying the expences of an expedition for the recovery of the kingdom of Naples. The duke of Brittany had for his share the counties of Etampes and Montfort, with the government of Lower Normandy ; he likewise obtained a renunciation of the king's claims to the right of *regale* within the duchy of Brittany. To the duke of Bourbon were allotted the district of Usson, and a part of Auvergne. The count of Armagnac obtained the restitution of certain territories, of which he had been deprived in the preceding reign, with a pension, and a company of regular troops. The duke of Nemours was appointed governor of Paris, and the isle of France, with a pension, and a guard of two hundred lances. The count of Dunois was restored to his possessions, as was also the count of Dammartin. The lord of Albret had his claims allowed to certain estates, which joined his domains. The count of Saint Paul was invested with the dignity of constable, which had remained vacant ever since the death of Arthur, duke of Brittany ; and the lord of Bueil was promoted to the high office of admiral of France. The lord of Loheac was restored to the rank of marshal of France, and Tanneguy Du Chatel to the post of *grand écuyer* ; and the king also engaged to give each of these noblemen the command of a company of regulars, by which means they would obtain the disposal of the principal forces in the kingdom. It was farther agreed, that the Pragmatic Sanction should be re-established in its full vigour, and that a council should be appointed for correcting the abuses in the government, to consist of thirty-six members, to be chosen from the three orders of the state.

Such were the principal conditions of the treaties of Conflans and Saint-Maur des Fosses, which, had they been faithfully executed, would have left Lewis but the vain title of king, destitute of authority. Some of his most intimate friends having enquired what motives could induce him to submit to such disadvantageous terms ? Lewis replied—“ *The youth of my brother of Berry ; the prudence of my fair cousin of Calabria ; the good sense of my fair brother of Bourbon ; the malice of*

* Tresor des Chartres—Mem. de la Chamb. des Com.—Chron. de France—Phil. de Commines—Pièces Justific. de l'Histoire de Louis XI.

“ *the count of Armagnac; the great pride of my fair cousin of Brittany; and the invincible power of my fair brother of Charolois* *. The king, before he concluded this treaty, entered a formal protest against it in the court of parliament, as being the result of force, and contrary to the rights and interests of the crown.

At this period, Isabella of Bourbon, countess of Charolois, died at Bruxelles, leaving only one daughter, named Mary, then in her ninth year, who afterward became sole heiress to the vast possessions of her family; and who by her marriage with Maximilian, transferred her rights to the house of Austria; rights which proved an inexhaustible source of dispute, and occasioned the most bloody wars, that continued for nearly three centuries.

The chief advantage which Lewis derived from this dishonourable peace, was a consciousness of his past errors. For some time he appeared studious to regain the attachment of the malecontents, by a conduct diametrically opposite to that which he had observed on his accession to the throne. He assumed an affability of manners, and seemed to breathe nothing but benevolence, candour, and friendship. He listened to advice with the apparent docility of a prince distrustful of his own abilities on an object of such importance as the government of a nation. Even his external appearance was changed; he exchanged the mean dress he had been accustomed to wear, for an apparel more suitable to his dignity. He loaded the princes, and other chiefs of the confederacy, with caresses; received them at his palace, and attended the feasts to which they were invited by the principal citizens. To please the count of Charolois, he deprived Morvilliers of the office of chancellor, and conferred it on William Juvenal des Ursins, who had enjoyed it on his accession.

But notwithstanding these appearances of content and satisfaction, the king could scarcely conceal his impatience to witness the separation and retreat of the confederates. Peace was proclaimed at Paris, on the twenty-ninth of October; and the last day of that month was appointed by Lewis to receive the homage of the princes, at the castle of Vincennes, which the count of Charolois insisted should be delivered up to him, as a pledge for the safety of his person, and those of his allies. His guards were accordingly stationed in the avenues, and at the gates of the fortress, when the king arrived, attended by a slender escort. By this appearance of confidence, he wished to inspire his enemies with an opinion of his candour and sincerity; and he carried his dissimulation so far, that he had resolved to sleep at Vincennes, and had given orders for his bed to be brought from Paris; but the arrival of a messenger from the aldermen and provost of Paris, requesting he would return before night, prevented him from accomplishing his design. After the new duke of Normandy, the count of Charolois, and the other princes, had done homage for the possessions which had been ceded to them by the treaty, the count of Saint-Paul took the oath of allegiance as constable of France. An act of oblivion was then passed, and the chiefs of the confederacy received a formal pardon from the king for their conduct during the revolt.

* Villaret, tom. xvii. page 138.

On the third of November the long wished-for separation of the princes took place: the duke of Normandy, accompanied by the duke of Brittany, repaired to the province which he had newly acquired; while the count of Charolois took the road to Flanders. The king accompanied the count as far as Villiers-le-Bel, where the two princes passed three days, during which time they were equally profuse of their professions of friendship and esteem, and equally suspicious of each other's designs. Lewis, who on his departure from Paris was only accompanied by a small retinue, had left orders for two hundred lances to follow him, in order to escort him on his return. The arrival of these, just as the count of Charolois was going to bed, threw that prince into the most dreadful consternation; and, apprehensive that the king had formed some design against him, he commanded his troops to arm. Philip de Commines, who was present at the time, and who lived alternately at the French and Burgundian courts, observes, that the too great familiarity with which they conversed together during three days, far from inspiring them with friendship for each other, only served to encrease their distrust, and confirm their mutual aversion. They had acquired too deep a knowledge of each other's sentiments not to perceive that insurmountable antipathy which the difference of their dispositions must naturally produce. The king, aware of the count's impatience to attack the people of Liege, offered to give them up, and even to assist him in revenging the injury he had sustained from them—though Lewis himself had instigated them to the commission of that injury—on condition that the count would renounce all alliance with the other princes, and particularly with the duke of Brittany. The artifice was too shallow to impose on the count of Charolois, who immediately replied, that nothing could dissolve the bond of friendship which subsisted between him and the duke of Brittany, that he should always be ready to leave the people of Liege to themselves, in order to fly to the assistance of that prince whenever the king should attempt to attack him; in short, that their cause was the same, and their interests were inseparable. This refusal, however, did not prevent Lewis and Charles from renewing, when they parted, their professions of mutual esteem, and their protestations of living in future in the utmost harmony.

Thus terminated the war for the public good, in which, it must be confessed, the confederates appear rather to have consulted their own private interest, than the welfare or relief of the people. The chiefs of the league, indeed, seemed to have forgotten the nation, whose welfare had furnished them with a specious pretext for taking up arms. The count of Charolois, immediately after he had ratified the treaty of Conflans, ordered that, in all the towns which had been ceded to him, the taxes should be renewed, although at the commencement of the war, he had himself abolished them. The other chiefs followed his example; and as the support of so large an army on either side, had alike exhausted the finances of the king and of the princes, the kingdom was more burdened with imposts after the troubles were at an end, than before they began.

Lewis, released from the danger which threatened him, did not think of the sacrifices he had made—important as they were—too great for the time he had thereby gained to recover from his fears, and to concert his measures with more prudence and address. If we except Guienne, and the isle of France, he now found himself almost as much confined in his territories, as was Charles the Seventh at the commencement of his reign. Intent on recovering by degrees what he had lost at once by a ruinous treaty, his only motives for consolation were derived from his hopes, that the future would make amends for the past. The conduct of the princes had reduced him to the necessity of considering them as the irreconcilable enemies of his power; but so long as they remained in a state of union, it was impossible to attack any one of them singly, without spreading an instant alarm among the rest. The king's sole resource, therefore, consisted in their division, which he could only expect from time and circumstances, and particularly from the opposition of their various interests. The seeds of that division indeed he had already contrived to sow, by means of the private treaties, which had been concluded in consequence of the general agreement*. This multiplicity of conventions, distinct from each other, proved an inexhaustible source of difficulties and disputes, by leaving the contracting parties an opening, either to interpret them to their own advantage, or elude the execution of them.

Lewis hastened to express his gratitude for the zeal and fidelity of the Parisians during the late troubles, by confirming all their privileges, assuring them, at the same time, that so far from ever thinking of curtailing their immunities in future, under the idea that they had been extorted from the necessity of the times, they would always find him ready to grant them new favours. The particular prerogatives enjoyed by the Parisians, consisted in an exemption from providing quarters for the troops; a liberation from the necessity of attending the Ban and Aarrière-Ban, for all such citizens as possessed fiefs subject to military service; and the privilege of not being compelled to answer any action brought against them elsewhere than in the courts at Paris. The king was now fully aware, that it was absolutely necessary to secure the favour of the people, before he could hope to accomplish the design he had formed on his accession to the throne, to raise—in imitation of his father—the sovereign power on the ruins of the aristocracy, a plan of which he never lost sight, and for the execution whereof he employed such means as best corresponded to his humour and disposition: he visited the poorest citizens, invited them to his table, stood godfather to their children, and became a member of their different companies.

* The chief conditions of the accommodation were settled at Conflans. It is probable, that all the princes who had joined the league, concluded each of them a separate treaty, in conformity to the general convention, which is to be seen in the proofs annexed to the memoirs of Philip de Commines, without either date or the name of the place at which it was signed. The treaty of Saint-Maur must be considered only as a confirmation and interpretation of several articles of the peace: since peace had been proclaimed at Paris before that treaty was drawn up. Vid. *Pieces Justificatives pour servir à l'Histoire de Louis XI* — Villaret, tom. xvii. p. 155.

But the exercise of absolute power was so congenial to the soul of Lewis, that he was the first to violate the salutary regulations he had adopted, and to exemplify by his conduct the common observation, that between practice and professions the difference is great. Although he had declared, that in future the ancient custom of appointing magistrates, by a plurality of suffrages, should be observed; he now by his own authority removed several, against whom no objection could be made, and replaced them with others of his own nomination. He dismissed Matthew de Nanterre, first president of the parliament, and appointed John Dauvet to succeed him; and, lest any opposition should be made to this appointment, Lewis attended in person while the new president was sworn into office. Robert d'Estouteville was also appointed to the place of provost of Paris, and was admitted, notwithstanding the opposition of James de Villiers, the actual possessor of that post, who *appealed* from the king's nomination. Several other magistrates and judges belonging to the different courts were likewise dismissed in the same arbitrary manner; and as soon as Lewis had made all the arrangements he thought necessary, he left the capital, and repaired to Orleans. He staid some time in that city, waiting the issue of his secret intrigues for promoting a quarrel between the dukes of Normandy and Brittany, and in order to profit by the divisions which jealousy and avarice had already excited between the dependants of those princes.

The duke of Normandy, in going to take possession of his appange, was accompanied by the duke of Brittany, who in consequence of the services he had rendered him, thought himself entitled to have the entire guidance of his conduct*: the two princes were still at Pontoise, when the king sent the chancellor des Urins to exact from them a new oath to observe the peace, in conformity to the conditions agreed on, as well at Conflans as at Saint-Maur des Fosses, and at Paris. The duke of Normandy immediately complied with his brother's demand, but the duke of Brittany, refused to give any thing more than a verbal promise; protesting at the same time against that article of the treaty, which provided for the establishment of thirty-six commissioners, who were to reform all abuses in the government, as he could not, he said, acknowledge their authority, without subjecting the independence of his dominions to be called in question. This protest of the duke's supplied the king with a pretext for renewing the protest which he had himself made against the treaties of Conflans and Saint-Maur.

It was easy to foresee that things could not long remain in their present situation. The duke of Normandy was surrounded by a number of noblemen and officers, who had only embraced his cause from the hope of reward. All the places he could bestow were insufficient to gratify their rapacity; while on the other hand the Norman nobility thought themselves entitled to the exclusive possession of all honourable and lucrative posts. They were all equally inimical to the duke of

* Pieces Justif. de l'Hist. de Louis XI.

Brittany, who sought to dispose of every thing at his pleasure; and this tyrannical behaviour excited a general discontent, the dangerous consequences whereof his friends in vain endeavoured to impress on his mind. TanneGuy Duchatel, whose prudent advice had already proved of such essential service to the duke, having remonstrated with him on the subject, and attempted to dissuade him from accompanying the duke of Normandy, was dismissed; and the king, ever attentive to profit by the faults of others, embraced this opportunity to regain Duchatel, who served him with zeal and fidelity.

Such was the state of affairs, when the two princes arrived at Sainte-Catherine du Mont, in the vicinity of Rouen, where they intended to stop a few days, while the necessary preparations were making for the entry of the duke of Normandy into his capital. The premature nomination of Lescun, by the duke of Brittany, to the government of Rouen, completed the disaffection which was generally borne to that prince. The murmurs of discontent became louder and louder, and at length reached the ears of the duke of Normandy, who was given to understand, that it was the duke of Brittany's intention, under the mask of friendship, to keep him in a continual state of dependence. This gave rise to a dispute between the princes, which foretold an approaching rupture. John of Lorraine, lord of Harcourt, a nobleman of the first distinction in the province, assembled the inhabitants of Rouen at the town-house, where he declared, that the duke of Brittany had formed a design for securing the person of their prince, and conveying him to his own dominions. The news of this pretended conspiracy, though wholly destitute of probability, spread a general alarm: a part of the inhabitants immediately flew to arms, and, hastening to Sainte-Catherine du Mont, prevailed on the duke of Normandy to return with them to Rouen, leaving the duke of Brittany in the utmost astonishment at this sudden resolution. That prince immediately retired to Caen.

The king during these transactions had remained at Orleans, where he made various changes in the different departments of the state, concealing his real designs beneath the veil of apparent tranquillity. As soon as he was apprised of the dispute between his brother and the duke of Brittany, and of the retreat of the latter, he advanced to the frontiers of Normandy with all his forces, and a formidable train of artillery. At his approach, either treachery or fear procured him admission into the different towns, and he proceeded, without encountering any obstacle, as far as Pont-à-l'Arche, within three leagues of Rouen. In order to attach the duke of Brittany to his interest, or at least to deter him from any attempt to impede the progress of his arms, he paid him a visit at Caen, where a treaty was concluded between them. The duke promised to conduct himself in future as a steady friend and faithful ally, and to serve the king against all men, except the duke of Calabria and the count of Charolois. Lewis on his part declared, that the protest which he had entered against the treaties of Conflans and Saint-Maur, was not meant to invalidate those articles which affected the duke, and particularly that which related to the *regale*. All

the nobility who had joined the duke of Brittany, and who still preserved their attachment to his cause—among whom were the counts of Dunois and Dammartin; the mareschal de Loheac, and the lord of Lescun—were expressly included in the treaty; which, however, was drawn up in such ambiguous terms, that Philip de Commynes, on the authority of Lewis himself, assures us, that neither the king nor the duke perfectly understood it.

Lewis returned to Pont-à-l'Arche, in order to press the reduction of Rouen, where his brother remained, without friends or experience, and relying solely for assistance on the fidelity of the inhabitants. In this emergency, he first applied to the count of Charolois, who being engaged in a war with the people of Liege, was unable to afford him that speedy succour which his situation required: he sent, however, a part of the troops, which were stationed on the frontiers of Picardy and Artois, to enter Normandy, and secure the town of Dieppe; but the governor of that place had already surrendered it to the king. The duke of Normandy finding himself wholly unable to resist, and being afraid of falling into his brother's hands, resolved to provide for his personal safety by a timely flight. He was at first tempted to repair to the Low Countries, but the dread of being intercepted by the French troops made him give up that design; and, after much hesitation, he applied to the duke of Brittany for a passport. The duke granted his request, by desire of the king, who was fearful of driving the prince to despair, lest he should be tempted, in spite of all impediments, to fly for protection to the count of Charolois.

Before the departure of the duke of Normandy, the inhabitants of Rouen had sent deputies to the king to obtain a general amnesty, and a grant of the same privileges which he had confirmed to the Parisians; but the king replied, that he would consult with his council, and make them acquainted with his will. The duke's departure put an end to the negotiation, and the town immediately surrendered. Thus in less than six weeks was the whole province of Normandy recovered by the king, except the towns of Caen and Honfleur, which were sequestered in the hands of the lord of Lescun. In the treaty lately concluded between Lewis and the duke of Brittany, it was stipulated, that all those who had followed the fortunes of the duke of Normandy should be allowed to retire to Honfleur, there to remain till such time as they obtained a pardon from the king.

A. D. 1466.] Had the king's clemency been equal to his good fortune, this rapid revolution would have been effected without the smallest effusion of blood; but, little accustomed to pardon, the recollection of his past danger, and of the dishonourable peace which he had been forced to conclude, seemed to have redoubled the natural severity of his temper. Those officers and gentlemen who in the late commotions had joined the confederates, and who were not of sufficient consequence, of themselves, to prescribe terms to the king, were arrested, and put to death in various ways, without any previous trial. After these acts of cruelty, which so strongly marked the savage disposition of this royal assassin, Lewis appointed new governors in all the towns he had recovered; and concluded

his expedition to Normandy, by a *pilgrimage* to Mont Saint-Michel, whence he returned to Orleans.

The news of the duke of Normandy's flight, and of the loss of his new appanage, gave the deepest displeasure to the count of Charolois. By compelling the king to cede that province to his brother, he thought he had effectually humbled his pride, and curtailed his power. In fact, both with regard to the revenue it afforded, and the troops it supplied, Normandy was always considered as equal to one third of the whole French monarchy. The count's mortification too was increased by his total inability, at this period, to enforce a rigid observance of the peace; for the war in which he was engaged with the people of Liege took up all his attention. The Liegeois had first been instigated to attack him by the king of France, who had promised them, in letters written with his own hand, speedy and effectual assistance; but when they found no mention made of them in the treaty of peace, they were thrown into the utmost consternation, and, on the return of the count of Charolois from Paris, they had recourse to entreaties and supplications, and, after various negotiations, they were finally compelled to submit to such terms as the prince chose to impose.

Lewis, meanwhile, highly pleased with his recent success, continued to pursue his plan for securing the favour of the people, and for attaching to his interest as many of the nobility as he could*. Deeply versed in the arts of dissimulation, he frequently bestowed his warmest caresses on those whom he had devoted to destruction. Anxious to gain the house of Bourbon, he gave the hand of his natural daughter, Jane, to Lewis, bastard of Bourbon, with a dower of a hundred thousand crowns, and an estate which produced six thousand livres a year. He also secretly assured the duke of Bourbon, that he designed his eldest daughter, Anne, for Peter of Bourbon, lord of Beaujeu. These marks of distinction had the desired effect on the duke, who immediately renounced all his engagements, and swore an inviolable fidelity to the king, which he preserved till his death. The duke was immediately appointed governor of Languedoc, in the place of the count of Maine, who was charged with having maintained a secret correspondence with the confederates, and with various other crimes and misdemeanours. That nobleman would, probably, have experienced a more severe punishment, but for the interposition of the king of Sicily, whose friendship Lewis was anxious to preserve. He had, indeed, just agreed to confirm the good understanding that subsisted between them, by a marriage between the marquis of Pont, grandson to the Sicilian monarch, and his own daughter Anne, whom he had secretly promised to the lord of Beaujeu. The count of Maine was restored to favour the following year, at the solicitation of the king of Sicily, who pledged himself for his fidelity, and engaged, in case he should again deviate from his duty, to declare against him. About this period, Lewis, who was displeased with the conduct of Charles de Melun, deprived him of the command of the Bastille.

* Chron. de France—Cont. de Montrelet—Phil. de Com.—Histoire de Louis XI—Pièces Justific.

Anthony de Châteauneuf, lord of Lau, was the next person who was destined to feel the weight of the king's resentment: this nobleman had enjoyed several of the first offices in the state, and had acquired immense wealth; but though he was so highly distinguished by the favour of his sovereign, he was nevertheless accused of maintaining a criminal correspondence with the enemies of the state. Lewis, at first, only passed a sentence of banishment upon him, but being found in disguise in the vicinity of Orleans, while the court resided in that city, he was seized and conveyed to the castle of Mehun. He was afterward removed to the castle of Usson in Auvergne, which belonged to the bastard of Bourbon. The king, being afraid that he would effect his escape, ordered that nobleman to confine him in an iron cage; but the bastard refused to execute the commission, and replied, "that if it was his intention to treat his prisoners in that manner, his majesty might turn gaoler himself." After he had been confined two years, he found means to escape; when the chief magistrate of Usson, the governor of the castle, and his son, were all hanged for having favoured his evasion; yet the lord of Lau was afterwards restored to favour. But such contradictions perpetually occur in the history of the present reign; and indeed, when a monarch ceases to make reason and justice the rules of his conduct, it cannot well be otherwise.

The admiral de Montauban dying about this time, his post was conferred on the bastard of Bourbon. In the month of July, Francis d'Orleans, son to the count of Dunois, who had recently returned to court, married Agnes of Savoy, sister to the queen of France: and the king presented the new-married couple with forty-thousand crowns, and several estates in Dauphiné. Another of the queen's sisters was married to the constable Saint Paul. Lewis, anxious to detach that prince from the interests of the house of Burgundy, gave him the county of Guines, with the lordship of Novion, and also settled on him the reversion of the county of Eu, in case the present count should die without male issue; but as the king had no right to make such settlement, the succession of the county devolving to another branch of the family, it never took place. Among other noblemen who were restored to favour at this period, was Anthony de Chabannes, count of Dammartin; the sentence which had been pronounced against him, having been previously annulled.

The king's brother, meanwhile, despoiled of his appanage, and even reduced to the necessity of selling his plate to procure a wretched subsistence, complained alike of the indifference of his allies, and the severity of Lewis. The king was uneasy lest his residence in Brittany might afford the malecontents a pretext to excite a fresh revolt, under the sanction of his name: he therefore sent the duke of Calabria to engage him to return to France, with an offer of Roussillon and Cerdagne, or the counties of Valentinois and Dios at his option; but Charles had already rejected these offers, and even the wretchedness of his present situation could not induce him to accept them. The duke of Calabria had orders in case he should fail in his negociation, to secure the young prince, and, if

possible, to take him to Orleans; but he was compelled to return without having fulfilled either part of his commission.

The king at the same time sent La Tremoille to the count of Charolois, to justify his conduct to his brother; and though the count was not convinced of its propriety, from the apology offered by the ambassador, yet he did not appear inclined to interfere in their quarrel. This was all the king required; and in order to keep the court of Burgundy in the same disposition, he again ratified the cession of the towns on the Somme, to which he added several villages in the Vermandois; he likewise endeavoured to keep the attention of the count of Charolois confined to another quarter, by secretly engaging the Liegeois and the inhabitants of Dinant to break the peace which had been concluded the preceding year, promising to afford them effectual assistance; while, under pretence of an expected invasion of France by the English, with whom he had just concluded a truce, he ordered all the troops in the kingdom to assemble, and such a prodigious quantity of artillery to be founded, that the church-bells were melted down to supply the necessary quantity of metal. The count of Charolois, who was then at Peronne, alarmed at these formidable preparations, issued orders to all his vassals to take up arms; but though both princes were fully prepared for the renewal of hostilities, the season passed away in embassies and negotiations, calculated to amuse and deceive.

The Liegeois, immediately after they had confirmed their alliance with Lewis, attempted, at his instigation, to seize the count of Charolois at Saintron; but as they were not sufficiently strong, they failed in the attempt. As soon as the season would permit, the count levied a powerful army, and was fully determined to make them feel the weight of his resentment; but he first resolved to punish the inhabitants of Dinant, who had also violated the treaty which they had concluded with the duk eof Burgundy, by making an irruption into the county of Namur: he accordingly formed the siege of that city, whose inhabitants relying on the protection of the king of France, and the assistance of their allies, the Liegeois, seemed determined to defend themselves to the last extremity. Some of the neighbouring towns, wishing to save them from the destruction with which they were threatened, exhorted them to submit; but they hanged the messenger who was sent with the advice. A young child was then sent with a letter, from the idea that they would respect his innocence; but the inhuman savages tore him to pieces.

The count of Charolois, burning with rage and indignation, determined to inflict a punishment equal to their crimes. He collected a prodigious train of artillery and such a continual and well-directed fire was kept up from the batteries, that not an edifice in the town escaped its effects. In three days the walls were laid open on every side, and the towers, shaken to their foundations, seemed ready to fall. The count had caused two bridges to be thrown over the Maese, in order to surround the city, and to prepare for a general assault. The garrison, aware of their danger, had made their escape, and left the inhabitants to encounter the storm, which their rashness had provoked. Conscious of their inability to

refist, they now offered to surrender, on condition that their lives should be safe : this proposal, however, was rejected by the count, who insisted on unconditional submission. They accordingly delivered to him the keys of the town, which experienced the fate of a place taken by assault. The pillage lasted three days ; all the male inhabitants, except the old men and children, were then massacred, and the town set on fire ; what the flames had spared, the peasants were employed to demolish, so that not a vestige remained to discover the place where Dinant had stood.

Meanwhile the Liegeois, alarmed at the ardour displayed by the count of Charolois in pursuing the operations of the war, had sent ambassadors to the duke of Burgundy, with proposals for an accommodation. On their arrival at Bovines, where the duke then was, they could see the flames reducing to ashes the habitations of their allies. The terror with which this severe chastisement had inspired them, contributed not a little to make them accept the terms that were offered them, and which were more rigorous than any they had yet submitted to. They accordingly laid down their arms, and delivered hostages for the performance of a treaty, which they resolved to break at the first opportunity.

Although the king had apparently observed a strict neutrality during this contest, yet it was well known that he had instigated the Liegeois to take up arms. He secretly congratulated himself on having found out the means of keeping his rival employed, without any other expence than that of promises ; for the fate of those whom he sacrificed to his own interested views gave him but little concern. The constable Saint-Paul was himself too artful not to see through the dark policy of Lewis ; but, at the same time, he entertained too lofty an idea of his own importance to condescend to observe that nice circumspection in his conduct, which such a knowledge should naturally have led him to adopt. He accompanied the count of Charolois to the siege of Dinant, not with the king's troops, indeed, but with those which he had assembled in his own domains. Ambitious to display his power, and anxious to be considered rather as a necessary ally than as a vassal, he was blind to the danger of appearing in the light of a *formidable* subject ; for though too weak to support the independence he affected, he was still too great, from the lustre of his birth, and the extent of his possessions, to confine himself within the narrow limits of passive obedience. The king, however, concealed his displeasure, and even appointed the count to the government of Normandy, which he had just reunited by his letters patent, to the domain of the crown.

Incessant rains, succeeded by excessive heat, brought on an epidemic distemper in France this year, which the people did not fail to ascribe to the malignant influence of a comet which had appeared some time before. In Paris, alone, during the months of August and September, upwards of forty thousand persons perished by this dreadful distemper, which continued to rage, though with abated violence till the approach of winter. In order to repair the loss which the capital had thus sustained, Lewis, in the succeeding year, had recourse to an expedient more singular than worthy of imitation : he issued a general invitation to

persons of every perscription to repair to Paris, where, he said, they should be exempt from prosecution for all past offences, and admitted to the rights of citizens. The metropolis, by this means, became an asylum for debtors, thieves and assassins; none were excepted from the general invitation, but those who had been guilty of high-treason. Such an expedient had never suggested itself to the imagination of man, since the foundation of Rome; nor is it possible to conceive what advantage the king could expect to derive from associating with the Parisians these new inhabitants, who were more capable of corrupting them by the depravity of their manners, than of becoming useful to their imprudent protector, or to their fellow citizens.

By the treaty of Conflans it had been stipulated, that a council should be formed of thirty-six persons, chosen from the three orders of the state, for the purpose of correcting the abuses in the government; but though a year had passed since the conclusion of that treaty, no mention had been made of this article, which was almost the only one that had the good of the public for its object. The king, in order to efface, in a certain degree, the sinister impressions which his conduct was but too well calculated to raise, resolved to satisfy the people in this respect, at the same time he thought, by such a proceeding, to cast a reflection on his enemies: with this view he appointed *twenty* commissioners, and named the count of Dunois for their president. They first met at the palace, but the epidemic distemper, which raged in the metropolis, compelled them to remove to Pontoise. It soon, however, became apparent that the king only meant, as a contemporary writer justly observes, to dazzle the eyes of the vulgar. All the remonstrances and complaints that were addressed to him, he referred to the council, the members whereof were devoted to his will; and not a single resolution was adopted towards fulfilling the object for which they had met.

A. D. 1467.] In the spring of this year the court repaired to Rouen, in order to receive the famous earl of Warwick, ambassador from England*. The termination of the ancient disputes between the two crowns was the avowed object of this embassy, which Warwick had solicited. That nobleman received the most distinguished honours from Lewis†, with whom he had several private conferences, the subject whereof was then a secret, though it was sufficiently explained by subsequent events. After the earl's departure, who concluded a truce between England and France for eighteen months, the king sent the archbishop of Narbonne and the bastard of Bourbon to the English court. These ambassadors were highly discontented with the reception they experienced from Edward, who made them wait six weeks before he granted them audience, and he then referred them for an answer to their proposals, (which related to the establishment of a lasting peace,) to commissioners whom he promised to appoint, though he never fulfilled his promise. The ambassadors, during their stay in England, witnessed the com-

* Rymer's Eoedera, t. zi. p. 578.

† Contin. de Monstrelet, p. 73.

mencement of a conspiracy against the English monarch, to which they contributed by their intrigues *.

Lewis, on his return from Rouen, received intelligence of the death of Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, who expired on the fifteenth of June. His body was conveyed to Dijon, where it was deposited in the convent of Carthusians. The surname bestowed on this prince appears to have been merited by the wisdom and moderation of his government, as displayed in the continued prosperity and happiness of his subjects. He was generous, magnificent, liberal and brave; a sincere friend, and, his amorous irregularities excepted, a good christian. He had upwards of thirty natural children, but only one legitimate son: though he had ever lived in a stile of magnificence superior to any monarch in Europe, yet he left immense riches; his treasury was found to contain, at his death, four hundred thousand crowns of gold, seventy-two thousand marks of silver, and other effects to the amount of two millions of livres; all of which, together with his extensive dominions, devolved on his son Charles, count of Charolois.

Lewis, suspecting the duke of Brittany of stimulating his brother Charles to reject his proposals for an accommodation, was anxious to punish him by invading his country; but he was deterred from pursuing his schemes of revenge, through the fear of an attack from the new duke of Burgundy, whom he could neither soothe nor intimidate. That prince was, at present, employed in repressing an incursion of the Liegeois, who, regardless of their oaths, and incited, as usual, by the insidious arts and fallacious promises of Lewis, had just attacked and taken the small town of Huy, situated on the Maese, between Liege and Namur.

The duke of Burgundy, justly enraged at this infraction of the treaty, would have instantly put to death the three hundred hostages whom he had received from the people of Liege the year before, but for the intercession of the lord of Imbercourt, whom they had taken at Huy, and released on his parole †. He was preparing, however, to march against the Liegeois, when the count of the Saint Paul, and Balue, bishop of Evreux (who had been lately promoted to the rank of cardinal) were sent to him by Lewis, to inform him, that he must desist from all hostilities against a people who were the allies of his majesty, and whom his majesty was bound by treaty to assist to the utmost of his power; but the constable added, that if the duke would permit the king to wage war against the Bretons, he would willingly renounce his alliance with the Liegeois; to this the duke replied, that as the Liegeois had wantonly violated the truce which they had solemnly sworn to observe, he was resolved to march against them, and inflict on them a punishment adequate to the offence: with regard to the king's proposals, he should only observe, that he was determined to abide by the conditions of the treaty of Conflans, and that no consideration should induce him to separate his interests from those of the duke of Brittany. Two days after, when he mounted his horse, and was setting out on his expedition, he dismissed the ambassadors,

* Villaret, tom. xvii, p. 239.

† Villaret.

desiring them "to beseech the king not to engage in any enterprize against the duke of Brittany." "My lord," said the count of Saint Paul, "you wage war at your pleasure against our friends, and yet wish us to remain quiet, without daring to attack our enemies; this cannot be allowed; the king will never suffer it." "The Liegeois," replied the duke, "are already assembled, and expect me to bring them to action, before the expiration of three days. If I lose the battle, I am well persuaded you will do as you please; but if I gain it, you will leave the Bretons at peace." In a private conversation with the count of Saint Paul, "Fair cousin," said the duke, "you are my friend and my relation; let me, therefore, advise you to take care lest the king should serve you as he has already served so many others; if you will remain with me, you shall be welcome." The constable rejected the duke's invitation, but he had afterward reason to repent his refusal.

The town of Saintron being invested by the Burgundians, the Liegeois, with an army of thirty thousand men, hastened to raise the siege; when a desperate action took place, in which the duke of Burgundy obtained a complete victory, killing six thousand of the enemy, and putting the rest to flight. Two ambassadors of the king of France had appeared in person, animating the Liegeois during the battle, though that faithless monarch had refused to send his allies those succours which, by a solemn treaty still extant, he had engaged to supply. After the victory, the garrison of Saintron surrendered at discretion, and ten victims were sent to the duke of Burgundy, to be disposed of at his pleasure: they were all hanged, agreeably to a savage custom which was but too common in the times we are delineating. Tongres experienced a similar fate; and Charles, pursuing his march to Liege, entered that city, levied a contribution on the inhabitants, filled up the ditches, demolished the fortifications, and carried off all the artillery and arms he could find.

The duke of Burgundy immediately marched with his victorious army from the Maese, to the banks of the Somme; and, at the same time, he issued orders to all his vassals, both in Burgundy and the Low Countries, to arm and join him in the environs of Saint Quentin. The duke of Brittany, meanwhile, had made an irruption into Lower Normandy, where he reduced the towns of Bayeux, Caen, and Avranches; the only resistance he experienced was at Saint Lo, whose inhabitants, incited by the exhortations, and encouraged by the example of a woman who resided in the town, flew to arms, and under her conduct attacked and defeated the Bretons. This heroine, whose name has not been preserved in history, is said to have killed several of the enemy with her own hand. Lewis, passing through Saint Lo some years after this event, had the curiosity to enquire after her, and when she came into his presence, he had the meanness to present her, as a reward for her courage and fidelity, with the pitiful sum of twenty crowns*. The duke of Alençon, having joined the duke of Brittany, surrendered to him all the towns in his possession.

* About fifty shillings English.

On the first news of this invasion, the king sent a small body of troops, under the command of the marechal de Loheac, and the bastard of Bourbon, to stop the progress of the enemy. He soon followed, himself, with a more considerable force, and having in a short time retaken all the places of which the Bretons had made themselves masters, he formed the siege of Alençon, which the count du Perche, eldest son to the duke of Alençon, surrendered to him, after expelling the garrison. The king then entered Brittany, at the head of forty thousand men, and committed the most dreadful devastations. These mutual incursions, by which a tract of country, forty leagues in extent, was laid waste, were suspended by a truce, during which it was agreed to adopt proper measures, as well for settling all disputes between the king and the duke, as for fixing the appanage of prince Charles.

Eager as was the king's desire to extend his conquests, and to humble the duke of Brittany, he had found himself compelled to hasten the conclusion of the treaty, by the intelligence he received of the prodigious number of troops which the duke of Burgundy was collecting in Picardy. Alternately pressed by these two princes, he had no sooner made terms with one than the other renewed his alarms; though he might certainly think himself fortunate, in not being exposed to more serious danger, which must inevitably have been the case, had they combined their projects with greater skill, and always acted in conjunction. Such was the king's situation during the greater part of his reign, which led a bishop, who had been long harassed by the litigious disposition of his grand-vicar, to observe, that the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany were the king's two grand-vicars. The necessary preparations were made for defending the frontiers, and fresh troops were raised in every province. The Paris militia were reviewed by commissioners appointed by the king; and it was proved, by the muster-roll, that the capital, notwithstanding the number of inhabitants which had perished during the epidemic disorder of the preceding year, could supply eighty thousand fighting men, thirty thousand of whom were completely armed: the king, however, who was present at the review, could not forbear to express his contempt of these *citizen-soldiers*, and, with more justice than policy, perhaps, to compare them, in certain respects, to their wives; and he concluded his ill-timed remarks with some obscene jokes, which it was not becoming in him to utter, nor would it be decent in us to repeat. But while every disposition was making for pursuing the war with vigour, the king, sensible of the importance of avoiding a decisive action, employed every means in his power to effect an accommodation; and as the duke of Burgundy found himself left to support the contest alone, he was prevailed on, without much difficulty, to conclude a truce.

The king's conduct evidently tended to render the power of the monarch wholly independent of all other authority; and this disposition to establish an arbitrary government was, indeed, visible in all his actions. Yet was he now induced to listen to the remonstrances of the parliament, and to pass the memorable edict, which secured, to magistrates and other officers of justice, the posses-

sion of their places for life, unless vacated by voluntary resignation, or legal forfeiture*.

A. D. 1468.] In order to justify his behaviour to his brother, which had repeatedly served as a pretext both for domestic commotions and foreign invasions, Lewis convened an assembly of the three orders of the state, at the city of Tours†. All the princes and nobles of the realm were invited to attend; and such as did not chuse to be present sent their ambassadors and representatives. The king, it is said, named the persons himself whom he wished to be appointed deputies from the different towns; certain it is, that the assembly were wholly devoted to his will. The chancellor, Des Urins, after a prefatory encomium on the nation, and its *sovereign*, explained the motives which had induced the king to convene the representatives of the state, in order to consult on the most efficacious means of ensuring the tranquillity of the kingdom. He expatiated on the impossibility of defraying the necessary expences of the government, if the extensive province of Normandy were dismembered from the monarchy, and assigned, as an apanage, to his majesty's brother; observing, that the authors of those troubles, by which the state was convulsed, only sought to render them perpetual, by urging that prince to persist in a pretention which deprived the sovereign of one-third of the revenues of the crown, and which opened to the enemy one of the most important barriers of the kingdom. The assembly betrayed no disposition to *deliberate* or *discuss*, but acted as if they had only met for the purpose of affording a sanction to the resolutions which had been previously adopted by the king‡. It was unanimously decided, "That the province of Normandy could not, on any pretext whatever, be separated from the domain of the crown; that, since its reunion to the body of the monarchy, the sovereigns had deprived themselves, by an *irrevocable* law, of the power of alienating it; that Charles the Wise had fixed the apanage of a king's son at an estate producing twelve thousand livres a year, and conferring the title of Duke or Count; that his majesty, by adding a pension of sixty thousand livres tournois, had given an *uncommon* proof of his affection for his brother, and that he should be urgently entreated to declare, that his conduct, in that respect, should never be considered as a precedent." It was then determined, that the duke of Burgundy, and the other princes of the blood, should be invited to confirm the resolution of

* Conference des Ordonnances, Lib. x. Lit. 5. † Chronologie de France—Contin. de Monstrelet—Chronique Scandaleuse—Preuves de Phil. de Commynes.

‡ Nothing can set the mean obsequiousness of this servile assembly in a stronger point of view, than the consideration of their conduct with regard to the king's brother. The duchy of Normandy had been ceded to prince Charles, by the treaty of Conflans; he had strictly complied with the terms of that treaty; he had sworn to observe it; he had renewed his oath when called on by the king for that purpose; and he had committed no one act which could, even by the ingenuity or malice itself, be construed into an instance of disloyalty: yet had Lewis, in violation of a solemn oath, and without the smallest provocation, commenced hostilities against him, dispossessed him, and treated his adherents as rebels. though every member of the assembly was acquainted with these circumstances not one of them had the spirit or honesty to stand forward and avow the truth: on the contrary, they all united in giving their sanction to the perjury of their sovereign, and, by equivocation and falsehood, to justify what it was their duty to condemn.

the states, with regard to the appanage of prince Charles. The conduct of the duke of Brittany was loudly censured : he was accused of seducing and detaining the king's brother ; of taking several towns in Normandy ; and of maintaining a criminal correspondence with the English, the ancient and irreconcilable enemies of France. Each of these attempts was stated to amount to high-treason ; and the assembly unanimously decreed, that the duke should be summoned to restore the places he had *usurped* ; that in case he should refuse, and that sufficient proof of his alliance with the English should be obtained, the king should immediately declare war against him. Before the assembly was dissolved, the members promised to devote their lives and fortunes to the promotion of the king's designs*.

While the states were assembled at Tours, Charles de Melun, whose destruction had long been resolved on by the king, was brought to trial, for having maintained a correspondence with, and favoured the plans of, the confederated princes, during the time of the war for the publick good. Some other charges of inferior magnitude were preferred against him ; and after an irregular trial, and a confession, extorted by the pangs of the rack, he was sentenced to die, and accordingly suffered decapitation.

On the conclusion of the truce, at the close of the preceding campaign, it had been settled, that the princes should send deputies to Cambray, to endeavour to restore tranquillity to the nation through the medium of a general convention. The king, who placed but little reliance on the success of these conferences, thought of employing more efficacious means for enforcing the resolutions adopted by the states at Tours. He had the address, in a prorogation of the truce which the constable had just negotiated with the duke of Burgundy, to omit the duke of Brittany, who had always been included in every treaty as the ally of Charles ; consenting, at the same time, that no mention should be made of the Liegeois. The duke's conduct in this respect did not proceed from neglect or indifference for an ally, whose interests he had hitherto considered as inseparable from his own, but from a belief that the alliance which the duke of Brittany had recently concluded with the English monarch, would enable him, without farther assistance, to check the progress of the French arms.

A marriage having been agreed on in the preceding year between the duke of Burgundy and the princess Margaret, sister to Edward the Fourth of England, Lewis had exerted his utmost influence with the court of Rome to prevent the projected alliance from taking effect ; but all his endeavors for that purpose having proved ineffectual, and all the preliminaries being finally settled, the princess embarked at Margate, on the first of July, arrived next day at Sluys, and the nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence at Dam, on the ninth of that month†.

* Chron. de France—Additions de Montfret—Preuves de Commines—Nouvelles Observations sur l'Histoire de France—Histoire de Louis XI. par Duclos.

† Stow, p. 421.—W. Wyrcester, p. 515.

Edward, by his treaty with the duke of Brittany, had engaged to furnish that prince with three thousand archers for six months, on condition that all the conquered places should be delivered to the English; but Lewis being apprised of this convention, averted its effects, by the promptitude of his attacks. The French troops under the conduct of the Marquis de Pont, grandson to the king of Sicily, entered Brittany, while the count of Roussillon completed the expulsion of the Bretons from Lower Normandy. The duke immediately assembled the provincial militia, and sent a courier to hasten the departure of the English auxiliaries. The king, meanwhile, in order personally to mortify the duke, had confiscated all the estates belonging to Antoniette de Maignelais, his favorite mistress, that were situated in France, and bestowed them on Tanneguy du Chatel, of whose disgrace she had been the principal cause. The king by this act of injustice at once gratified his resentment, and secured the attachment of a man, who was capable of rendering him essential service.

The French army, daily encreasing in numbers, continued to advance by rapid marches into the heart of Brittany. No succours arrived, and the capture of Chantocé and Ancenis, two of the strongest towns in his dominions, compelled the duke, however reluctantly, to submit to such terms as the king thought proper to impose on him. Some hesitation indeed was produced by the difficulty attending the appanage of prince Charles; but this was speedily removed by the influence of Odet Daidie, lord of Lescun, who had acquired an absolute ascendancy over the mind of the prince, and who, being bribed by Lewis, persuaded him to leave the settlement of his apanage to the duke of Calabria, and the constable Saint-Paul, and to accept the pension which had been offered him, till such time as a final arrangement could take place. The duke of Baïtany then ratified the treaty, the conditions whereof had been settled by the French and Breton plenipotentiaries at Ancenis. He agreed to renounce all alliance whatever that was prejudicial to the king, not even excepting that with the duke of Burgundy. To give greater force to the treaty, it was agreed that the principal nobility on both sides should affix their seals to it.

During these transactions, the king was at Compiègne, employed in a negotiation with the duke of Burgundy, who, on the news of the irruption of the French into Brittany, had reassembled his army, and advanced as far as Saint-Quentin. As soon as Lewis received the treaty of Ancenis, which was brought to him by a Breton herald, he forwarded it by the same messenger to the duke of Burgundy. Charles on receiving it could scarcely credit his senses; he even threatened to punish the herald as an impostor; but when he found the proofs too strong to be doubted, his surprise and indignation were extreme; he vented his rage in reproaches against the insidious policy of Lewis, and the weakness of the duke of Brittany. Still, however, he appeared resolved to pursue his enterprise; and the king was obliged to submit to the degrading expedient of *purchasing* a peace, for which the duke exacted the sum of one hundred and twenty thousand crowns of gold, half of which was paid immediately.

The king was always vain of his talents, and thought it impossible to resist the superiority of his genius in political negotiations; Cardinal Balue, his favourite minister, encouraged this opinion, and endeavoured to persuade his master, that if he could once obtain an interview with the duke of Burgundy, there could be no doubt but that he might turn it to his advantage, by the facility with which he could bend to his views a mind so greatly inferior to his own. The proposal was too flattering to the vanity of Lewis, not to be adopted with eagerness; he therefore hastened to inform the duke of Burgundy, that he was extremely anxious to terminate, by a personal conference, all the disputes which still subsisted between them. Charles was by no means inclined to accept the proposal; and, as the motive of his refusal, he alledged his apprehensions, that the Liegeois might again attack him. Cardinal Balue replied, that he ought to be above any apprehensions of that kind, since in the last campaign he had disarmed them, razed their walls, demolished their fortifications, and totally disabled them from attempting any thing to his prejudice.—Yet the king had just sent agents privately to Liege to excite the turbulent inhabitants of that town to renew hostilities against the duke; and to assure them, at the same time, that they might depend on receiving effectual assistance from France. The duke, however, ignorant of this circumstance, was at length persuaded to consent to the interview; and Peronne, a town of Picardy, in his own possession, was accordingly fixed on as the place of conference.

But the king, who had hitherto appeared so anxious to promote the interview, now began to hesitate. Some of his most faithful ministers had represented to him the dangerous consequences of the step he was about to take; and on consulting his own conscience, he could find no motive for assurance. In short, he was on the point of giving up his design, when Cardinal Balue, who had conducted the negotiation, and was consequently interested in its success, used all the arguments he could think of to inspire him with confidence. A letter which the king received at this juncture, from the constable, rendered the efforts of the cardinal successful*. The count of Saint-Paul informed Lewis, that the duke of Burgundy was resolved in future to have no other friend or ally than himself; and that, besides those general affairs, the discussion of which might be left to their ministers, there were others of such a private nature, that it would be neither safe nor proper to entrust them to any agents whatever. By these solicitations was the most suspicious and deceitful of mankind induced to commit himself to the faith of a prince, whom he had invariably endeavoured to delude, and against whose repose his insidious machinations were at that very moment directed.

Lewis, having entrusted the count of Dammartin with the command of his troops, left Noyon at the beginning of October (1468), and arrived the same day at Peronne. He was accompanied by the duke of Bourbon; Peter of Bourbon, lord of Beaujeu; the archbishop of Lyons; the count of Perche; the constable; the lords of Laigle, Lyon, and Longueville; cardinal Balue; and his confessor, the bishop of Avranches. A few servants, eighty archers of the Scotch

*. Histoire de Louis XI. par Ducloux.

guard, and sixty horse, composed his escort. On the road he was received by a body of two hundred lances, sent by the duke of Burgundy to attend him; and that prince also went to meet the king. They entered the town, conversing together in a familiar manner, the king's hand being placed on the duke's shoulder. Lewis was conducted to an extensive building, near the castle gate, which had been prepared for his reception.

Before the first day was past, the king began to be sensible of the danger into which his imprudence had betrayed him. The troops, which the duke had ordered to be raised in his duchy of Burgundy, arrived at Peronne soon after Lewis, under the conduct of the marshal of that province, who was the king's personal enemy. And, as if all those whom he had reason to fear, had combined to torment him, Prince Philip of Savoy, whom he had so long detained in captivity, in violation of his proffered word, and of the laws of hospitality, entered the town at the same time, accompanied by the lord of Lau, who had but just escaped from confinement; Poncet de la Riviere and Durfé, all sworn enemies to Lewis. When he saw this formidable troop pass under his window, he was unable to conceal his apprehensions, nor could the duke by any means quiet him, till he assigned him an apartment in the castle. As that fortress was not sufficiently spacious to contain all his retinue, he took with him only twelve attendants; so that he resigned himself entirely to the duke's discretion, and deprived himself of every resource, in case any attempt should be made to abuse his confidence. The two first days passed in conferences between the French and Burgundian ministers. The king offered to accede to all the demands of the duke of Burgundy, provided that, when satisfied with the conditions which immediately affected his own interests, he would renounce every other alliance, and bind himself, by a similar oath to that which the duke of Brittany had taken, to serve him against all men. The duke, however, positively rejected this condition, observing, that he could never think of forsaking his friends and allies.

While the agents on either side were employed in devising means for removing these difficulties, Lewis and Charles appeared perfectly satisfied with each other, and the mutual professions of esteem that passed between them, gave reason to hope, that a speedy and effectual accommodation would be the consequence of their interview; but a sudden and unexpected event occurred to destroy these pleasing hopes. The ambassadors whom the king had sent to Liege to excite the inhabitants to take up arms, had fulfilled their commission with alacrity and effect. Lewis, previous to his departure from Peronne, had dispatched messengers with fresh orders to the Liegeois, enjoining them to suspend the projected revolution*; but they arrived too late. The Liegeois, inflamed by his arts, and eager to retrieve the loss, and to wipe out the disgrace they had sustained in the preceding campaign, had obeyed his summons with promptitude and zeal; and hastening to Tongres, took possession of that town, captured their bishop, and massacred six-

teen canons of the cathedral in his presence. The unhappy prelate had the mortification to see one of these ecclesiastics, for whom he entertained a particular friendship, torn to pieces by the barbarians, who amused themselves by tossing his palpitating limbs from one to another. The French ambassadors were present at the time; and not content with being passive spectators of these inhuman acts, they approved them by their smiles, and encouraged them by their exhortations.

Intelligence of this event was received at Peronne, on the third day after the king's arrival. Language, the most expressive would convey but an imperfect idea of the duke of Burgundy's rage; he openly accused the king, and after branding him for a *perjured traitor*, confined him to his apartment. In vain did Lewis call heaven to witness his innocence; in vain did he swear by *The Lamb of God*, (his favourite adjuration) that, so far from having contributed to the revolt of the Liegeois, if the duke of Burgundy would lay siege to that city, he would willingly assist him. His oaths and protestations were alike treated with contempt, and the duke breathed nothing but fury and revenge.

The king's life appears at this period to have been in imminent danger, as most of the officers who attended the duke of Burgundy endeavoured to aggravate his resentment. The next day the duke assembled his council, when opinions were divided; some of the members advised him to make the king consent to such terms as best suited his interest; while others proposed to keep him in captivity, to send for prince Charles, and to conclude a treaty, in which the interest of all the princes of the blood should be equally consulted. Commynes observes, that he saw the courier ready to depart for Britany with letters to the duke of Normandy; but the duke changed his mind, and the deliberations were renewed.

Meanwhile the captive monarch, alternately preyed upon by fear and repentance, underwent by anticipation all the horrors of death. The dupe of his own mistaken policy, he found himself in the power of an enemy, violent in his temper, and whose indignation he had excited by the most treacherous conduct. The author of his own destruction, the shame he experienced at having, himself, laid the snare into which he had fallen, increased the acuteness of his feelings. The sight of the tower of Peronne, which he could see from his windows, made him shudder; it was the very place in which the unhappy Charles the Simple had been confined by Herbert, count of Vermandois. Reduced to this dreadful extremity by his own imprudence, he spared no pains to repair the error he had committed. He distributed large sums of money among those officers whose opinions were most likely to influence the duke of Burgundy, by which means he engaged them to present his proposals. He offered to submit to any conditions which the duke might wish to impose, and to deliver, as hostages, for his observance of the treaty, the duke of Bourbon and his brother, the count of Saint-Paul, and several other noblemen. He required that, after the treaty should be signed, he should be permitted to retire to Compiègne, whence he engaged to send to the Liegeois, and either make them repair the disorders they had committed, or else declare war against them. The hostages seemed to consent to his proposals; but Commynes,

who knew both them and the king, was of opinion, that had they been put to the trial, they would have retracted; and that the king himself would have made no scruple to break his engagements, and leave them exposed to the resentment of the duke of Burgundy. The same author, who was at that time chamberlain to the duke, insinuates, that he was one of those who most contributed to moderate the anger of Charles; and this act of friendship was afterwards acknowledged by Lewis himself.

At length the duke was prevailed on to consent to an accommodation, the plan of which was immediately presented to the king, who, after some hesitation, signed it. But still the danger was not over; Charles, agitated by the most violent passions, passed the third night without undressing: he threw himself from time to time on the bed; then, suddenly starting up, walked to and fro in the room, followed by Commynes, who waited for a favourable moment to quell the violence of his transports. In the morning his anger seemed to be raised to the highest pitch; he broke out into threats, and appeared prepared to proceed to the most dreadful extremities. After pausing a short time, he rushed out of the room, and repaired to the king's apartment; where Lewis, who had been informed of all his motions, was waiting his determination, in a state of anxiety inconceivably wretched. Neither the looks nor gestures of the duke were calculated to inspire him with confidence. With a gloomy, but determined countenance, Charles approached, and asked him, Whether he meant to fulfil the treaty of peace which he had signed, and whether he was prepared to bind himself by an oath to observe it? The monarch, without hesitation, replied in the affirmative. Charles, continuing his interrogations, next enquired, Whether he was determined—agreeably to the offer he had made—to accompany him to Liege, and to assist him in punishing the Liegeois for the insults offered to him, as well as to all the royal family of France, in the person of the bishop of Liege, who was brother to the duke of Bourbon? The king promised to accompany him, and to assist him in extirminating his ancient allies with any number of troops which the duke should think requisite. Every obstacle to an accommodation being now removed, both princes swore, on the cross of Charlemagne, which was called *The Cross of Victory**, to fulfil the terms of the treaty.

The treaty of Peronne was in fact only a renewal of the treaty of Arras, with the addition of such articles of the treaty of Conflans as had not yet been fulfilled. The king, however, farther consented, by the present convention, that the duke of Burgundy should be at liberty to maintain any alliance which he had contracted with the king of England, provided only, that he should not afford any assistance to that monarch in case he should invade France; he also released the duke from the obligation of homage for all the territories which had been ceded to him by the treaty of Conflans. In case of any violation of the present treaty, on the part of the king, it was stipulated, that the duke of Burgundy should be absolved from his oath of allegiance, and exempted from all duties of vassalage; and, that the princes who guaranteed the treaty, released from all obligation to their

* Philippe de Commines.

sovereign, should be at liberty to join the duke; who on his side consented, in case he should fail to fulfil his engagement, that all his dominions should be confiscated and annexed to the crown.

The appanage of prince Charles, brother to the king, was settled at the same time, Lewis considered it as a singular favour, that the duke of Burgundy no longer insisted on the cession of Normandy, but contented himself with demanding for his friend the provinces of Champagne and Brie. The fact is, that the duke had been led to change his mind in this respect, from the recent conduct of his ally, the duke of Brittany, in being frightened into a treaty without waiting for his assistance. He was aware that the king would always be able to recover Normandy with the same facility, and that it would not be possible for him to prevent it. This consideration induced him to believe, that it would be more advantageous to him to procure for the prince the provinces of Champagne and Brie, which would secure him a communication between his dominions in the Low Countries, and his duchy of Burgundy. This matter being settled, the treaty was sent to prince Charles, and the duke of Brittany, in order to obtain their accession to such articles as concerned themselves.

Lewis and Charles now began their march to Liege; and, as that town was said to be in no condition to stand a siege, it was proposed, in a council of war, to dismiss a part of the troops. Lewis supported the proposal, but it was rejected by the duke; and the event proved the wisdom of his conduct. The Liegeois having received intelligence of the king's detention, and its consequences, became sensible of their error, when too late to repair it. They now saw themselves exposed to the rage of a prince whom they had offended beyond all hopes of forgiveness, by a repetition of injuries the most gross, and by perpetual violations of treaties the most solemn. In this emergency they had recourse to their bishop, whom they released from captivity, on condition of becoming their mediator with the duke of Burgundy. As their reconciliation was cemented by interest, its sincerity cannot be doubted; for, if the town was destroyed, the prelate must lose all he possessed.

But all the prayers and solicitations of the bishop were sternly rejected by Charles, who had determined to inflict an exemplary vengeance on that ferocious and turbulent people. The situation of the Liegeois had now become desperate: hopeless of assistance; destitute of regular troops; and even unprovided with fortifications, they had no other resource but what their own courage could supply. Their whole garrison consisted of six hundred militia, from the district of Franchemont, a small country in the territory of Liege. With these forces they resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity. This resolution, indeed, was the effect of necessity; for they could expect no quarter, since they knew that the duke had made a vow to exterminate them.

The marshal of Burgundy, who commanded the advanced guard, had established his quarters in one of the suburbs, where he was attacked by the Liegeois, who made a sally, under the conduct of *John Wild*, provost of the city, and

rushed on the Burgudians with such resistless impetuosity, that they bore down all before them : after killing eight hundred, and putting the infantry to flight, Wild retreated in good order, and died, two days after, of the wounds he received in the action. The death of this brave man, the only person in the town who was capable of acting as a commander, proved an irreparable loss to the Liegeois.

The news of this check, of which an exaggerated account was conveyed to the duke of Burgundy at Namur, induced that prince to hasten his march. The season was far advanced; the weather was extremely cold; the autumnal rains had rendered the roads almost impassable, and the troops were encamped in the environs of the city, on a marshy ground, where they were compelled, in some places, to make a circuit of three leagues, in order to keep up the communication between the different posts. The troops were exhausted with fatigue, and in want of provision, so that the duke of Burgundy was almost as unable to form a siege, as the Liegeois were to sustain one. On the first night after his arrival, that prince was attacked in the suburbs where he had fixed his residence; and though he defended himself with great valour, he would have had some difficulty in repulsing the enemy, but for the timely arrival of the king, who hastened to his assistance with three hundred men at arms, and the archers belonging to his guards, which were the only troops he had been suffered to bring with him.

The day after this action, Lewis took possession of a small house in the suburbs, which was only separated from the duke's quarters by a barn, where three hundred Burgundian men at arms were posted, at once to watch the enemy and the king. The two princes, though apparently reconciled, were still mistrustful of each other; Lewis was apprehensive, that if the Liegeois should prove victorious, the duke would wreak his vengeance upon him; and Charles was afraid that the king would take an opportunity to escape, or, perhaps attack him in the rear while he was fighting the enemy. These mutual suspicions occasioned the assault to be delayed, although the severity of the season called for the most speedy and decisive measures.

Meanwhile the inhabitants of Leige, conceiving it impossible to prevent the destruction of the town, were careful to provide for their personal safety by a timely departure. Eight days passed in trifling skirmishes, which only tended to fatigue the troops, who, with the duke, remained under arms during the whole time. At length Charles in opposition to the king's advice, resolved to make a general assault; and the army had orders to rest that day, and to be in readiness to commence the attack the next morning at eight o'clock. The Liegeois having received advice of this resolution, determined to anticipate the attack and to profit by that interval of repose to execute a plan, which notwithstanding its temerity had nearly been justified by its success. In the middle of the night, the six hundred militia, all that now remained to defend the place, men of intrepid souls, resolved to conquer or to die.

sallied forth from the town, with intent to seize the persons of the king and the duke of Burgundy. The landlords of the two houses in which those princes were quartered, served them for guides; the night was extremely dark, and as they marched through a hollow way, cut out of a rock, which led from the town to the suburb, they passed unperceived, and, after they had massacred a few centinels, by whom they were challenged, they arrived at the appointed place, where the most perfect silence and security prevailed. They must infallibly have succeeded in their attempt, if they had not stopped at a tent which was occupied by the count of Perche, son to the duke of Alençon. They soon became sensible of their error, but it was too late to repair it: the critical moment was past; the noise they made had spread the alarm; and the three hundred men at arms, who were posted in the barn, were prepared to receive them. The Liegeois still lost more time, in attempting to force these troops; and when they came to attack the two houses, the king and the duke of Burgundy, whom a quarter of an hour before they might have surprised in their beds were armed, and in a condition to sustain the first shock, and to defend themselves till their troops should come to their relief. On one side, despair at having suffered so glorious an opportunity to escape, and the greatness of the danger on the other, rendered the combat dreadful; and for some minutes the victory was doubtful. As Lewis and Charles had only a part of the guards with them, all they could do was to prevent the enemy from forcing their apartments. Even this was a matter of extreme difficulty, and, in spite of their utmost exertions, the landlord of the house where Lewis was quartered, burst open the door, and made his way to the king's chamber, where he was killed: the monarch, on this occasion, displayed great personal courage, and being ably seconded by the archers of his Scotch guards, he drove the enemy back; while the duke of Burgundy was equally successful on his part. The sound of arms, the uncertainty whence the danger proceeded, or who was the enemy; the repeated cries of "*Long live the king; long live the duke of Burgundy! kill, kill!*" the darkness of the night, all tended to encrease the confusion of this dreadful scene. The Liegeois, now certain of being defeated, fought like men in despair, nor did they shrink from the unequal contest, till every one of them was massacred. The king and the duke of Burgundy met sword in hand in the middle of the street, at the head of their respective guards; the suspicions which each had entertained of the other, as being the author of this unexpected attack, now vanished, and, after reciprocal congratulations on their happy escape, they parted with mutual satisfaction.

The duke immediately called a council, in which it was determined to make a general assault at the appointed time. The king, who had not been present when this resolution was adopted, spared no pains to dissuade the duke from putting it in force, as well from the wish to procure favourable terms for a people whom he was the means of bringing into their present perilous situation, as from the dread that Charles might make him answerable for the consequences, should he fail in his attempt. But the remonstrances which the duke's principal

confidents, who had been bribed by Lewis, made on the subject, were so ill received, that they were not tempted to renew them; Charles observed, that nothing should engage him to defer his attack on a town that had neither gates nor walls; that such advice could only be the effect of ill-timed fear, or of a design formed to betray him; that the king, however, was at liberty to retire to Namur, and there wait till the town was taken. When the duke's answer was reported to Lewis, he replied, "That he would not go to Namur, but remain where he was, to share the dangers of the day."

While the duke was employed in adopting such measures as he thought requisite to ensure success to his plan, such of the Liegeois as had not fled hastened to leave the town, taking with them as many of their effects as they were able to carry. In short, none were left behind, but old men, women and children, and those whom extreme indigence had rendered, in a manner, insensible to the general misery. That superb city, which but a few months before had resounded with the rude clamours of sedition, was now buried, as it were, in consternation and silence. When the troops advanced to the attack, they met with none to oppose them; the wretched inhabitants who still remained in the town had fled for shelter to the churches; vainly imagining to obtain, from the sacredness of the place, security against the brutal attempts of a licentious soldiery.

The town was resigned to pillage; every disorder that usually occurs on such occasions was committed; every species of violence which the imagination can conceive was practised. Lewis, from the windows of the episcopal palace, whither he had retired, beheld the horrid scene of desolation; while his ears were assailed by the groans of murdered age, and the screams of violated chastity. Conscious, as he must be, that he was the principal author of these calamities, his mind, unless he were callous to the common feelings of human nature, must have been a prey to reflections the most horrid; but, faithful to his maxims of policy, he concealed his shame and remorse beneath an appearance of serenity, of which no one was the dupe. He dined with the utmost tranquillity during the tumult, and expressed the greatest satisfaction at the success of the day. He launched out into the most extravagant commendations of the duke of Burgundy's wisdom and prowess; and, lest they should not be faithfully reported to Charles, he took care to repeat them in his presence.

A few days after the reduction of Lege, the king ventured to ask permission to retire; telling the duke, that if he had any farther occasion for him, he begged he might not be spared, but that if that was not the case, he should wish to go to Paris, in order to register their late convention in the court of parliament. He expressed a wish, at the same time, that they might meet again the following summer in Burgundy, and pass a month together, *faisant bonne chere*. Charles, however, was not to be deceived by these demonstrations of friendship; Commines, who was present, says, that he had frequent starts of ill-humour, and could seldom refrain from murmuring; yet he complied with the king's request, contenting himself with ordering the treaty of Peronne to be again read to him before his depart-

ture, and with making him again swear to observe it. The duke accompanied the king to some distance from Liege, and when they parted, Lewis enquired of Charles what conduct he expected him to observe, if his brother should not be satisfied with the counties of Champagne and Brie? "In that case," replied the duke, "I shall leave you to settle the matter by yourselves, provided, however, that you find the means of contenting your brother;" an important answer, which supplied the king with a pretext for eluding the execution of promises: but the duke, intent on higher schemes, disdained such vain subtilties, convinced of his own ability to *make* his rival true to his word.

Soon after the king's departure, the duke of Burgundy ordered the city of Liege to be demolished, excepting only, from the general ruin, the churches, and the houses belonging to the clergy. He then entered the district of Franchimont, and laid waste the whole country.

Lewis, meanwhile, continued his march, with incredible rapidity, to the frontiers of his own dominions. The deputies from the parliament, and the other sovereign courts, had received orders to meet him at Senlis, where the treaty he had concluded with the duke of Burgundy, was read to them by cardinal Balue; and, in order to avoid all remonstrance on the subject, he strictly enjoined them to register it without restriction, and in the most authentic manner*. This appearance of honour proceeded from the influence of shame; he wished to bury in oblivion the late transaction at Peronne, and could not support the idea of becoming, from his own folly and imprudence, an object of public derision. The magistrates did not oppose his will, though they delayed to register the treaty for upwards of four months. The proclamation of peace was followed by an ordinance, forbidding all persons, under the severest penalties, to utter or publish any thing injurious to the honour of the duke of Burgundy.

So truly ashamed was Lewis, at this period, of having become a dupe to his own arts, that he could not prevail upon himself to visit the metropolis, with the volatile and inconstant disposition of whose inhabitants he was perfectly acquainted; though, in the present instance, he probably dreaded their propensity to ridicule more than their promptness to revolt. Whether from a wish to divert the attention of the Parisians to other objects, or from a whimsical curiosity to be informed of any jokes that might escape them, he ordered all their houses to be searched, and all magpies, jays, and other birds, which should be found there, to be seized; and the person who was employed to execute this ridiculous commission, had orders to register the names of the citizens, to whom the birds belonged, as well as the words which they had been taught to repeat. Some days after this singular seizure, he issued a proscription against the stags, fawns, and cranes, which the citizens used to train up in their houses, as domestic animals†.

* Villaret.

† Villaret, tom. xvii, p. 319.—Mezeray, tom. p. 452.—This last author is of opinion, that some Parisian had taught his parrot to say, "Peronne," which induced the king to adopt this strange mode of checking their raillery.

A. D. 1469] Though Lewis expressed his readiness to comply with that article of the treaty of Peronne, which had stipulated for the cession of Champagne and Brie to his brother, he secretly adopted every measure which could seem to render it illusive; his agents found little difficulty to shake the resolution of prince Charles, whose young mind was still susceptible of any impressions which his friends and confidants might seek to give it. The Lord of Lescun, who afterwards enjoyed the title of count of Comminges, was his principal adviser. This nobleman, being bribed by the king, represented to his master, that as he was the presumptive heir to the throne, Lewis having yet no male child, it was his interest to resist every effort that could tend to weaken the power, and curtail the influence of the crown; and Charles, perplexed by arguments more specious than solid, was easily prevailed on to renounce all claims to the ceded provinces, and to accept, in lieu of them, the duchy of Guienne. As soon as the duke of Burgundy was apprised of this negotiation, he exerted himself with vigour to impede its conclusion. With this view he sent ambassadors to Brittany, who represented to the prince, that the proximity of the Low Countries to Champagne would, at all times, enable him to receive assistance, should his brother be induced, as heretofore, to give him disturbance; whereas, by accepting, as his appanage, a province that was distant from the domains of his allies, he would effectually deprive himself of every resource.

This affair engrossed the attention of the courts of France and Burgundy for some time. The king maintained, that so long as his brother should remain in the power of his enemies, it would not be possible for him to enjoy one moment of repose; but while he was congratulating himself on the success of his efforts to detach the prince from their interests, he detected an intrigue, the object of which was the destruction of all his plans. This incident amply confirms the observation we have before had occasion to make, that it is as much the interest as it is the *duty* of sovereigns to set an example of candour and justice to their subjects, and to be careful that, in the selection of friends and ministers, purity of manners, rectitude of conduct, and integrity of mind, combine to justify their choice. The artful and hypocritical disposition of Lewis had rendered perfidy and deceit the fashionable vices of the court. Never were so many traitors seen in France as appeared during his reign. Though fully convinced of the superiority of his penetration, never was prince so often deceived! He continually profited his favour to those who were unworthy to enjoy it, and raised those to splendour and trust, whom nature designed to remain in perpetual obscurity. Cardinal Balue was now his prime minister and chief confidant; the management of affairs, both domestic and foreign, was entrusted to him; and the king, suspicious as he was, and jealous of his authority, would rather follow the advice of that prelate, than listen to the persuasions of the princes of his blood, or of his most faithful servants. The result of this misplaced confidence was such as might naturally have been expected from a man destitute of principle, and inured to vice: his crimes, indeed, had first recommended him to the notice of Lewis;

and, as he was apprehensive that the reconciliation of that monarch with his brother, might effect a diminution of his own credit, he resolved to prevent it. He had engaged William d'Harancourt, bishop of Verdun, who was attached to prince Charles, to second his design. The king, who made a point of bribing all those who enjoyed his brother's confidence, spared no pains to gain this prelate to his interests; and the bishop accordingly promised to comply with his wishes, though, at the same time, he was engaged in assisting the cardinal to counteract them. While the two associates were flattering themselves with the idea that their perfidious machinations would prove successful, and that their characters and their situation in life would exempt them from suspicion, a servant belonging to the bishop of Verdun was stopped with a packet of letters from cardinal Balue. Among these letters, written by the cardinal himself, (according to Commynes) was one directed to the king's brother, exhorting him to accept no other appanage than that which the duke of Burgundy had obtained for him by the peace of Peronne. This letter was probably intended to be forwarded by some other person, since it is certain, that the messenger, when he left Tours, did not take the road to Brittany, and that he had other letters with him, addressed to the duke of Burgundy, in which the duke was informed, that prince Charles was on the point of concluding an accommodation with his brother; that the king had signed a treaty with England and the duke of Brittany, merely with the view of directing his hostile operations against Flanders; and that if the duke wished to avert the danger with which he was threatened, he had no time to lose. He was advised to fortify his towns in Picardy, to persuade the king's brother to retire to the Low Countries, and then openly to insist on the full execution of the treaty of Peronne. He was assured, that, by the adoption of these measures, he would be enabled to impose such terms as he might chuse to prescribe; that the time was favourable for the accomplishment of his plans; that the counts of Foix and Armagnac were only waiting for a proper opportunity to declare themselves; that the duke of Bourbon's loyalty was of a doubtful complexion, and that nothing would be more easy than to gain the constable. That nothing might be left unnoticed which could tend to irritate the duke of Burgundy, Balue gave him an account of all the attacks which the king made on his honour, affirming, that not a day passed but Lewis reproached him with the commission of some gross fault, or some flagrant crime.

The messenger was conducted to Amboise, where the court then resided, and the letters were delivered to Lewis, the violence of whose indignation may be conceived from the nature of the offence. The two ministers were immediately summoned to attend him, and they accordingly made their appearance with an air of confidence, that guilt, from long habit and impunity, is too apt to assume. But all their impudence forsook them as soon as the proofs of their crime were exhibited to their sight. The culprits were first taken to Tours, and from thence were conveyed to the castle of Montbazou, where they were committed to the care of John d'Estouteville, lord of Torcy. All such as were suspected of being

accomplices in their crime, or as were supposed to be able to throw any light on the subject, were likewise apprehended. Commissioners, presided by the chancellor, were appointed to try them. The bishop of Verdun, in the hope of moving the king to mercy, confessed his guilt; but cardinal Balue persisted for some time in his denial of the crimes that were laid to his charge, but finding the proofs too strong to be resisted, he at length consented to make a confession, on condition that he should obtain a pardon. This the king promised, but without any intention of keeping his word.

Balue acknowledged, that all the letters and memorials which had been intercepted, were written by him. His wretched ambition had led him to break through all ties of honour and honesty, in order to maintain the credit he had acquired. By him the duke of Burgundy had been informed of all the secrets of government; he had adopted every plan which his sagacity could devise for perpetuating the disputes between prince Charles and his brother, for encreasing the hatred which subsisted between the king and the duke of Burgundy, and for extending the power of the latter, in order to render his own services necessary to Lewis, and by that means to secure his continuance in office. He had encouraged the king to attend the fatal interview at Peronne, in order that the enmity between the two princes might become irreconcilable. He foresaw the consequences of that interview*, and he drew up the dishonourable treaty to which it gave rise. He, too, was the man who advised the duke of Burgundy to accept the king's proposal to accompany him to Liege, and to make him adhere to it, in order that he might assist in the destruction of his own allies.

Crimes of this magnitude were certainly deserving of the severest punishment, but the interference of the pope saved the lives of the culprits, who were confined in two iron cages, eight feet square†, which they had themselves invented. After a captivity of twelve years they both obtained their liberty, and the cardinal was even reinstated in the bishoprick of Angers, and in some other of his church preferments.

Soon after the detection of this plot, the king concluded the negociation with his brother, who, at length, was prevailed on to accept the duchy of Guienne, and to resign all pretensions to the more important provinces of Champagne and Brie. But before prince Charles left Brittany, he signed a private treaty with the duke, of which the king received immediate information, although he concealed his knowledge of it.

The two brothers were so mistrustful of each other's integrity, that precautions

* Villaret.

† One of these iron cages which has preserved the appellation of Cage Balue, is still to be seen at the castle of Loches. These horrid places of confinement were much in vogue during the reign of Lewis the Eleventh. That monarch caused a vaulted dungeon to be constructed at the castle of Plessis-les-Tours, immediately under his own study, so that he could distinctly hear the groans and complaints of the wretched prisoners. This dreadful abode of misery was provided with an iron door, and the aperture for the admission of light and air was extremely small. The dungeon subsisted so late as the middle of the present century. *Nouvelles Observations sur l'Histoire de France.*

the most extraordinary were deemed requisite to provide against the machinations of treachery and fraud. *The cross of Saint Lo*, a sacred relic, holden in the highest estimation, and to which the superstitious terrors of the age had attached the power of inflicting death, within the year, on any one who, after having invoked it to sanction an oath, should be guilty of perjury, was conveyed, with great solemnity, by two priests, from Angers to the episcopal palace at Xaintes; where the duke of Guienne swore by it, in presence of the count of Dammartin, and others of the French nobility, *never to make, himself, nor to consent to the making by others, any attempt on the liberty or life of his brother, king Lewis* * : he farther engaged never to listen to any proposal concerning his marriage with the princess Mary, daughter to the duke of Burgundy, without the express and free consent of his brother. Lewis, by imposing this last condition on Charles, exacted from that prince a degree of submission, which, when dauphin, he himself had refused to pay to his father; though, it is certain, that the consequences to be dreaded from such an alliance justified his interposition, in the present instance.

After this agreement had taken place, the king proposed an interview with his brother; for which purpose he caused a bridge to be constructed over the river Bron, near the castle of Charon; in the center whereof a lofty barrier was erected, with a grated window. Thither the king repaired, attended only by the duke of Bourbon; the lord of Bueil; Charles de Crussol, seneschal of Poitou, and nine other persons, all unarmed. His guard consisted only of four Scotch archers, without their bows and quivers. The rest of his troops, to the number of four thousand, were stationed at the distance of a mile from the bridge: the retinue of prince Charles was equally slender; he was welcomed, by Lewis, with professions of esteem and fraternal affection, but all his solicitations for permission to pass the barrier, were firmly rejected by the suspicious monarch. The next day, however, they had a second interview, in which none of those precautions were observed. It passed, like the first, in abject supplications for pardon, on the one side, and the warmest testimonies of friendship and attachment on the other.

Prince Charles now visited his new apanage, and could not forbear expressing his displeasure at the limits which his brother had assigned to the duchy of Guienne; he found himself surrounded, on all sides, by strong fortresses, which, though properly belonging to the province, the king had reserved for himself; the towns which had been ceded to him had, after the expulsion of the English, obtained such considerable privileges, that the revenue of the duchy was reduced almost to nothing; Lewis, too, had taken from the prince the direct homage of the counts of Foix, Armagnac, and Albret, who had always holden immediately of the dukes of Guienne. By this new arrangement, the prince was deprived of his most powerful vassals, and his revenues were rendered insufficient for the proper support of his rank and consequence, so that he was wholly exposed to the mercy of the king, who might, whenever he chose, despoil him of his apanage.

* Villaret, tom. xvii. p. 342.

The complaints preferred by the prince, on this occasion, greatly embarrassed the king, who was determined to make no concession which might prove a source of anxiety to himself, and who yet perceived the necessity of satisfying his brother*. In order to accomplish this object, he conferred some farther favours on Charles, which, while they wore an appearance of liberality, could not fail to render odious the person who received them, since he must infallibly be suspected of having solicited them. Lewis ceded to his brother the county of Soule, and the town of Mauleon, which were in possession of the count of Foix; the districts of Verdun and Riviere, with the county of Gaure, which he detached from the province of Languedoc; the sovereignty of the counties of Estrac, Perdrac, and Bigorre; and, in order to increase the duke's revenue, he revoked the privileges which had been granted to the different towns in Guienne, and resigned them to him in the same state in which they were under the domination of the English. In return for these concessions, he exacted from his brother a formal renunciation not only of all his pretensions to the Limousin, Angoumois, and Poitou, but likewise to the homage of the counts of Foix, Armagnac, and Albret; promising, at the same time, that if his future conduct was such as he should approve, he might depend on feeling, in a still more extensive degree, the effects of his liberality. The young prince, moved by these specious professions, promised all he desired, and seemed resolved to deserve his confidence and esteem.

But the principal difficulty was yet to be removed; Lewis had no male child; his brother, who was presumptive heir to the throne, was of a proper age to be married, and the malecontents had urged him to cast his eyes on the only daughter of the duke of Burgundy. From this, however, he had been deterred, by the interposition of Lewis, who now flattered him with the prospect of obtaining the crown of Castile†. Henry the Impotent, the present king of Castile, had only one daughter, whose title to the crown no one could have disputed, if the legitimacy of her birth had not been exposed to serious doubts. It was reported, that Henry, who had, by excess of debauchery, destroyed his own powers of generation, anxious to have an heir, had introduced one of his favourites into the queen's bed, and that the princess Jane was the offspring of that infamous connection. This report obtained such general credit, that the states of the kingdom made no scruple, even during the king's life, to declare his sister Isabella sole heiress to the crown of Castile. From that moment the hand of Isabella was eagerly courted by various princes; but Ferdinand, only son to the king of Arragon, was preferred to the rest by the princess and her partisans; though her brother Henry spared no pains to prevent an union with a prince, who, he feared, might become a too formidable neighbour. Affairs were in this situation, when Lewis sent the cardinal of Albi to Madrid, to propose the marriage of the duke of Guienne with one of the two princesses. He had orders first to ask the hand of Isabella, but if his suit were rejected, to conclude an alliance with Jane; only

* Histoire de Languedoc, par Dom Vaissète—Preuves des Memoirs de Commines.

† Manusc. de Le Grand—Ferreris, History of Spain.

exacting from her father a promise, that he would publicly acknowledge her for his daughter and heirs. Henry listened to the ambassador's proposals, without betraying any displeasure at the preference that was given to his sister over his daughter; and he permitted the cardinal to apply to Isabella for her consent to the marriage. The princess, however, who had retired to Madrigal, where her partisans were assembled, not only rejected the proposals of the French ambassador, but, in disobedience to the orders of her brother, celebrated her marriage with Ferdinand. The cardinal then proceeded, in compliance with his instructions, to demand the hand of Jane, and to exact from Henry a public acknowledgment of her legitimacy; with which demands the Castilian monarch cheerfully complied.

This embassy alarmed the enemies of Lewis; and the duke of Burgundy, aware of the importance of interrupting that harmony which seemed to subsist between the two brothers, pressed the duke of Guienne to accept the hand of his daughter; though he by no means intended to bestow it on him*. Lewis, who had spies in all the neighbouring courts, was soon apprized of the duke of Burgundy's intentions; and as he knew the mind of his brother to be weak and irresolute, he immediately dispatched de Bueil, du Bouchag, and Doriole to remonstrate with him on the impropriety of confiding in the promises of a prince who under the specious mask of friendship, endeavoured to dismember the monarchy, and probably hoped to get possession of the throne. Soon after this, the count of Saint Paul, brother to the constable, and the lord of Remiremont, arrived at the court of the duke of Guienne, as ambassadors from the duke of Burgundy. They complimented the prince on the acquisition of his new appanage, and enquired whether the king had fulfilled all the conditions of the treaty of Peronne; they then complained of certain reports which had been propagated to the prejudice of their master, accusing him of having been desirous to secure the king's person for a time, in order to have a favourable opportunity for destroying his brother. They observed, that the duke's conduct set him too far above imputations of that nature, to permit him to believe that he stood in need of justification; all his actions tended to demonstrate, that he had ever had the interests of the prince, his ally, more at heart than his own; and in order to prove, they said, the warmth of his friendship, in a manner more unequivocal, their master had sent him the order of the Golden Fleece, with an offer of his daughter's hand, and the liberty of fixing the terms on which their alliance should be contracted.

The duke of Guienne, after he had privately conferred with his brother's ambassadors, on the subject of these proposals, replied to the count of Saint Paul and the lord of Remiremont, that he was highly obliged to his cousin, the duke of Burgundy, for this new mark of attention; that having met with nothing that suited him in the different treaties which had been made for settling his appanage, he had accepted the duchy of Guienne, where he lived contented; that the reports of which the duke complained had never reached his ears, and, he was convinced,

they were wholly undeserving of attention; that having been honoured by his brother with the collar of the order of Saint Michael, he neither would nor could wear any other; that he was fully sensible of the advantages of the proposed alliance, but that he could not contract an engagement of that nature without the king's consent; that he was resolved, in future, to be the friend of his friends, and the enemy of his enemies; and not doubting that the duke of Burgundy entertained the same sentiments, he should certainly preserve his friendship for him.

This answer, so far from being satisfactory in itself, was followed by a circumstance, which seemed to promise an open rupture: the duke of Guienne, when the Burgundian ambassadors took their leave, neglected to make them the usual presents. Lewis triumphed at this circumstance, and his joy increased when he learnt that his brother was coming to pay him a friendly visit. The queen, the duchess of Bourbon and her daughter, with every person of distinction then at court, went forth to meet the duke; the king loaded him with caresses, and during the whole time that he remained at court, Lewis paid all the expences of his household, and made considerable presents to his officers; Garnier remarks*, that he did not even forget *his washerwoman*, to whom he gave fifty crowns. Perhaps she was handsome, and might therefore be supposed to possess some influence over the mind of her master.

In the midst of amusements, Lewis never lost sight of business; he now resolved to profit by the favourable disposition of his brother, to interest him in the re-establishment of the sovereign authority, in the southern provinces†. Gascony was, at this time, divided between several potent vassals, whose situation, at the extremity of the kingdom, joined to the calamities of former reigns, had rendered them almost independent of the crown. At the head of the most seditious of these were the princes of Armagnac. John the Fifth, chief of this illustrious house, the most ancient in Europe, had excited the public indignation by revolting against his sovereign; by his marriage with his own sister, and by the depredations and other acts of violence which he continually committed on his neighbours; he kept a standing army, and being unable to support them by other means, he suffered them to commit what devastations they chose on the surrounding country. While the king was in confinement at Peronne, he had secretly endeavoured to persuade the English monarch to attempt the recovery of Guienne, offering to admit him into all the towns in his possession, and to join the English with fifteen thousand disciplined troops; but having failed in his efforts to stimulate Edward to this enterprise, he had maintained a criminal correspondence with the enemies of the state, and fomented new disorders in the interior parts of the kingdom. Lewis, apprised of these attempts, but unable, at the time, to apply an effectual remedy, offered the count ten thousand livres to dismiss his troops. The count took the money, but kept his men. This conduct roused the king's resentment, and he had now an additional cause for anxiety; he was afraid that the

* Histoire de France, tom. xvii. p. 361. Naiffatte.

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† Manusc. de le Grand—Hist. de Languedoc, par

count of Armagnac, notwithstanding the precautions he had taken to prevent him, would have art enough to insinuate himself into the good graces of the duke of Guienne, by chusing him for his Lord Paramount, and would, by that means, sooner or later, excite him to revolt. Lewis, while he carefully concealed this last subject of apprehension from his brother, represented to him of what consequence it was to the good order and tranquillity of the state, not to suffer such attempts to pass with impunity; and, for the purpose of engaging him to second his views, he promised to augment his appanage with the spoils of the culprit. He then sent the count of Dammartin, with a strong body of forces, to execute his orders, after investing him with more ample powers than ever were entrusted by a monarch to a subject. Dammartin was authorized to receive informations against the rebel and all his accomplices; to confiscate their property; to prohibit the count of Foix, the lord of Albret, and the duke of Nemours, from raising troops, in future, without an express commission from the king: in short, he was empowered to dispose, at his pleasure, of the estates and effects of the parties accused; to punish, pardon, or reward. The king promised to ratify all the proceedings of his general.

At the approach of a formidable army, commanded by an experienced captain, the count of Armagnac lost his courage, and only thought of providing for his own personal safety, by retiring into the territories of his ally, the king of Arragon. The garrisons and inhabitants of the different towns, finding themselves forsaken, only resisted long enough to secure their pardon and the preservation of their privileges, so that Lewis, in a very short time, and without bloodshed, obtained possession of the whole country.

By the count of Armagnac's precipitate flight, the duke of Nemours was left to sustain the whole weight of the monarch's resentment. This nobleman, son to Bernard d'Armagnac, governor to Lewis, had been brought up with the king, and was long honoured with his favour: he had even been created duke and peer of France, an honour which was, in those days, confined to the princes of the blood. But these marks of friendship having proved insufficient to secure his attachment, he had stood forward as one of the most zealous promoters of the league for the public good. Surrounded in the Bourbonnois, and reduced to the necessity of negotiating with the king, he had sworn, on the cross of Charlemagne, to observe an inviolable fidelity towards him; yet, in violation of his oath, he had joined the army of the confederated princes at the siege of Paris; and at the councils, which were holden under the walls of the capital, he had ever advised the rejection of all moderate measures. Compelled to acquiesce in the treaty which put an end to that contest, he had again sworn, on the Crown of Thorns, and all the sacred relics contained in the royal chapel, that nothing should, in future, induce him to swerve from his attachment to the king; and that, should he ever be apprized of any plot against his sacred person, he would instantly reveal it: this oath was no better observed than the former. The duke

had been an accomplice in all the acts of violence committed by the count of Armagnac, the head of his house; and Lewis, enraged at such repeated instances of perfidy, had caused him to be declared guilty of high-treason, and publicly proclaimed a traitor. Dammartin now advanced with his troops in order to enforce this sentence, while Nemours, justly alarmed at his situation, employed the protection of those very men who had been sent to punish him. He was allied to the house of Bourbon; three of whose members, Gilbert de Bourbon, dauphin of Auvergne; Peter de Bourbon, lord of Beaujeau; and the bastard of Bourbon, admiral of France, were with the royal army: these powerful friends, who were joined by the count of Dammartin, succeeded in their efforts to appease the king's indignation; but while Lewis pardoned the past offences of the duke, all possible care was taken to deprive him of the ability to renew them.

It was stipulated, that if at any future period he should violate the oath that was now exacted from him, he should be liable to be tried even for the crimes for which he had received a pardon; that he should not avail himself of his privilege as a peer, but must consent to be tried as a private individual; that his lands and lordships should be confiscated, and irrevocably united to the crown; and, that all his officers, both civil and military, should swear to obey him no longer than he himself should continue to pay proper obedience to his sovereign. Farther to ensure his fidelity, the king placed a garrison of his own in most of his fortresses, which the duke was compelled to maintain. While Dammartin was employed in reducing to obedience the refractory vassals of the crown, the king ordered the parliament of Paris to proceed against the fugitive count of Armagnac; who was accordingly convicted of high treason, and all his property confiscated; but Lewis, faithless to his word, distributed his estates among the principal officers who had served in the expedition, and only assigned to the duke of Guienne the strong fortress of Lectoure.

This stroke of authority, at a time when the king was supposed to be rendered incapable of any exertion of vigour, excited the most serious alarms at the court of Brittany*. That province was exposed, from its situation, to the danger of a sudden invasion, similar to that which had just completed the ruin of the house of Armagnac; the duke, therefore, hastened to adopt such measures as he deemed necessary for his own defence. He strengthened the fortifications of his towns; he applied for assistance to England; he sent ambassadors to the duke of Burgundy; and he endeavoured to communicate a portion of his own anxiety to all the neighbouring powers. In fact, Lewis would certainly have treated him with as little ceremony as the count of Armagnac, had the reduction of Brittany been a matter of equal facility with the confiscation of that nobleman's territories; but that not being the case, he resolved to humble the prince he could not subdue.

* Histoire de Bretagne, par Lobineau.

As some pretext, however, was necessary for attacking him, he had recourse to an expedient which no one but himself could have devised; this was, to send the duke the order of Saint-Michael (which Lewis had lately instituted :) if he accepted it, he must bind himself to the king by new oaths, the execution of which he would immediately be called on to fulfil; and if he refused it, his refusal would be construed into an affront, for which the king would demand satisfaction. Ambassadors were accordingly dispatched to Brittany with the insidious offer: the duke, extremely surprised, suffered some petulant expressions to escape him; but, on cool reflection, he rejected the proffered mark of distinction with firmness and respect: alledging, as the motive of his refusal, that his unwillingness to contract an obligation, with the extent whereof he was unacquainted, had induced him to submit the statutes of the order of Saint-Michael to the examination of his council, who had found several of the articles—which he specified—to be incompatible with his rank and privileges.

Lewis did not stop to discuss the validity of these objections, but immediately caused a report to be propagated of a projected invasion of Normandy by the English; and having collected the troops of the neighbouring provinces, he advanced to the frontiers of Brittany. The duke, perceiving his intentions, prepared to defend himself, and claimed the assistance of his allies. The duke of Guienne represented to the king, that after the engagements he had contracted with the duke of Brittany, he could not abandon him without covering himself with shame; he, therefore, exhorted him not to interrupt the harmony which prevailed in every part of his dominions, but to terminate, by a treaty, any disputes which might have arisen between him and the duke. This was all Lewis desired; the French and Breton plenipotentiaries accordingly met at Angers, where a treaty was concluded, by which the duke of Brittany formally renounced every alliance which could tend to disturb the tranquillity of the kingdom. Lewis insisted that all the Breton nobility should guarantee the treaty, in the hope of alluring some of them to enter into his service. Among those who took this step was the viscount of Rohan, a young nobleman of the most promising abilities, who was afterwards so much distinguished under the appellation of *maréchal de Gié*.

A. D. 1470.] Three days after the conclusion of the treaty of Angers, the duke of Brittany concluded another treaty, at Etampes, with the duke of Burgundy*. Lewis, however, felt no anxiety on this account, as he flattered himself that he had effectually secured the attachment of the lord of Lescun, who governed Brittany, while the duke passed his time in amorous dalliance with his fair mistress, Antoinette de Magnelais.

The duke of Burgundy, however, continued to watch with attention all the motions of Lewis; and that monarch, when he assembled his troops to attack the duke of Brittany, having summoned several Burgundian nobles to serve in person

* Preuves de l'Histoire de Bretagne.

in his army, under pain of losing the fiefs which they enjoyed in France, Charles took that opportunity to send an embassy to the French court. His ambassadors, Crequi, Carondelet, and Murin, complained of the conduct of the king's officers, in demanding the personal attendance of the Burgundian nobility, as a manifest violation of the treaty of Peronne; and of the attack made by the king on the duke of Brittany, who was in such strict alliance with the duke their master, that their cause was the same. The king, they said, could not plead ignorance of that alliance, since he had himself approved and confirmed it by the treaty of Peronne. On these two points, therefore, they demanded immediate and complete satisfaction.

Lewis, having heard their complaints, immediately dispatched Guy Pot, bailiff of Vermandois; William de Courcillon, and James Fournier, with his answer to the duke. On their arrival at the Burgundian court, they declared to Charles, that on a report being propagated of a projected invasion of Normandy by the English, the king had issued the usual orders to his vassals, without either specifying or excepting any person whatever; that nevertheless, it had not been his intention to molest the subjects of the duke; and that he had just given the most positive orders to prevent any such molestation.

"As to what has passed in Brittany," said the ambassador, "the king cannot conceive what objections you can start to his conduct. Has he injured the duke in any manner? Has he even threatened him? The duke alarmed himself without reason; he was, probably, discontented with some of the clauses of the treaty of Ancenis, and therefore besought the king to conclude a new treaty. How did his majesty act on the occasion? Although he knows that the duke is his subject; and that, after all, he is neither one of the first princes of the blood, nor one of the most powerful vassals of the crown, yet he condescended to comply with his requests, and to give him this new mark of his friendship. The treaty was concluded at Angers, where every point was settled by mutual consent.

"After having thus answered your complaints," pursued the ambassador, "permit the king to ask you, in his turn, What he ought to think of the warmth with which you espouse the quarrels of the duke of Brittany? What relation have the duchies of Burgundy and Brittany to each other? On what is this strange union founded, and what can be its object? The king himself, you say, acknowledged its validity, by signing the treaty at Conflans: you certainly know, that the king entered a protest against that treaty, which he declared null and abusive, as being the work of violence and rebellion. If, notwithstanding its invalidity, the king has still inviolably fulfilled every article which relates to yourself, you must regard his conduct, in this respect, as a flattering distinction, for which you ought to be obliged to him; but which cannot, by any means, authorise you to demand its observance in every point. Let us suppose, however, for a moment, that this treaty exists in full force, and has not been affected by subsequent treaties; what advantage can you expect to derive from

“ it? Though the duke of Brittany and yourself engaged mutually to assist
 “ each other, yet both of you swore allegiance and obedience to the king,
 “ your sovereign. Which of the two oaths ought to be most respected? One
 “ is only an arbitrary convention, subordinate to a first engagement; while the
 “ other is a sacred duty, contracted at your birth, not to be dispensed with on
 “ any account, not to be limited by any other convention; a duty, in short, in-
 “ herent in the domain, in the rank, and in the person. The nearer a subject is
 “ placed to the throne, by his birth and dignities, the stronger are the engage-
 “ ments which he contracts with his sovereign; and what man in France has en-
 “ gagements of more importance than the duke of Burgundy, a prince of the
 “ blood, and the first peer of the realm?”

“ Recollect your origin, prince, and the titles on which your greatness is
 “ founded, and you will then feel more sensibly the whole extent of your duties:
 “ the air which you breathe, the rank which you enjoy, the power to which
 “ you have attained—you are indebted for them all to the monarchs of France.
 “ King John conferred the duchy of Burgundy on the founder of your family:
 “ Charles the Wise obtained for him the heirs of Flanders; and in order to
 “ facilitate the marriage, he generously ceded to him the towns of Douai, Lille,
 “ and Orchies. Yet, notwithstanding these advantages, the dukes of Burgundy
 “ never would have maintained the dignity to which they had been exalted, had
 “ not Charles the Sixth gone in person to subdue the Flemish rebels, and to
 “ re-establish your grand-father in the possession of his dominions. Services of
 “ such importance cannot be so soon effaced from your memory; but, were
 “ it necessary to recall them to your mind, and to adduce the most authentic
 “ proofs in support of our assertions, we need only to refer to the archives of
 “ the chamber of accounts at Paris, where those proofs have been carefully
 “ preserved. But, in reminding you, prince, of the benefactions of his an-
 “ cestors, the king has no intention of reproaching you: on the contrary, he
 “ is ready to confer fresh favours on you, whenever, from a due attention to
 “ your real interests, you shall convince the French, that you have not forgotten
 “ who you are, nor from whom you are descended.”

As soon as the ambassador had concluded his speech, Hugonet, bailiff of Charo-
 lois, began a methodical reply; but the duke, tired with his prolixity, interrupted
 him, and finished the answer himself. “ The king,” “ said Charles, reminds
 “ me that I am of the blood of France: is not the duke of Brittany, then,
 “ whose destruction he has resolved on, of the same blood? He declares, that
 “ he has entered a protest against the treaty of Peronne; as if the faith of
 “ treaties could be annulled by such vain formalities. He has, doubtless, forgot-
 “ ten that precious maxim of one of his ancestors—*That, though good faith were*
 “ *banished from the rest of the earth, she ought still to retain her habitation in the breast*
 “ *of princes.*” He adds, “ That I owe him loyalty and obedience; but do the
 “ titles he has assumed give him the right to excite my subjects to revolt,
 “ and to take under his protection all the criminals in my dominions? He relates

“ the services which his ancestors have rendered to mine ; but does he then make
 “ no account of the services of equal importance which mine have rendered to
 “ his ? Services by which they acquired, and deserved the fortune which they
 “ have transmitted to me, and of which he now wishes to dispossess me. Will
 “ he dare deny, that he has opened his dominions to the perfidious Liegeois, and
 “ assigned them an establishment on the frontiers of my provinces ? How many
 “ of them are now resident in the county of Rhétel ? Let him, therefore, no longer
 “ hope to deceive me by artful speeches, and deceitful professions : the duke of
 “ Brittany is my ally ; and I will defend him !”

From such warm remonstrances on both sides, the most serious consequences were to be apprehended ; but Lewis, who had already sacrificed so much to obtain a peace, was resolved not to engage in a war, unless with a certainty of considerable advantage. Fortune soon furnished him with such an opportunity, and it came from a quarter whence he had least reason to expect it.

Richard Nevile, the famous earl of Warwick, whose valour and popularity had so eminently contributed to the deposition of his lawful sovereign, and the elevation of his rival, the usurper Edward, to the throne of England, being disgusted with the conduct of the latter, had recently deserted his cause, and was now labouring to destroy that very fabric which he had taken such pains to erect. In the prosecution of this plan he was strenuously supported by the duke of Clarence, (Edward's brother) who had married his eldest daughter, and who was highly discontented with the king for the decided preference which he gave to the queen's relations over his own. On the twenty-fourth of March, (1470) the English monarch published a long declaration at York, summoning his brother and Warwick to appear before him on the twenty-eighth, to answer to the charges which had been exhibited against them ; and, as they did not chuse to obey the citation, a second declaration was published at Nottingham, on the thirty-first of March, proclaiming them rebels and traitors, offering rewards for apprehending them ; and prohibiting all persons, under the severest penalties, from assisting them and their adherents*.

Clarence and Warwick, unable to resist the superior forces of Edward, were compelled to leave the kingdom ; and having effected their escape to Dartmouth, they there embarked for Calais, of which Warwick was governor. The deputy governor, to whom the earl had entrusted the command of the place during his absence, was one Vauclair, a Gascon, who seeing Warwick return in the deplorable state of an exile, refused him admittance, and would not even suffer the duchess of Clarence to land, though she had been taken in labour, and delivered of a son, on ship-board. With difficulty was permission extorted from him to carry two flasks of wine to the vessel for her use ; but as he was a man of sagacity, he deemed it prudent to make a secret apology to Warwick, whom he assured, that his conduct was entirely influenced by motives of personal

* Claus. 10 Edw. IV. apud Carte, page 780.

regard and zeal for his service. He said, that the fortress was ill-supplied with provisions; that he could place no reliance on the fidelity of the garrison; that the inhabitants, deriving their principal means of subsistence from their commercial intercourse with England, would certainly declare for the established government; that the place, in its present situation, was unable to resist the attacks of the duke of Burgundy on the one hand, and those of England on the other; and that, by seeming to preserve his loyalty to Edward, he should acquire the confidence of that prince, and still keep it in his power, when a proper opportunity should occur, to restore Calais to its ancient master. Whatever were the real intentions of Vauclair, his conduct was so highly approved both by Edward and the duke of Burgundy, that the former gave him the government of Calais, and the latter granted him a pension of one thousand crowns; on which he took a solemn oath to remain faithful to the king, and to resist every solicitation that could tempt him to swerve from his duty.*

It is uncertain whether Warwick was satisfied with the apology of Vauclair, or suspected him to be guilty of a double infidelity; but he seemed to be entirely convinced by his arguments; and having seized some Flemish vessels, which he found laying off Calais he sailed towards the coast of Normandy, and arrived at Honfleur on the second of May.

Lewis, alarmed at the close connection of Edward with his two inveterate enemies, the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, received with transport the only man who was capable of effecting a revolution in England. He could have wished, indeed, that instead of disembarking at the mouth of the Seine, Warwick had retired to the less-frequented ports of Cherbourg and Grandville, which belonged to the Bastard of Bourbon, admiral of France; for foreseeing the complaints and reproaches to which the protection afforded to the earl would necessarily give rise, he was anxious to have it in his power to say, that that protection was probably the consequence of a private association, and confraternity of arms between the admiral and Warwick; an association, authorized by the laws of chivalry, and of which the sovereign ought not to take cognizance. He, therefore, ordered Dupleffis Bouré to engage Warwick to proceed to the ports of Lower Normandy, under pretext that he would there be less exposed to the observations of the constable, who acted as a spy to the duke of Burgundy†.

The predictions of Lewis were speedily verified, by the receipt of a letter from the duke of Burgundy, who, at the same time, wrote to the parliament, and to the citizens of Rouen, to demand restitution of the prizes which had been made on his subjects, and to complain of the protection accorded to his enemy, the earl of Warwick. This letter, from a sovereign prince to a subject town, may appear extraordinary; but it must be remembered, that, in those times, the municipal towns bore a strong resemblance to small republics, subordinate to the same monarchy. They raised taxes for their own use; had land and sea forces, which

* Phil. de Commines, tom. i. p. 188. 189.

† Garnier, tom. xvii. p. 396.

they had the right to employ in revenging their own quarrels ; and some of them even concluded commercial treaties, and treaties of alliance, with foreign powers *. The citizens of Rouen, after they had acquainted the king with the contents of the duke's letters, replied, that it was not their province to take cognizance of any disputes which might have arisen between the earl of Warwick and the duke of Burgundy ; that they were convinced the king, their sovereign, would do nothing contrary to subsisting treaties ; that it was a matter of public notoriety, that the Burgundian vessels, which had been taken by the earl, had been afterward re-taken by the English fleet, and restored to their true owners, so that they could not possibly, as the duke, deceived probably by false reports, had represented, have been exposed to public sale. Charles, dissatisfied with this answer, wrote to them a second time, observing, that it appeared strange to him, that the citizens of Rouen should be so well acquainted with what passed at sea between Warwick and the English fleet, and yet be so ignorant of what was actually passing under their eyes on the river Seine, where three large Burgundian vessels were then laying ; that, if any opinion might be formed of the future by the past, it was clear that Warwick would be careful not to offend his good friends in England, and would seek to make himself amends for such restraint, by attacking the Flemish ; but that, with the aid of God, he would put a stop to his depredations, and would neither spare his enemy, nor those who should give him assistance.

In proportion as the duke's warmth and impetuosity increased in this business, the greater appearance of moderation and impartiality did Lewis affect. He told the Burgundian envoys, who had been sent to claim the prizes, that the demand was a just one ; but that, in an affair of which he was wholly ignorant, he could not possibly dispense with the observance of the usual forms of justice ; he, therefore, referred them to the judges of the admiralty, who, being apprised of his intentions, contrived, by various expedients, to prolong the cause, and, at last, came to no decisive resolution. Meanwhile, a number of French privateers secretly joined Warwick's squadron, and daily made fresh captures. The duke, who saw the drift of this conduct, wrote the following laconic epistle to the Bastard of Bourbon, and the archbishop of Narbonne, who were at the head of the admiralty.

" Archbishop, and you, admiral—the ships which you tell me have been equipped by the king for the purpose of cruising against the English, have already attacked the vessels of my subjects on their return to my dominions ; but, by St. George, if an immediate stop be not put to such proceedings, I will myself—with the aid of God—supply the remedy—without your permission or your reasons, or your forms of justice, for they are too arbitrary, and too long.

CHARLES."

* Garnier, tom. xvii. p. 396.

The duke soon put his threats in execution; and without any other declaration of war, seized and confiscated all the goods belonging to the French, throughout the whole extent of his dominions; and, on a vague report that the admiral of France was watching an opportunity to set fire to the Flemish fleet, in the ports of Holland, he ordered all his officers to get their ships in immediate readiness, to form a junction with the combined fleets of England and Brittany, and to attack Warwick wherever they might find him. On the receipt of this news, Lewis became sensible, that his perfidious conduct would no longer be tolerated, and that he must either dismiss Warwick, or submit to have the coast of Normandy insulted by the three combined squadrons; but before he parted from the earl, he resolved to bind him more forcibly to his interests; hoping, through his means, to overturn the established government of England, and to effect the restoration of the exiled house of Lancaster. The animosity which had ever subsisted between that unfortunate family and this powerful earl was so inveterate, as scarcely to allow a hope that a reconciliation could ever take place. The father of Warwick had been executed by orders from Margaret of Anjou; he had himself twice reduced Henry to a state of captivity; had promoted the banishment of the queen; had put to death all her most zealous partisans, either in the field or on the scaffold; and, in short, had drawn down such calamities on her house, as no future services could, in appearance, possibly compensate. For this reason, when Warwick had first adopted the resolution of deposing Edward, he had no intention of restoring his rival to the throne; but meant to confer the regal dignity on his own son-in-law, the duke of Clarence. Of this design he was accused by Edward, in his long declaration, published at York; and it had obtained universal credit with the people of England. Finding, however, that his project was ill-received, and would be equally opposed by the Yorkists and Lancastrians, he was now reduced to the necessity of adopting the plan proposed by Lewis, which was, to effect the restoration of king Henry. To render this more palatable to Warwick, and to reconcile him, in some measure, to that flagrant contradiction of principles which his conduct must necessarily display to the world, it was proposed, that the administration of government, during the minority of young Edward, Henry's son, should be entrusted conjointly to the earl of Warwick and the duke of Clarence; that the prince of Wales should espouse the lady Anne, Warwick's second daughter, and that the crown, in failure of male issue from that prince, should descend, at his death, to the duke of Clarence, to the total exclusion of Edward and his posterity.

When these arrangements were fixed, messengers were sent to conduct queen Margaret, and her son Edward, from their obscure residence in Lorraine, to the court of France. An union of interests superinduced an union of sentiments in the queen and Warwick, which effectually stifled all emotions of hatred. Margaret willingly acceded to the terms proposed; the marriage of the prince of Wales with the lady Anna Neville was celebrated, to the apparent satisfaction of all the parties concerned in this unexpected alliance; a treaty, offensive and

defensive was concluded between young Edward, in the name of his father, and Lewis, which was to remain in force *till the total destruction of the house of Burgundy should be effected* * ; and the whole was confirmed, on either side, by the most solemn oaths.

The joy which Lewis experienced on the success of his project, was greatly increased by the birth of a son, who afterwards succeeded to the throne, under the appellation of Charles the Eighth. As the king had long been extremely anxious for this event, he had made a vow, in case it should occur, to offer up, at the shrine of the Virgin, at Pui in Anjou, the image of a child, composed of solid silver, and in weight equal to the weight of his son, when he should have attained his eleventh year. He accordingly appropriated the sum of one hundred and sixty thousand crowns of gold for that purpose.

As soon as the rejoicings that took place on this occasion were over, the king, under pretext of performing a pilgrimage to Saint Michael's Mount, went into Normandy, in order to superintend the embarkation of Warwick, and to be ready to provide a remedy for any accident that might occur. On his return to the castle of Pleffis-les-Tours, his usual place of residence, he addressed a circular letter to all the principal towns in the kingdom, commanding each of them to send him two of their best informed merchants, whom he wished to consult on the interests of commerce. When these deputies were assembled, he explained to them the conduct of the duke of Burgundy, and the risks they must run by continuing to repair to the dominions of a prince who had just confiscated, in violation of every principle of justice, all the merchandize belonging to the French; he then expatiated on the advantages to be derived from his alliance with England, and concluded by asking their advice. In consequence of the decisions of this assembly, he forbade all future intercourse between his subjects and those of the duke of Burgundy; and in order to repair, as much as possible, the losses which the merchants and others would sustain, from ceasing to frequent the fairs at Antwerp, he established two free fairs in the city of Caen, where all foreign coins were to pass; and, for the purpose of inducing foreigners to attend these fairs, he renounced, in their favour, the *Droit d'Aubaine*, and accorded them the privileges of natives.

The king of England, meanwhile, secure in the imaginary inability of Warwick to disturb his government, had disbanded his army, and resigned himself wholly to the enjoyment of those sensual pleasures, to which he was so much addicted. Even the frequent warnings of the duke of Burgundy who apprized him of the storm that was gathering †, were inadequate to rouse him from this dangerous state of security. A vain confidence in his own prowess, and in the affections of his subjects, had rendered him incapable of sound reflection, and induced him to declare, that he should be perfectly satisfied could he once see Warwick set foot on English ground.

* Garnier.

† Phil. de Commines, tom. i. p. 193.

Edward had not long to wait for his desired satisfaction; Warwick landed at Dartmouth on the thirteenth of September, where he was joined by such numbers of his adherents, that in a few days he was at the head of a formidable army. The English monarch was then in the north of England, when he received the news of Warwick's descent; and so far was he from being discouraged at this event, that he sent a message to the duke of Burgundy, whose fleet was then at sea, to keep a strict watch, that he might prevent the earl's escape. A few days, however, proved sufficient to convince him, that his expectations were vain as his confidence was groundless. His camp was betrayed, in the vicinity of Nottingham, by the secret adherents of the house of Lancaster, and the partizans of Warwick; and Edward himself, with difficulty, effected his escape to the coast of Norfolk, where he put to sea on the third of October.

But Edward's danger did not cease with his embarkation: The Easterlings' or Hanse Towns, were at war both with France and England; and some of their ships hovering on the English coast, espied the king's vessels, gave chase to them, and had nearly overtaken them, when they were so fortunate, as to enter, in safety, the port of Alcaer in Friesland. He had fled from England with such precipitation that he had carried nothing of value along with him; and the only reward which he could bestow on the captain of the vessel that brought him over was a robe lined with sable, and the promise of an ample recompence, if fortune should ever become propitious to him.

The unexpected arrival of Edward greatly embarrassed the duke of Burgundy, who hesitated, for some time, whether he should afford protection to the fugitive monarch, or abandon him to his fate. There were strong arguments to be offered on both sides of this question. During the bloody wars between the rival houses of York and Lancaster, Charles had long espoused the cause of the latter, from which he was himself descended by his mother's side. At his court, the wretched remains of the Lancastrian party found refuge. "I have seen them in such great poverty," says Philip de Commines, "before the said duke (*of Burgundy*) knew they were there, that those who ask alms are not so poor; for I have seen a duke of Chester walking without shoes, in the train of the said duke, begging his bread from house to house, without making himself known." The hope of acquiring the ability to keep France in awe, and to repel the insidious machinations of her unprincipled monarch, had induced the duke of Burgundy to court the alliance of the victorious party. He had married Edward's sister, and though he did not withdraw his protection from the Lancastrian fugitives, he had neglected no measure which could tend to conciliate the friendship of the English monarch. He had recently accepted the order of the Garter, and, so long as fortune continued to smile on Edward, Charles, from policy, though not from inclination, had remained firmly attached to him; the case was now different, that prince was in a perilous situation, and it was even possible that he might involve, in his own ruin, whoever should attempt to afford him protection. Flan-

ders, the richest province in the dominions of Charles, was indebted for its opulence and its excessive population to its numerous manufactures, the raw materials for which were imported from England; if Charles should come to an open rupture with that kingdom, he was aware that the commerce carried on by his Flemish subjects must experience an interruption; and in that case it was much to be apprehended, that that turbulent people, already discontented with the loss of a part of their privileges, would secretly favour the insidious intrigues of Lewis, and eagerly embrace such an opportunity for revolt. To what dangers must Charles have been exposed, if, while his frontiers were attacked by the combined forces of England and France, he should likewise have the enmity of his own subjects to encounter? All these considerations urged him not to receive Edward. On the other hand, his mind revolted at the idea of resigning to his evil fortune a suppliant prince, his kinsman and ally; nor was he wholly without his fears, that such an ungenerous mode of proceeding might even prove prejudicial to his interest. Warwick was his personal enemy, and a forced reconciliation appeared to be almost equally dangerous with an avowed enmity. In this delicate conjuncture the duke steered a middle course, which, though on great occasions, it seldom proves successful, and generally, indeed, is the expedient of a weak mind, answered his purpose. He received Edward in private, and, in public, affected to espouse the victorious party; he sent Commynes to Vaucclair, the governor of Calais, whose time-serving disposition had now led him to declare for Warwick, to represent, that the alliance which subsisted between the English and Burgundians was of a nature not to be broken by a change of sovereigns; that it was an alliance between the two nations, and had for its exclusive objects the interests of commerce; that the Burgundians were different whether Henry or Edward swayed the English sceptre, and they would not interfere in revolutions which only affected the private fortune of a monarch. Charles likewise addressed a letter to the people of England, with this singular superscription, *To you my friends**, in which he repeated the same arguments, adding, that being himself descended from the house of Lancaster, he had never failed to interest himself deeply in every thing which affected the fortunes of that family; that the most distinguished chiefs of the party were still at his court; and that his only object in contracting an alliance with the opposite party, was to favour and confirm the commercial intercourse that subsisted between the two nations.

Lewis, during these transactions, had not remained inactive; he had concluded a new alliance with the Swiss; he had dispatched a solemn embassy to Henry the Sixth, who had been recently taken from prison, and replaced on the throne, and procured that monarch's ratification of the treaty which had been signed, in his name, by Warwick and young Edward; he caused the greatest honours to be paid to that prince and his mother, Margaret of Anjou, and had made

* Phil. de Commynes.

preparations for sending them to England, to the assistance of a monarch, too feeble of himself to direct the helm of state: nor was he less attentive to domestic arrangements; the utmost efforts of his policy were requisite to fix the wavering mind of his brother; to repress the attempts of the duke of Brittany, his rival's avowed partizan; to secure the attachment of the duke of Bourbon, and of the princes of the house of Anjou, who dreaded any augmentation of the sovereign power; and, finally, to inspire the nation with a desire of renewing the war, so that, whatever might be the event, he should himself be exempt from reproach.

Hitherto the king had strictly forbidden all observations and strictures on the treaty of Peronne, but he now began to cause writings to be circulated, in which the perfidy of the duke of Burgundy, and the treachery of cardinal Balue, were censured in the strongest terms. The parliament of Paris, who had evinced the greatest repugnance at registering the treaty, seized, with avidity, the opportunity which now occurred for violating its conditions: they encouraged appeals from the Flemish tribunals, and sent one of their officers to Flanders, with citations to some of the duke's subjects to appear at Paris; Charles very properly threw the officer into prison, as well as one of the presidents of the parliament of Paris, who had been sent to receive informations; while such of the Flemings as had appealed to the parliament were executed as traitors to their country. These acts of violence were highly pleasing to Lewis, as he imagined they would furnish him with a pretext for reproaching his rival with being the cause of the rupture he meditated. The districts of Vimieu, Foullois, and Beauvois, had been ceded to the duke of Burgundy by the treaty of Peronne, subject to the obligation of homage; and as Charles had taken possession of those districts without complying with the stipulated condition, which, indeed, he had never been called on to fulfil, the parliament declared that he had forfeited all right to them, and, accordingly, sent two of their members to take possession of them.

Harassed by these attempts, Charles wrote to the king and to the parliament; but finding his remonstrances treated with contempt, he summoned the king of Sicily and the duke of Brittany, either to enforce the observance of the treaty of Peronne, which they had guaranteed, or to declare in his favour, according to the engagement which they had contracted. Lewis, on his side, immediately sent envoys into Brittany, with orders, after concerting measures with the lord of Lescun, to represent to the duke, that while the king was studious to fulfil, with the utmost punctuality, all the terms of the treaty of Peronne, Charles had not yet done homage for the territories which had been ceded to him; that he had even neglected to procure the signatures of the Burgundian nobles, who were to have guaranteed the treaty; that, without any previous declaration of war, he had confiscated all the merchandise belonging to the French merchants, throughout his dominions; that he had recently imprisoned two officers of the parliament of Paris; that he had accepted the order of the Garter, and had, consequently, declared himself the

knight of an English monarch; and, finally, that he afforded protection to Edward, the usurper of the English throne, and the avowed enemy of the house of Lancaster. The envoys required, that the duke of Brittany, as a vassal of the crown, should join his arms to the king's, in order to compel Charles to give full satisfaction for all these offences.

Though the charges exhibited by the king against the duke of Burgundy were all of them false, frivolous, or misrepresented, they nevertheless threw the duke of Brittany into the greatest embarrassment. His inclination prompted him to an immediate declaration in favour of Charles, his friend and ally; but some prudential considerations led him to reject all precipitate measures, and to act with more than usual moderation. For more than a century, the dukes of Brittany had been chiefly indebted for the support of their power and independence, to the assistance which they derived from England, and from their alliance with the dukes of Burgundy; but Francis the Second now found himself in a situation, in which he had nothing to expect from the English, but to see his coasts insulted by their squadrons, while the armies of France forced an entrance into the heart of his dominions. He had no forces to oppose to such a powerful combination, and the duke of Burgundy was too much embarrassed with his own affairs, to afford him that speedy and effectual assistance which his circumstances seemed to require. Reduced to this dilemma, Francis resolved to temporise; he determined to deceive the king, by appearing to declare in his favour, and by actually endeavouring to give him a temporary advantage over his rival, with the view to bring them both, imperceptibly, as it were, to listen to such terms as would occasion much future embarrassment to Lewis, at the same time that they would secure, from regal encroachments, all the princes and nobility in the kingdom. This he meant to effect, by renewing the proposal for a marriage between the duke of Guienne and the heiress of Burgundy: the repugnance of Charles to that connexion was well known, but it was supposed, that in his present embarrassed situation he would rather listen to the suggestions of interest than the dictates of inclination*. The duke of Guienne, who, since the birth of a dauphin, had no longer the same motives for wishing to insinuate himself into the king's good graces, was extremely anxious for the alliance. The French princes and nobles, who held pensions, places, or domains under the crown, and who only expected to be favoured by the king so long as their services should be necessary to him, were studious to alarm his fears, and to increase his inquietude. The principal author and secret contriver of this intrigue, was the famous constable de Saint Paul, a man of genius, deep, artful, and designing, who having more to lose or to hope for than the rest of the nobility, was always careful to supply matter for dissention between Charles and Lewis: brother-in-law to the king, first officer of the crown; an able politician, and an intrepid warrior; he possessed greater consequence than any subject in the realm. His credit at the Burgundian court, where he had also enjoyed places of

* Commynes—Manuf. de le Grand.

the highest importance, was equally great ; his sons and his brother still commanded the troops of Charles ; and as he was himself master of several strong fortresses on the confines of either territory, he hoped to derive from the troubles which he sought to promote, a considerable augmentation of fortune, and the establishment of an independent state. After he had exhausted all the arts of persuasion to obtain the duke of Burgundy's consent to a marriage, which he represented as the only possible security for public freedom, he had recourse to more powerful means ; and seeking to make Lewis the instrument of his designs, he urged the necessity of profiting by a conjuncture, which might never more occur, when England and France were about to unite their forces, for humbling a proud prince, who threatened the monarchy with a total subversion ; and the better to remove the king's mistrust, and to fix his irresolution, he promised not only to put him in possession of the towns on the Somme, but to make all Flanders, and the principal towns in Brabant, rise in his favour.

Lewis, with all his boasted penetration, was unable to pierce this mystery ; he lent a favourable ear to the solicitations of the constable, and engaged in a war, with the secret motives for which he was totally unacquainted. Already were his troops advancing towards the confines of Picardy, while a great number of emissaries were sent into Burgundy and Flanders, to corrupt the fidelity of the officers and citizens, when a scruple occurred to the mind of Lewis, and retarded his operations. The treaty of Peronne had been registered, without any restriction, in the sovereign courts, and guaranteed by all the princes and nobility in the kingdom. Whether Lewis was afraid to break, of his own authority, an act which had thus become in a certain degree, a national act, or whether, from the uncertainty of his success in the war, in which he was about to engage, he was unwilling to take the consequence upon himself ; he convened an assembly of the notables at Tours. Before this assembly, the duke of Burgundy's conduct, both previous to, and after the treaty of Peronne, was set forth ; the king's imprisonment, in violation of a promise confirmed by an oath ; the odious conditions stipulated for his release ; the rights of the crown openly violated ; the French merchants despoiled of their effects ; the officers of justice thrown into confinement ; hostilities committed on the coast of Normandy, without any previous declaration of war ; and the order of the Garter accepted from the hands of the most formidable enemy to the French nation. To these complaints, which were preferred in the king's name, the count of Eu, the last descendant of the house of Artois, added another of a more private nature ; he said, that the duke of Burgundy unjustly held from him the town of Saint Valeri, which constituted a part of his lawful inheritance, because he had refused to take an unconditional oath of allegiance to him. After hearing these charges, this prostituted assembly, without any investigation of their merits, and, indeed, with a certain knowledge that many of them were false, and others, far from being criminal, were perfectly justifiable, declared the duke of Burgundy to be duly *convicted of high trea-*

*son**, and referred all farther proceedings, in this case, to the parliament of Paris. The parliament sent one of their bailiffs to cite the duke to appear before them, but Charles threw the man into prison, and after keeping him some days in confinement, dismissed him without an answer. Although the duke was now fully aware of the king's designs, he did not expect to be attacked before spring, and had, therefore, as the winter was already far advanced, dismissed his troops. But he was extremely surprised to learn, from a private messenger, dispatched to him by the duke of Bourbon, that he had not a moment to lose, as the royal army had actually marched, and his subjects were ripe for a revolt. He was also informed, that some traitors had been suborned to make an attempt on his life; and this information was soon confirmed by the sudden evasion of the duke's natural brother Baldwin, who escaped to the court of France, where Lewis assigned him a splendid establishment, in reward of his infamous conduct†.

Charles immediately issued the necessary orders for re-assembling his troops; and, in the mean time, he advanced, at the head of five hundred horse, to the frontiers of Picardy. Here he had the mortification to learn, that the town of Saint-Quentin had opened its gates to the constable of France‡; enraged at the news, he sent a herald to summon the constable, as his subject, to repair to his army, and on a refusal, couched in terms of insolence, he confiscated all his estates in Picardy and Artois. The constable revenged himself on his own children, who were in the duke's service, by seizing all the lands they possessed in France.

A. D. 1471.] Roye was the next town which, through the perfidy of its governor, the lord of Poix, surrendered to the French arms§; and Amiens soon followed its example. Charles, after the loss of this last place, no longer thinking himself in safety at Dourlens, retired to Arras, where he had appointed the general rendezvous of his troops. As the enemy had already passed his frontiers in Picardy and Burgundy, he was aware of the danger to which he should be exposed, if, while he was opposing the French in those quarters with all his forces, the English should make an attack either on Flanders or Holland. In order, therefore, to avert that danger, he resolved to find them employment at home, and, if possible, to promote a second revolution in England.

Edward, who, since his flight, had hitherto resided in Holland, after his sister, the duchess of Burgundy, had in vain solicited her husband to take some decisive steps in his favour, demanded an interview with Charles, which his present apprehensions induced him willingly to grant. At this conference, Edward represented that delays must prove extremely prejudicial to his interests, as his friends and adherents in England would gradually forsake his cause, while the power of his enemy Warwick would daily receive confirmation and strength: that the duke, therefore, ought either to afford him speedy and effectual assistance, or wholly abandon him to his evil fate. In order to enforce this remonstrance, he imparted to Charles a secret engagement which his brother Clarence had contracted with

* Garnier, tom. xvii. p. 423.
Scandal—Manuf. de le Grand.

† Meyer—Manuf. de le Grand.

‡ Communes—Chron.
§ Preuves de Communes, No. 165—St. Hermite de Soliers.

him; he reminded him of the oath which he himself had taken to assist him, should he ever stand in need of his assistance; and he desired him to consider, that, by aiding him in his distress, he would act for the benefit of his own family, which might one day be in want of equal support, and, at the same time, reap the glory of having restored a near relation to his throne. He solemnly promised to unite with him, in opposition to France, as soon as he should be re-established in his regal dignity; he remarked, that the neutrality which the duke had hitherto observed, could be productive of no possible advantage, nor even prevent Lewis and the earl of Warwick from adopting such measures as would be equally destructive to his power and repose. This expostulation was not fruitless; the duke of Burgundy tho' still afraid to furnish Warwick with a plausible pretext for attacking his dominions, contrived an expedient, which enabled him to accommodate the fugitive king without incurring the risk of a rupture with England. He caused four large vessels to be equipped, in the names of some private merchants, at the free port of Terveer in Zealand; to which he added fourteen ships, secretly hired from the Easterlings, or Hanse-Towns*. This squadron, together with a sum of money, he delivered to Edward, who immediately set sail for England, on the eleventh of March (1471), with an army of fifteen hundred men, partly composed of English fugitives, and partly of Flemish. No sooner was Charles informed of his departure, than he issued a proclamation, prohibiting all his subjects from affording him assistance, under the severest penalties. He then hastened to place himself at the head of his army, which was now assembling, and amounted to eighty thousand fighting men.

In the French army, commanded by the king himself, where the young duke of Lorraine; the lord of Lescun, with a body of Breton nobles; and the duke of Guienne, who, in the belief that the war had been undertaken on his account, had thought his presence necessary to accelerate its conclusion. This last prince, during the march, dispatched a private messenger to the duke of Burgundy, with these words written with his own hand, and enclosed in a ball of wax:—*Take care to satisfy your subjects, and be under no uneasiness, for you will find friends.* Charles could not mistake the meaning of this message, he knew what was required of him; the constable, with whom he was apparently reconciled, incessantly urged him to avert the storm which threatened him by giving his consent to his daughter's marriage with the king's brother, assuring him, at the same time, that the French nobility only waited for that event to abandon the king, and form a fresh union more durable than that which had shaken the throne during the war for the public good. The duke of Brittany had entered into the constable's views, and in order to superinduce the compliance of Charles, he exaggerated the danger of his situation; sent him word, by a messenger, that the king maintained a correspondence with the citizens of Antwerp, Bruges, and Bruxelles; and that he had even determined to besiege the city of Ghent, where the duke then was. But Charles ordered the

* Phil de Commines, tom. i. 206.

messenger to tell his master that he was misinformed, and that he (the duke) was then on his road to pass the Somme, and offer the king battle.

In fact, after various feints, he suddenly attacked Pequigni, a well-fortified town, which commanded a bridge on the Somme. The place was taken by assault, and such of the garrison as escaped the sword, were made prisoners; the citadel, after a siege of three days, was likewise reduced*. Charles, encouraged by the success of this first attempt, made his whole army pass the Somme, and continuing his march towards Amiens, fixed his camp between that city and the royal army. Never did he prove the justice of the epithet *raff*, which had been bestowed on him, better than at present; his anxiety to bring Lewis to action made him forget that, by thus leading his whole force beyond the Somme, he left his dominions open to the excursions of the garrisons of Amiens and Saint-Quentin; rendered the approach of convoys a matter of extreme difficulty, and exposed his troops to the danger of perishing by famine. This single error decided the fate of the campaign, and might, possibly, have effected the total ruin of Charles, had he had an enemy to encounter less mistrustful, and less cautious, than Lewis. The constable, the marshal de Rohault, and the lord of Crussol, left Saint-Quentin, pillaged the rich provinces of Artois, and returned, laden with booty. Dammartin sallied forth from Amiens to attack a large convoy, which he dispersed, and conducted sixty waggons into the town, laden with all kinds of ammunition; frequent skirmishes occurred, in which the Burgundians were generally defeated; one, however, of a different description took place, in which the French, under the conduct of Dammartin, were worsted, and that nobleman with difficulty saved his life.

The disadvantageous post which the duke of Burgundy had inconsiderately chosen between the royal camp, and a garrison so numerous as that of Amiens, made most of the French officers urgent with the king to accept the battle, which Charles daily offered; this was particularly the advice of Dammartin, the most experienced general of the age, who offered to make a sally with his garrison, and attack the enemy in the rear, while Lewis engaged them in front. This project had so many partizans, that Lewis could not refuse to assemble a council of war, in order to deliberate thereon. De Beuil, who was the first that was called upon for his opinion, observed, that having never served with so large an army, he had not learned in what manner the manœuvres of such a cumbrous mass were to be regulated; that the French and English armies, which had signalized themselves by such famous exploits in the preceding reign, had seldom exceeded ten thousand men, and bore no resemblance to "that horrible multitude" which was now assembled, and which might, with greater propriety, be termed "a people than an army;" that he could not foresee what would be the event of a battle, but he was still less able to conceive by what means disorder and confusion would be avoided. Dammartin represented, that the enemy would be exposed to

* Communes—Meyer—Le Grand.

the same inconvenience, since they were equally numerous, and not so well disciplined; he observed, that, in order to avoid all partiality, it would be proper for every man to deliver his opinion in writing. This advice was adopted, and it was determined by a majority of voices, to bring the enemy to battle; but when they came to regulate the plan and order of attack, the dispute was renewed, and the council separated without coming to any conclusion. Lewis, who had only assembled a council of war, out of deference to those who had proposed to fight, and who had no serious intention of exposing himself to the risk of an action, was highly pleased with this difference of opinion. He persisted in his first design, continuing to harass the enemy, by intercepting their convoys, and confining his own troops within fortified camps, where he could not be compelled to engage against his will. Plenty reigned in his camp, as well as in his walled towns; while the Burgundians were exposed to all the horrors of famine, and their numbers daily diminished by desertion and disease. The uneasiness which Charles experienced on this account, was greatly increased by the intelligence which he received from Burgundy: the troops which he had left for the defence of that duchy, had been defeated in several rencontres with the French, who were commanded by the dauphin of Auvergne, and the marshal of Comminges; and the whole province was now exposed to the destructive excursions of the enemy, without the smallest prospect of relief. Charles carefully concealed this news from his army, whom he amused with fictitious accounts of imaginary victories; but, sensible that the dissipation of this error, which could not long be avoided, would only render the truth more dreadful, he was compelled to have recourse to a measure, which, though his haughty disposition could ill brook it, necessity enforced. He condescended to solicit a truce, and, in order to ensure a compliance with his request, he sent word to Lewis, that he was surprised a prince so wise as himself should have engaged in a war, of the true motives whereof he was ignorant; but, that he was willing to communicate to him the particulars of an intrigue, which would equally excite his displeasure and astonishment: the duke then entered into an explanation of several circumstances relating to the plan of the French nobles, and concluded by asking him, whether, after what he had heard, he meant to drive him to extremities? Lewis was mortified and ashamed at having become a dupe to his brother, and repented of his conduct in having hastily engaged in an enterprise, whence, he now conceived, that nothing but disgrace could ensue. His natural proneness to suspicion and mistrust, made him exaggerate the danger of his present situation; he lost sight of his enemy, though reduced to a state of humiliation, and to the necessity of suing for a favour, to think only of the perils to which he had been exposed, and with which he was still threatened. It occurred to his mind, that Edward, after he had triumphed over his enemies in England, might seek to recover Normandy; that the duke of Burgundy, consulting his real interests, might accede to the wishes of the duke of Guienne, and his partisans; and, that they might all join in a confederacy to despoil him of his authority, and, perhaps, of his rank.

On the other hand, he could not perceive, that Charles had only applied for a truce, in order to extricate himself from a perilous situation, and to put himself in a condition to renew the war with greater advantage; but the danger, from this quarter, was distant, whereas the other was urgent; it was necessary to come to a decision, and Lewis conceived that the best thing he could do, under the present circumstances, was to comply with the duke's request for a truce, which was accordingly concluded, on the twelfth of May, for one year; and the allies of either party were allowed three months to consider whether they chose to accede to it or not.*

This truce was equally disapproved by such of the king's subjects as had remained faithful to him, and by those whose professions of attachment had only served as a mask for their treachery. As they were all ignorant of the real motives which had led him to adopt a measure so contrary, in appearance, to the true interests of the state, they ascribed it to others, which neither did honour to his understanding, nor to his courage. The Parisians stuck up papers in the metropolis, in which they inveighed, most bitterly, against the king's counsellors; while the duke of Brittany, unable to conceal the contempt with which the conduct of Lewis had inspired him, publicly stigmatized him with the ignominious appellation of "The Royal Coward." The duke of Burgundy was, perhaps, the only one who did him justice, but he remained silent on the subject, and was, indeed, so humbled at the step he had been compelled, through his own imprudence, to take, that he shut himself up for some time in his tent. Lewis, not thinking it prudent to develop the mystery dismissed his troops, and took the road to Tours. He passed through the metropolis, and being apprized of the general discontent of the Parisians, he visited the principal citizens, and, by displaying that affability of manners which he so well knew how to assume, endeavoured to quiet their murmurs. On his arrival in Touraine he received intelligence of the new revolution which had just taken place in England.

Edward, after an ineffectual attempt on the coast of Norfolk, had landed, not without opposition, at Ravenspur in Yorkshire. Finding no inclination in the people to receive him, he publicly declared, that he had relinquished all thoughts of the crown, and came only to recover the estates of his family. At York, he could not gain admission till he had taken a solemn oath, in the presence of the mayor and aldermen, that he had no intention to claim the crown, an oath which he renewed at the high altar of the cathedral†. But this perjured usurper no sooner found himself sufficiently strong to throw off the mask, than he avowed the true object of his enterprise, and assumed the title which he had solemnly renounced.

The subjects of Henry and the friends of Warwick were alike infected with the general spirit of perfidy which so strongly marked these degenerate times: War-

* Garnier, tom. xvii. p. 462.—Mezeray, tom. vi. p. 462—

† Hollingshed, p. 102.

wick's brother, the archbishop of York, facilitated the entrance of Edward into London, and delivered his sovereign into the hands of an implacable rival. At Barnet, the two armies met, but the defection of the duke of Clarence, joined to some other untoward and unforeseen circumstances, proved fatal to the earl of Warwick, who, after a desperate action, in which he displayed his usual intrepidity, sustained a total defeat, and perished in the field. With him perished the hopes of his party. Margaret, the illustrious and unhappy consort of Henry, still destined to be the sport of fortune, had landed at Weymouth, on the evening of this fatal day. Buoyed up as she was with the flattering hopes of being restored to the splendour of royalty, and to those domestic comforts, and that mental felicity, to which she had so long been a stranger, when apprised of the fatal events which had just taken place, all her wonted fortitude forsook her; she sunk senseless on the floor, and remained speechless and inanimate for a considerable time. When she revived, yielding to the dictates of despair, she took refuge in a sanctuary, with the design to effect her escape into France. But on being joined by many of the Lancastrian nobles, she resumed her former spirit, and determined to defend, to the utmost, the ruins of her fallen fortunes. At Tewkesbury, however, her hopes were finally destroyed; her troops, through the impetuosity of the duke of Somerset, were defeated, and she and her only son, the prince of Wales, fell into the hands of the victor. Edward, whose soul was a stranger to every virtuous impulse, whose mind never afforded even a momentary residence to any principle of honour, threw Margaret into the Tower, where her wretched husband was already confined, and caused her son to be murdered in his presence.—Perjury and assassination were never neglected by this inhuman prince, when they could tend either to the gratification of his revenge, or his ambition. The death of Henry was all that was now wanting to quiet his apprehensions and confirm his power; and that monarch was, accordingly, found dead in his apartments in the Tower, in little more than a month after the battle of Tewkesbury.

This revolution in England was the means of producing another in the fortune and condition of the French princes. The duke of Burgundy, who, during the late campaign, had acted chiefly on the defensive, was now preparing for a renewal of hostilities on a more extensive plan; while Lewis, who had then profited by his alliance with Henry and Warwick, to keep the duke of Brittany in awe, finding himself without allies, and perceiving the number of his enemies daily encrease, now renounced all schemes of conquest, and only thought of disconcerting the projects of his adversaries.

Although the unexpected conclusion of a truce had deranged the plans of those who were anxious to promote a marriage between the duke of Guienne and Mary of Burgundy, yet it did not make them despair of finally accomplishing the object of their wishes*. They flattered themselves that the humiliating situation to which Charles had been reduced, would convince him of the necessity of

* Commynes—Gedefroi—Le Grand.

securing allies ; and, in this hope, they renewed their solicitations, and pressed him, with greater earnestness than before, to comply with the general wish of the nobility, and to cement, by a marriage so universally desired, a confederacy, of which he himself must inevitably reap the principal advantages. Thus urged, Charles evinced a disposition to favour their designs, though nothing, in fact, was farther from his thoughts. Meanwhile, the duke of Guienne, assured of success, was no longer studious to preserve appearances with his brother. In vain did Henry, king of Castile, at the instigation of Lewis, insist on the celebration of his marriage with his daughter Jane, to whom that prince had been affianced, and urged him to shew himself to his new subjects ; the duke, who had only consented to that alliance the better to deceive his brother, positively refused to fulfil the engagement which had been contracted in his name. He listened only to those who talked to him of his intended connection with the princess Mary, which he thought so far settled, that he sent the bishop of Montauban to Rome, to solicit the necessary dispensation from the pope.

Lewis had some suspicions of what was going forward, but he was still ignorant of the principal circumstances of the intrigue, as well as of the names of the parties who were engaged in it ; but he obtained, by accident, that information which his utmost endeavours had proved inadequate to procure. Oliver le Roux, whom Lewis had sent to the court of Castile, had received orders on his return to stop some time at the court of the count of Foix, in order to sound the inclinations of that prince, and, if possible, to extort from him some useful intelligence. It so happened, that Le Roux was put into the same apartment which had been occupied, but a few days before, by Henry Miles, envoy from the duke of Brittany. In the corner of this chamber he perceived a heap of papers torn in pieces, and being impelled by an irresistible curiosity to read them, he succeeded in his attempts to join the different pieces, so as to be able to peruse their contents ; and, finding they were dispatches of importance, he did not fail to communicate them to the king*. From one of these dispatches it was discovered, that the duke of Guienne and his partisans offered, as the first condition of the treaty of alliance, to restore to the duke of Burgundy the towns of Saint Quentin, Roye, and Amiens. Another contained the plan of an offensive league between Charles and Edward, who agreed to divide between them the richest provinces in the kingdom ; Edward was to take possession of Normandy and Guienne, while Charles secured Champagne and the Isle of France. These different projects alarmed Lewis, and divided his attention ; but what disturbed him most was the fatal marriage of his brother with the heiress of Burgundy. Having learned that the duke of Guienne had already solicited a dispensation from the pope, he immediately dispatched an ambassador to his holiness, to request that he would either refuse it, or, if he had already granted it, that he would instantly revoke it ; and,

* Garnier, tom. xvii. p. 453, 454.

in order to superinduce a compliance with his request, he allured the sovereign pontiff with the prospect of a revocation of the Pragmatic Sanction.

While the king was thus endeavouring to attach the pope to his interest, he sent the lord of Bouchage into Guienne, with orders to concert his plans with Beauveau, bishop of Angers, one of his brother's favourites. This envoy represented to the prince, that he would expose himself to inevitable destruction, by violating an oath taken upon the true cross of Saint Lo; "*The danger attending which violation was so great, that he would infallibly die within the year, which had invariably been the case with all those who had perjured themselves upon the said cross.**"

He then observed to the prince, that he ought not to consider the heiress of Burgundy as such an advantageous match, for, although the duchess had hitherto proved sterile, it was still possible she might give birth to a son, in which case the young princefs would have put a very moderate fortune; that he ought not to lose sight of his rights to the crown; rights the more important as the king had but one son, and he was of a delicate and feeble constitution; that it was his interest, therefore, to oppose, with all his power, the daring enterprizes of the duke of Burgundy; that he could not be ignorant of the calamities which the house of Burgundy had brought upon France, in the preceding reigns; that Charles, who inherited the ambition and the hatred of his ancestors, no longer admitted any bounds to his pretensions, but visibly aimed either at securing the throne for himself, or, at least, of dismembering the monarchy; that the king could scarcely persuade himself that his brother had any serious intentions of forming an alliance with the common enemy; but that, in order totally to dispel his fears on that head, he ought to banish from his presence all those faithless servants who only made use of his name to frame the most dangerous plots: that they had already pressed the duke of Calabria, the lord of Beaujeau, and the duchess of Savoy, to enter into a league against the king; that they even talked of recalling the count of Armagnac, who had been formally proscribed by repeated sentences of the sovereign courts; and that such measures were, in fact, to be considered as real hostilities.

The duke of Guienne made no direct answer to these observations; but the lord of Lescun to whom he had entrusted the government of his duchy, contrived an effectual expedient for defeating their effects. He proposed that the prince should marry the younger daughter of the count of Foix, and sent to ask the king's consent to this match, which Lewis was careful not to grant. The count of Foix, independent of the country whence he derived his title, possessed the county of Bigorre, and the principality of Bearn; his children were heirs to the kingdom of Navarre; he had already married one of his daughters to the duke of Brittany; and if the duke of Guienne had married the other, all those princes might have formed an alliance, which would only have left the monarch a doubtful and precarious authority over a considerable part of the kingdom. Unwilling, however, to alie-

nate the affections of a powerful family, and to augment the number of his enemies, he would not openly reject his brother's demand; but wrote to Bouchage, ordering him artfully to elude the proposal—" *Exert all the five senses which nature, has giving you, on this business,*" said the anxious monarch, "*if you succeed, you will put me in paradise.*"

Apprehensive lest, by his rejection of every match that was proposed to him, it should be imagined he meant always to keep his brother unmarried, an intention that could not fail to appear odious and tyrannical; and no longer daring to press his marriage with Jane of Castile, because he knew the prince's repugnance to a wife whose very birth was an object of dispute, Lewis, at length, proposed his eldest daughter, Anne of France, who was already promised to Nicholas, duke of Lorraine. To induce his brother to accept this proposal, he offered to cede to him, on the day of his marriage, Rouergue, Angoumois, the Limousin, and Poitou; and to appoint him lieutenant-general of the kingdom, with a guard of five hundred lances, to be paid out of the royal treasury. But the duke justly concluded that these offers were too splendid to be sincere; and as he was aware of the motive which had influenced his brother to make them, he did not condescend even to notice them.

After having employed to no purpose all the resources of policy, Lewis, who had now lost all hopes of either curing his brother's suspicions, or of conquering his obstinacy turned his batteries against the duke of Burgundy himself; but as he was sensible that Charles was actuated by sentiments of hatred and revenge, he was afraid to make any direct overtures, which might perhaps be rejected, and would, in that case, certainly be rendered public by the duke. In order to obviate this inconvenience, he sent a private person to Burgundy, who had orders to tell the duke, as from himself, that having had occasion to visit the court of France on some affairs of his own, he had an opportunity of entering into familiar conversation with the king, when the duke's name having been casually mentioned, Lewis had appeared to be impressed with sentiments of esteem and admiration for that prince; that, agreeably surprized at finding the monarch thus favourably disposed, he had ventured to tell him that Charles did not entertain a less favourable opinion of him, and that he would prefer his friendship to that of the princes who had so basely abandoned him in the hour of necessity; that this discourse had given the king such pleasure, that he could not refrain from observing that Charles and he were formed to be friends, and that if they had been more sensible of their interests, they would have always lived in harmony with each other, and have aggrandised themselves at the expence of their respective enemies: that he had drawn up a plan of reconciliation, and that he should already have communicated it to the duke, could he have hoped that it would experience a favourable reception from Charles, but that hitherto he had strong ground for complaining of the unwillingness betrayed by that prince to repose any degree of confidence in him.

Charles's answer, who probably saw through this shallow artifice, was partly serious and partly ironical; he observed that these fine professions but ill-accorded

with the intelligence which he received from other quarters; that the king, if he had any real desire to become his friend, had it in his power to prove, in a very obvious manner, the sincerity of his intentions; that he should begin by restoring Saint Quentin, Amiens, and the other places which he had taken from him, in violation of subsisting treaties; and that objects, so trifling in their nature, should not be suffered to operate as impediments to the designs of a prince who had such vast projects in contemplation. This answer was interspersed with many popular maxims, and trite observations.

Charles had, at this period, attained the summit of prosperity; the disgrace which he had experienced in the last campaign having been productive of more solid advantages than he could possibly have expected to derive from the most brilliant success. Immediately after the conclusion of the truce, he had convened the states of all the different provinces in his dominions, with the view to convince them that the king had only been induced to attack him in the hope of finding him wholly unprepared for resistance; that he should always be exposed to the same danger, unless Burgundy, in imitation of France, should adopt the mode of establishing a regular body of troops: he observed, that to preclude the possibility of being taken by surprise, and to secure the fortunes of individuals from the sudden depredations of the enemy, it was only necessary to grant an adequate supply for paying eight hundred lances, the annual expence whereof might amount to one hundred and twenty thousand crowns. The states accordingly granted the new subsidy, without reflecting on the consequences to which it might lead; they soon, however, became sensible of the fault they had committed: Charles, whose ambition increased in proportion to the means of gratification, doubled and even tripled the stipulated number of troops, and increased the original grant of one hundred and twenty thousand crowns to five hundred thousand. His court had become the center of political negotiations; his alliance was courted by all the neighbouring princes; and the only difficulty he experienced consisted in the choice of proposals, all advantageous in themselves, but incompatible with each other. The dukes of Guienne and Brittany, the constable, and several other great vassals of the crown, urged him to break the truce, and engaged to make the people rise in his favour: they offered him, as a preliminary to the treaty, the restitution of Amiens and Saint Quentin; but they required that the duke should cement the alliance by the marriage of his daughter with the duke of Guienne, and by an absolute renunciation of his plan for introducing the English into France.

On the other hand, Edward, who seemed disposed to enforce his pretensions to Guienne and Normandy, and who could not hope to succeed in his attempts to subdue those provinces, without the assistance of the duke of Burgundy, proposed to divide the kingdom of France between them*; but he wished first to be assured that the duke would not marry his daughter to the king's brother, otherwise he

* Garnier.

declared he would join Lewis in order to prevent an union that must prove more fatal to England than to France. The objections of the English monarch to the projected marriage between the heiress of Burgundy and the king's brother, were not devoid of foundation: as Lewis had but one son, whose health was in a doubtful state, the duke of Guienne was still considered as heir to the throne; and, on this supposition, the English had just reason to be alarmed at the prospect of an alliance which must one day have united the vast possessions of the house of Burgundy to the crown of France, for what hopes could they then entertain of recovering Normandy and Guienne?—How could they even expect to keep Calais, the only place which they now possessed on the continent?

Edward's demand perfectly accorded with the secret views of Charles, who had never any intention of giving his daughter to the duke of Guienne; but he knew not what reliance to place on a political connection with a monarch so indolent as Edward, and a government so unfettled as the English. Besides, in that case he must renounce all alliance with the French princes, and even expect to see them join their sovereign. These being apprised of the obstacles which Edward opposed to their plans, sent the lord D'Urfé to the duke, to represent to him, that they were sufficiently powerful to make the king accede to whatever conditions they might chuse to impose; that his alliance with Edward would only tend to disgrace him in the opinion of the nation; and, they finally observed, that if he seriously thought of introducing the English into France, he could have no regard for the welfare of the kingdom:—This reproach appeared so extraordinary to the duke, that he could not refrain from laughter:—"I have a greater regard," said Charles, "for the welfare of the kingdom than M. D'Urfe imagines, for instead of one king that France now has, I wish she had six!"

Lewis, unable to penetrate the secret designs of the duke of Burgundy, with regard to his daughter's marriage; and ignorant, probably, of the obligations which he had contracted with the king of England, was also anxious to open a negociation; not with the intention of concluding any treaty, but merely with the view of amusing his enemy, and of preventing him, as long as possible, from adopting any decisive measure. The answer which his obscure agent had received from Charles, was by no means sufficient to deter Lewis from the pursuit of his scheme; and when he imagined that the duke's curiosity was raised to the pitch he wished it to attain, he sent him the plan of a peace, of which the following were the principal articles: that "*A treaty of confederation and fraternity*," should be concluded between the king and the duke; that the duke should accept the order of Saint Michael, and the king that of the Golden Fleece; that the dauphin should marry the duke of Burgundy's daughter, and, in case any thing should occur to prevent that connection from taking place, that Charles should engage not to give her to the duke of Guienne; that the king should give up the constable and the count of Nevers, with all their possessions, to the duke; in return for which concession the duke should, on his part, equally abandon the dukes of Guienne and Brittany to the king's discretion; and, that the king should

restored to the duke of Burgundy, the towns of Saint-Quentin, Amiens, Roie, and Montdidier.

Of all these conditions, the last was the only one which Charles was willing to accept; he therefore resolved, if possible, to secure that as a preliminary to the projected treaty, and then to give his sentiments on the others. With this view he affected to approve the project of reconciliation, and even appointed plenipotentiaries to confer with the king's envoys; but, as he was aware that fear was the only motive which could induce Lewis to court his friendship and alliance, he wisely concluded that by encreasing his apprehensions, he should facilitate the conclusion of the treaty; thus while he continued the negociation, he hastened to conclude an offensive and defensive alliance with Ferdinand and Isabella, the sovereigns of Castile, and with Juan, king of Arragon, father to Ferdinand. This last prince declared, that although in his former treaties with France, he had engaged to observe a strict neutrality in any contests which might arise between Lewis and Charles, yet he thought himself sufficiently authorized, by the conduct of the king of France, to revoke the promise he had made; that, in future, he would, on all occasions, espouse the quarrels of the duke of Burgundy, who, on his side, engaged to consider the interests of Burgundy and Arragon as inseparable; and both princes agreed to conclude neither peace nor truce with France, but by mutual consent.

Strengthened by this alliance, the duke of Burgundy immediately issued a declaration, which set forth that the king, by an infraction of the treaty of Peronne, had incurred the penalty denounced, by a particular article of that treaty, against either of the contracting parties, who should be guilty of any violation of its terms; and that, therefore, all the provinces and dominions of the house of Burgundy were wholly exempted from the jurisdiction of the French parliament, and from the obligation of homage to the king. In consequence of this declaration, the duke erected a sovereign court at Malines, to decide in all cases of appeal; and forbade his subjects under pain of death, to apply in any case whatever to the parliament of Paris.

Lewis, feigning ignorance of this declaration, sent Peter Doriote, and the lord of Craon, to confer with the duke's ministers, on the subject of the proposed reconciliation; and these envoys had orders to obtain a renewal of the truce which was about to expire, and, at the same time, to delay, by every means in their power, the final conclusion of the treaty.

While the king thus sought to amuse his most formidable enemy, he directed his principal attention to Guienne, which he had resolved immediately to invade. As he wished to employ Tanneguy du Chatel on this service, and was afraid to leave the province of Roussillon, of which that nobleman was governor, without some experienced general, especially at a time when it was liable to be attacked by all the forces of Arragon, he engaged du Lau to procure, by an offer of twenty-four thousand crowns, the cession of that government from du Chatel. The offer was accepted; but du Chatel expressly stipulated that, in case he should

be compelled, on any account, to leave France, he should be at liberty to retire into Roussillon, and to exert the authority of governor; a precaution which plainly shews what little confidence was placed in Lewis, even by those whom he honoured with *his* confidence.

All such as were discontented with the government, and all the personal enemies of Lewis*, now repaired to Guienne, which was destined to become the scene of war. They were all received with great cordiality by the duke, who, endeavouring to strengthen his party by the acquisition of allies, had lately recalled the count of Armagnac, and restored to him a part of his former possessions. The duke of Nemours and the count of Foix secretly supported his cause, and incited the nobility and inhabitants of the principal towns in the neighbouring provinces to rise in his favour. In short, the duke and his friends appeared firmly resolved to repel with the utmost vigour any attack that might be made by his brother, and even to revenge such an insult by carrying the war into the heart of his dominions. The determined spirit, and the general fermentation which prevailed on this occasion, were chiefly owing to the indefatigable exertions of the lord of Lescun, whose active genius and intriguing disposition rendered him a worthy opponent of the artful and hypocritical Lewis. This nobleman had endeavoured to incite to an unanimity of sentiment and action, the courts of Guienne, Brittany, Arragon, Savoy and Burgundy, whose united efforts might threaten France with destruction on every side. But in Guienne, where opposition might have been least expected, he experienced contradictions which his utmost zeal and abilities were scarcely able to overcome. Colette de Jambes, lady of Monforeau, being jealous of the minister's influence and power, had contrived to form a party against him, at the head of which was the lord of Malicorne, the duke's principal favourite. This lady, who, if the accounts of contemporary writers may be credited, was, both in mental and personal endowments, the most accomplished woman of the age, had, at a very early period of her life, been married to Lewis d'Amboise, Viscount of Thouars; but, after her husband's death, she had conceived an attachment for the duke of Guienne, by whom she had two daughters. As the chief object of Lescun's plan was to procure a wife for the duke, it is not to be wondered at that she should have raised up every opposition to it in her power; that minister, however, seemed to acquire fresh zeal from the obstacles which he had to encounter, and persevered, in the pursuit of his scheme, with astonishing diligence. Lewis, on his side, made his troops advance, and gave his final orders to his generals; Dammartin was to make an irruption into the duchy on the side of Gascony, Crussol on the side of Saintonge, and Tanneguy du Chatel on the side of Poitou.

While affairs were in this critical situation, and the flames of war were ready to extend from one extremity of the kingdom to the other, while the formidable

* Commynes. Belcar. Hist. de Languedoc, par Dom Vaissette. Chroniq. Scandal. Cabinet de Louis XI. Manusc. de le Grand.

opposition which Lewis had to expect in Guienne, had disabled him from putting the other parts of his dominions in a proper state of defence, and while that monarch had just cause to fear the united attacks of three powerful enemies; an event occurred so unexpected and mysterious, that it could not fail to be ascribed to the infernal machinations of a prince, to whom it was productive of such signal advantages. Intelligence was received in the French army that the lady of Monforeau was at the point of death, and that the duke of Guienne was also dangerously ill. It has always been believed that they were both poisoned by eating a peach which had been previously prepared for the purpose; and that John Faure de Vercors or Verfois, a Benedictine monk, abbot of Saint John d'Angeli; and an officer of the duke's household, named Henry de la Roche, were the authors, or rather the instruments employed in the perpetration of this crime. It appears, however, that, immediately after its commission, no suspicions were entertained of them, as the monk continued in favour, and was even appointed one of the executors of the lady of Monforeau; but, it must not be forgotten that he wrote to the king on the subject, informing him that his brother had but a few hours to live, as appears from a letter written by Lewis to the count of Dammartin.*

In proportion as the duke of Guienne grew weaker, his ardour for the accomplishment of his plans encreased: he dispatched couriers to his allies; put his towns and fortresses in a proper state of defence, and issued orders for the immediate collection of his troops in every part of his apanage. Fearful of being abandoned at this critical period, he exacted a new oath of allegiance from his officers, by which they bound themselves to serve him against all men, not excepting the king. Many of them, however, sensible of his approaching end, refused to take the oath, and hastened to make their peace with Lewis.

A. D. 1472] The king, who only wanted to gain time, sent fresh ambassadors to the duke of Burgundy, with a proposal to submit the difference between them to arbitration; and with an offer to accept the pope's legate as the umpire. He, at the same time, endeavoured to intimidate the duke of Brittany, who was strengthening the fortifications of his towns, and arming his subjects. But Francis sent a spirited answer to the king, reproaching him with his duplicity, and his insidious attempts to disturb the tranquillity of his dominions; after which he conjured the duke of Burgundy not to disappoint the hopes of his allies by any farther delays.

Lewis, informed of these solicitations, and perceiving, by the duke of Burgundy's preparations, that he might expect to be immediately attacked, sent orders to his plenipotentiaries to accede to any terms which Charles might wish to impose. A treaty was accordingly concluded, by which the king consented to restore the towns of Amiens, Saint Quentin, Montdidier, and Roye, to the duke of Burgundy; and to give up to him the constable, and the count of Nevers, a

prince of the house of Burgundy, but an avowed enemy to the reigning branch, which had despoiled him of a part of his possessions : the duke, on his side, consented to renounce all alliance with the dukes of Guienne and Brittany. Neither party had the smallest intention of fulfilling the terms of this agreement ; the object of Charles was to get possession of the towns which had been taken from him, after which he meant publicly to declare, that he pardoned the constable, and the count of Nevers, and therefore expected that the king would be equally indulgent to the dukes of Brittany and Guienne, otherwise he should march to their relief. The intention of Lewis was only to gain time, and, immediately after his brother's death, to declare that he did not think himself bound to keep his word with a prince who had not dealt openly with him.

The treaty was no sooner signed than Charles demanded immediate possession of the towns which were to be restored to him ; but the plenipotentiaries not being authorised to comply with his demand, advised him to make his army advance to the frontiers, and to send some confidential servant to the king, to exact from him an oath to observe the treaty, and to procure the necessary orders for the evacuation of the places in question ; but, the lord of Quingei, who was intrusted with this commission, was unable to obtain any satisfactory answer from Lewis, who continued to put him off from day to day. The duke of Guienne was, by this time, at the point of death, and the natural goodness of his disposition led him, in his last moments, to dismiss all sentiments of hatred from his mind, and to ask from his brother the same forgiveness of injuries which he so willingly extended to him : he appointed Lewis his sole legatee, earnestly beseeching him to confirm a few legacies which he had bequeathed to some old servants of approved fidelity. His death spread consternation and alarm throughout his palace ; and most of those who had hitherto persevered in their attachment to the unfortunate prince, now courted the good graces of his tyrannical brother. Malicorne, his chief-favourite, was the first to convey the *welcome* tidings to Lewis, and to acquaint him with the last requests of his deceased master. Lescun, however, persisted in his hatred of a monarch, whom he had now but too great reason to detest ; he had discovered the assassins of the prince, and thrown them into irons, when finding their infamy detected, they confessed their guilt, and openly accused the king of having instigated them to the commission of the dreadful deed. Lescun being compelled to quit Guienne, took the two criminals with him to Brittany, where he delivered them to the duke, with this solemn exhortation : “ In order
 “ to revenge the best of masters, and most faithful of friends, I resign into your
 “ hands these traitors, who have basely taken away the life of their lawful prince,
 “ in the hope that you will make a signal example of them. Think on what
 “ you owe to the memory of a prince who so richly deserved your friendship :
 “ his soul now demands from God an exemplary vengeance on these his assassins :
 “ may he see, from the mansions of the dead, in what manner I fulfil my en-
 “ gagements ! ” “ They shall have the reward they merit,” replied the duke ;

“and would that those who urged them to the commission of the crime were equally in my power; they should not easily escape.”

Lewis, pretending that by his brother's death he was released from the necessity of fulfilling the engagements which his plenipotentiaries had contracted with the duke of Burgundy, now openly declared to the lord of Quingei, that he should not confirm a treaty, in the conclusion of which the duke had displayed a want of candour, and betrayed the most pernicious designs*. Charles, enraged at the idea of having thus suffered himself to be deceived by the shallow arts of his rival, gave a full scope to his resentment, and published a violent manifesto, in which he recapitulated the particulars of the plot, which, at the king's instigation, had been formed against his life, by his natural brother, Baldwin, John de Chassa, and John d'Arfon; he added, that Lewis, persisting in his infamous designs of destroying all the princes of the blood-royal of France, had just caused his brother to be put to death, by *poison, witchcraft, and diabolical invocations*, as was proved by the confession of the two culprits whom he had seduced. For these two attempts, pursued the duke, one against the first peer of the realm, the other against the first prince of the blood, he deserves to be pronounced guilty of homicide; of high-treason against the crown, the princes of the blood, and the public welfare; a traitor, a parricide, and an idolator; each of these assertions he supported by quotations from the scriptures, from the Decretals, and from the fathers of the church; and he concluded by exhorting all christian princes to unite their arms against this common enemy.

This manifesto, however, which was distributed in every town in the kingdom, produced but little effect. Lewis, intent on the reduction of Guienne, did not deign to answer it; and he even suffered the long space of eighteen months to elapse, before he adopted any measures for clearing himself from the heavy accusations which had been preferred against him. At the expiration of that period, he appointed commissioners to try the two criminals, who were still confined in the Breton prisons; but while they were engaged in the investigation of this infamous transaction, the abbot of Saint John d'Angell was found dead in his cell, with evident marks of violence about his person; what became of the other culprit, Henry de la Roche, is not known; nor have any of the proceedings of the commissioners, nor the other examinations of the criminals, been preserved. It was commonly believed, however, that the king had not scrupled to conceal the first crime, by the perpetration of a second, and every part of his conduct, no less than his character, tended to confirm this belief. It was justly observed, that he had made no attempt to justify himself till after he had effected a reconciliation with the duke of Brittany, and had drawn the lord of Lescun into his service; and that the criminals had disappeared at such a critical period, it was impossible to suppose they had died a natural death. It was likewise remarked, that Lewis d'Amboise, one of the commissioners, was, soon after, promoted to the bishopric

of Albi; and that Peter de Sacierges, who had officiated as secretary to the commission, was made a master of requests. It must be confessed that all these circumstances amount only to a presumptive evidence, but then the presumption is so strong, that, combined with the known disposition of Lewis, and other considerations which naturally present themselves to the mind, it appears to us irresistible. Brantome relates a story, which, were it better authenticated, would settle the matter beyond all possibility of dispute: he pretends, that the secret of this murder was discovered by means of a fool who had lived with the duke of Guienne, and on his death had been taken into the king's service. "This good king," says the jovial historian, "being one day at Cleri repeating his prayers and orisons at the shrine of the Virgin, whom he called his good patroness, and none being present at the time except this fool, who was at a little distance from the king, and whom his majesty believed to be stupid, so vain, and so foolish, that he could pay no attention to any thing that was said, he proceeded thus to pray aloud—Ah! my good lady, my little mistress, my great friend, in whom I have always placed my trust, I beseech you to pray to God for me, and to become my advocate with him, to intreat him to pardon me my brother's death, whom I caused to be poisoned by that wicked abbot of Saint John: to you, my good patroness and mistress, I confess my crime." It is needless to comment on the improbability of this story, which Brantome acknowledges to have received from an old canon of eighty, who had, himself, heard it from another person; but if it does not tend to the confirmation of the king's guilt, it certainly does not diminish its probability.

After his brother's death, Lewis entered Guienne, which he reduced without the smallest opposition*; the inhabitants of the different towns only stipulating for the preservation of their privileges. These the king cheerfully confirmed, it being a maxim with him to favour the growth of the municipal government, which he justly considered as the first cause of the humiliation of the aristocracy. He even granted permission to the inhabitants of Rochelle to carry on a free trade with the English and the other enemies of the state, a privilege which might tend to the introduction of a neutral power, and the establishment of an independent republic in the heart of the monarchy. He again made the city of Bourdeaux the seat of the parliament, which, on the cession of Guienne to his brother, had been transferred to Poitiers; and finding his presence necessary in another quarter, he even concluded an accommodation with the count of Armagnac, and consented to leave him in possession of that part of his territories to which he had been lately restored by the duke of Guienne. He then appointed the lord of Beaujeu, governor of the province, and marched towards Brittany with an army of fifty thousand men.

The duke of Brittany, though he had spared no pains to put his dominions in a proper state of defence, still found himself unable to cope with an enemy so

* Manusc. de le Grand.

powerful as Lewis ; and as he was in daily expectation of a strong reinforcement from England, he resolved to propose a short truce to the French monarch, during which, he observed, effectual means for a final accommodation might be adopted. The king, conscious of his superiority in the arts of negociation, accepted the proposal ; not perceiving, that by that means he would lose the favourable moment for action, and that his enemy was only seeking to gain time in order to facilitate the reception of those succours which he expected from his allies.

The duke of Burgundy, meanwhile, had spread devastation throughout the fertile province of Picardy ; with an army of eighty-thousand men he had passed the Somme, and invested the town of Nesle*, whose inhabitants massacred the herald which he had sent to summon them to surrender. In revenge for this barbarous act, Charles, after he had reduced the place, inhumanly ordered the garrison and citizens to be massacred, without distinction of age or sex ; some few, who had escaped the rage of the soldiery, had their right hands cut off, and were sent, in that situation, to the king ; after which the town was reduced to ashes.

The garrisons of Roze and Montdidier, terrified by the fate of their fellow soldiers, resigned those towns to the victor, whose next attempts were directed against Beauvais. That place, though destitute of troops, resisted his efforts ; and neither the demolition of the suburbs, nor the formidable force of the enemy could induce the brave citizens to surrender. Even the women here performed prodigies of valour ; they lined the walls in those parts which were most open to attack, and exposed themselves to every kind of danger. One of these heroines forced a standard from the enemy, and bore it off in triumph to the town. This vigorous and unexpected defence gave time for the arrival of troops, which was facilitated by the neglect of Charles completely to invest the place. The duke was now foiled in every attack ; a strong body of forces, detached by the king, under the command of Dammartin, harassed his troops, and intercepted his convoys ; and, after a general assault, in which he was repulsed with the loss of one hundred and twenty killed, and one thousand wounded †, he raised the siege, entered the country of Caux, seized the towns of Eu, and Saint Vallery, delivered Longueville to the flames, and extended his devastations as far as the gates of Rouen, before which city he remained four days, in order to fulfil his engagement with the duke of Brittany, who had appointed that spot for the junction of the two armies.

While the duke was thus employed in committing devastations in Normandy, the garrisons of Amiens and Saint Quentin had penetrated into the heart of his dominions, and laid waste the country with fire and sword. The war, too, raged with equal violence in Champagne and Burgundy : the count of Rouffi, eldest son to the constable, who commanded the duke's army at the same time that

* Meyer—Commines—Le Grand—Chron. Scand.—Cabinet Satyr.

† Communes.

his father was placed at the head of the French troops, carried desolation into the environs of Tonnerre, Joigny, Troyes, and Langres, burning all the towns and villages which fell into his hands. The duchy of Burgundy was exposed to similar depredations from the dauphin of Auvergne, who commanded for the king in that quarter; and such were the acts of violence committed on either side, that an ancient chronicler observes, the French and Burgundians, mad with rage, were less eager to make conquests, than intent on mutual destruction*. The duke of Burgundy, urged by the solicitations of his subjects, the ravage of his provinces, the dearth of provisions which prevailed in his army, and his desire of inflicting vengeance on the constable for sacking his towns, at length found himself compelled to leave Normandy, and return to the banks of the Somme, where he reviewed his army, which had suffered so much in this fruitless expedition, as to be wholly inadequate to any enterprise of importance.

Lewis, in reward of the valour and fidelity displayed by the citizens of Beauvais, to whom he chiefly ascribed the success of this campaign, granted them privileges equal, if not superior, to those which were enjoyed by the nobility †: he allowed them to hold fiefs, and re-re-fiefs, exempt from the usual contributions, and from all the services attached to that species of possession; he accorded them a general exemption from all imposts whatever, except such as they might levy themselves for the support and repair of their fortifications; and he allowed them a total freedom of choice in the election of their municipal officers. The women, who had signalised their courage and fidelity, in, at least, an equal degree with the men, were not forgotten; it was ordained, that, at an annual festival to be celebrated at Beauvais, in honour of Saint Angadresme, whose relics had been exposed on the walls during the siege, the women should take precedence of the men, both in the procession and at church; that, as well during this ceremony, as at any other time they chose, they might wear silks, furs, and belts of gold; ornaments which had hitherto been confined by the laws to people of distinction, and which the citizens' wives had been long anxious to acquire the privilege of wearing; and, lastly, Lewis granted to Jane Fourquet, the young heroine who had taken the standard from the enemy, and to Colin Pilon, whom she had just married, a total exemption from taxes throughout the kingdom.

The truce between the king and the duke of Brittany having expired, Lewis entered the dominions of Francis, and reduced Chantocé, Machecou, and Ancenis‡. He then advanced as far as Pouancé, and offered battle to the duke, who was alike unwilling to risk an action, and to conclude a peace. Being compelled, however, by his subjects to sue for an accommodation, he appointed Souplainville and Desfarts, two friends of the lord of Lescun, who still governed the councils of Brittany, to treat with the king. Lewis, who was anxious to attach Lescun to his interest, from the conviction that he then should have nothing to apprehend from the side of Brittany, gave the deputies a carte-blanche for themselves and their

* Chron. Manusc.—Commines—Meyer.
Preuves de l'Histoire de Duclos—Chron. Scandal.
Grand.

† Histoire de Beauvais—Manusc. de le Grand—
Commines—Meyer—Dom Lobineau—Le

friends. Lescun asked and obtained the government of one half of the duchy of Guienne; the county of Comminges; the order of Saint Michael; a pension of six thousand livres, and a gratification of twenty-four thousand crowns. Souplainville procured for himself a present of six thousand crowns, and a pension of twelve hundred livres; with the offices of mayor of Bayonne, bailiff of Montargis, and some other places of authority in Guienne. Desessarts was appointed bailiff of Meaux, master of the rivers and forests in Champagne and Brie, with an annual pension of twelve hundred livres, and an immediate gratification of four thousand crowns. The duke of Brittany, himself, obtained a pension either of sixty or eighty thousand livres, for authors differ as to the sum; and on these conditions he concluded a truce for a year, and consented to leave the towns which Lewis had reduced in the possession of that monarch, till such time as a final treaty of peace should be signed. The only stipulation which he made in favour of his ally, the duke of Burgundy, was, that he should be allowed to accede to this truce if he chose it; and of this privilege Charles was induced, by the state of his army, and by some other considerations, so far to avail himself, as to consent to a cessation of arms for a few months.

About this period Phillip de Commines, the historian, quitted the court of Burgundy, and entered the service of Lewis*, as he has neglected to explain, in his memoirs, the reasons for this desertion of a master who had loaded him with honours and rewards, and to whose family he was indebted for the distinction which he enjoyed, his conduct is justly exposed to the charge of ingratitude.

A. D. 1473.] The success of the king's arms during the last campaign, had by no means restored tranquillity to France. The count of Armagnac, undismayed by his former disgrace, observing that the king was engaged in Brittany, that the duke of Burgundy was suffered to ravage Picardy and Normandy, and the king of Arragon was preparing to attack the county of Roussillon, thought the moment favourable for obtaining possession of Lectoure, which was then regarded as the key to Guienne and Gascony. For this purpose he corrupted some of the officers of the garrison, by whose means he secured the place and its governor, the lord of Beaujeu, whom Lewis had appointed his lieutenant-general in Guienne.

At the same time, the king of Arragon made an irruption into Roussillon, and exhorted his old subject to shake off the French yoke, and to return to their lawful sovereign. The citizens of Perpignan, moved by his exhortations, flew to arms, and compelled du Lau, the governor of the province, to shut himself up in the citadel. The example of the capital was followed by several other towns; Elne Argiles, and Canet expelled their garrisons, and Salies, Collioure, and the citadel of Perpignan, were soon the only places that remained in possession of the French.

The uneasiness which Lewis experienced on the receipt of this news, was further increased by intelligence, that the duke of Alençon, a prince of the blood,

* Notes de Godefroi sur Varillas.

and father-in-law to the count of Armagnac, had entered into a negociation with the duke of Burgundy, for surrendering to that prince all the towns and fortresses he possessed in Normandy and Maine; a measure which, had it taken effect, must have been attended with the most serious consequences. In this delicate conjuncture, Lewis was at a loss how to act; his first care, however, was to persuade the duke of Burgundy to prolong the truce for a year, which he effected, with some difficulty, through the mediation of the duke of Brittany, whose good offices he had secured by the voluntary restitution of the town of Ancenis, and by the payment of one quarter of his yearly pension.

Another enemy which Lewis had to encounter, was Nicholas d'Anjou, duke of Lorraine, and titular duke of Calabria, who had been affianced to the princess Anne, daughter to the king, but, who having conceived a disgust at the conduct of Lewis, in offering the hand of his destined bride to the duke of Guienne, had retired into Flanders; where Charles had sought to attach him to his interest by making him a tender of his daughter, the sole heiress to all his dominions. The king, however, was freed from all apprehensions from that quarter, by the death of Nicholas, who expired suddenly, not without suspicions of having been poisoned.

Immediately after the prolongation of the truce, the king secured the person of the duke of Alençon, whom he delivered into the hands of the parliament of Paris. But the count of Armagnac was a more formidable enemy, since he had thrown a strong garrison into the castle of Lectoure, and made every preparation for an obstinate defence. Lewis, not daring to leave his frontiers exposed to the attacks of the duke of Burgundy, employed the militia of the southern provinces to reduce the count; but after that nobleman had sustained a siege of two months, the season being far advanced, and the king of Arragon having embraced the opportunity to complete the reduction of Roussillon, the king sent orders to his generals to open a negociation with him. The terms required by the count, were these: he demanded a safe conduct that he might appear at court, and justify himself to the king, with regard to the crimes of which he was accused; such an establishment for the countess, his wife, as would enable her to live in a manner suitable to her rank and birth; a general amnesty for all his followers and partisans; and a confirmation of the privileges of the citizens and other inhabitants of Lectoure. These conditions were immediately accepted by cardinal Jouffroi, bishop of Albi, who commanded the expedition, and, in order to give the greater solemnity to the agreement, that prelate is said to have broken a consecrated wafer, one half of which he gave to the count, and the other he swallowed himself.— Every thing being thus arranged, they were proceeding to fulfil the articles of the capitulation, when the king's troops, profiting by the security of the garrison, entered the town, and forced their way to the count's house, where one Gorgias massacred him with his poignard. For this abominable act of treachery, which Lewis himself had doubtless commanded, that execrable tyrant rewarded the assassin with a silver cup filled with money, and a commission in his

own guards. The countess of Armagnac, and her female attendants, were stripped by a brutal soldiery; the houses of the citizens were pillaged; their wives and daughters ravished; and the old men and children inhumanly massacred; after which the town was reduced to ashes. That nothing might be wanting to complete the horror of the scene, the countess, who was pregnant, was dragged to the castle of Buzet, where the savages compelled her to swallow a noxious draught, calculated to destroy the infant in her womb; and which, in the short space of two days, put a period to her own existence. Several of the count's partisans were afterwards brought to the scaffold.

After the death of the count of Armagnac, Lewis made a fruitless attempt to recover the county of Roussillon; foiled by the talents and courage of the old king of Arragon, he was compelled to accept a truce for two months; and, after throwing supplies into the citadel of Perpignan, and the towns of Salies and Callioure, the army returned to France.

The duke of Burgundy had been induced to consent to the prolongation of the truce with France, by an opportunity which presented itself at that time for extending his dominions on the side of the Rhine*. From Sigismund, the prodigal and voluptuous duke of Austria, he acquired, for the sum of eighty thousand German florins, the county of Ferrette or Pfirt, and the Landgraviate of Alsace, subject to redemption by that prince or his heirs; and, by the will of Arnou, duke of Gueldres, he succeeded to that duchy, and to the county of Zutphen, to the prejudice of Adolphus, who, on account of his unnatural conduct, had been disinherited by his father.

Lewis profited by this interval of repose to marry his two daughters; Anne, the eldest, who had been affianced to the duke of Lorraine, he gave to Peter of Bourbon, lord of Beaujeu, and presumptive heir to the duke of Bourbon. The youngest, Mary, who was greatly inferior to her sister, both in personal and mental endowments, married the duke of Orleans, the first prince of the blood, to whom she had been promised in her infancy. Each of the princesses had one hundred thousand crowns assigned them for their marriage portion.

During a fruitless negotiation for a peace that was opened between Lewis and the duke of Burgundy, the constable perceiving the impossibility of a perfect reconciliation between such inveterate rivals, resolved to make some attempt towards the establishment of that independence to which he had so long aspired. With this view he had the audacity to expel the king's troops from the town of Saint Quentin, of which he was governor, to introduce a garrison of his own, and to exact an oath of allegiance from the inhabitants. Lewis, enraged at the rebellious conduct of this powerful subject, immediately suppressed his pensions, and seized on all the estates which he possessed in France; but, on cool reflection, these proceedings appeared to him imprudent, since they might force the constable to claim the protection of the duke of Burgundy; he, therefore, determined to

* Histoire de Lorraine, par Dom Calmet—Haroei Annal. Brabant.

temporise, and expressed a willingness to listen to the constable's justification.— Saint Paul then informed him, by letter, that having detected a correspondence between the duke of Burgundy and the garrison of Saint Quentin, the only mode that occurred to him of preserving the place from the attempts of the enemy, was to take possession of it himself, and garrison it with troops and officers on whose fidelity he could rely. Lewis, pretending to be a dupe to this artifice, endeavoured to draw the constable to court, by sending him word that he wished to consult him on matters of the highest importance. But Saint Paul was too well acquainted with the king's disposition to fall into the snare; he declined the interview, and entered into a private negotiation with the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, and with some of the discontented nobility of France.

A. D. 1474.] At the commencement of this year, one John Hardy had formed a plan for poisoning the king, at the instigation, it is said, of Ithier, a rich merchant, who had formerly been in the service of the duke of Guienne, but, since the death of that prince, had retired into Flanders. Two of the king's domestics, to whom Hardy had applied for assistance in the prosecution of his scheme, revealed it to Lewis, and the criminal was accordingly tried by the municipal officers of Paris, who sentenced him to be quartered alive. Soon after this event, the truce between the king and the duke of Burgundy was prolonged to the first of May, 1475.

The prolongation of this truce alarmed the king of Arragon, with whom Lewis had lately concluded a fraudulent treaty, which he resolved to break on the first favourable opportunity that should occur. In order to sound his intentions, the Arragonian monarch sent ambassadors to France, to complain of the conduct of the French governors, who were guilty of continual infractions of the treaty; and, if they should find it impossible to obtain redress, they were then to assert the claims of Arragon to Roussillon and Cerdagne. Lewis refused an audience to these ambassadors, and referred them to a council whom he had appointed to receive their complaints. The council, in compliance with the instructions they had received, put them off from time to time, on the most frivolous pretexts, and, in short, convinced them, by their conduct, that the chief object of their embassy must remain unaccomplished. Finding this to be the case, they proceeded to enforce the pretensions of their master to the disputed territories. The counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne had always—they observed—formed a part of the kingdom of Arragon, till the treaty of 1462, when they had been first ceded to the king of France, on condition that he should pay the Arragonian monarch the sum of three hundred thousand crowns, and supply him with six hundred lances, and a suitable train of artillery, till such time as he should have completed the reduction of Catalonia; that the king of France, however, had not only neglected to fulfil this last part of the agreement, but had even fomented the revolt of the Catalonians, and openly sent succours to John of Anjou, duke of Lorraine, who had placed himself at the head of the rebels.

These were facts that would not admit of confutation ; but Lewis was neither to be swayed by reason or justice, in opposition to the suggestions of interest. The ambassadors therefore were dismissed, but means were found to detain them on the road, till such time as a French army had entered Roussillon, and reduced the town of Elne, the governor of which they beheaded. They then took Figuières, and proceeded to invest the strong town of Perpignan.

Fresh conferences were now opened between the king and the duke of Burgundy ; and their plenipotentiaries, having met at Bouvines, unanimously agreed to consider the constable as the chief obstacle to the conclusion of a peace ; it was he, they observed, who, in order to gratify his own insatiate ambition, had been the first promoter of the war for the public good ; it was he who had first suggested the idea of a marriage between the duke of Guienne and the princess of Burgundy ; and it was he who had engaged the king to break the treaty of Peronne, by promising to put him in possession of Amiens and Saint Quentin : since that time, they added, he had been studious to foment the animosity which subsisted between the king and the duke, by calumnious assertions, and by false reports ; a perfidious friend, a dangerous spy, fertile in the invention of plots and stratagems, he would never, they averred, permit the restoration of peace and concord. His ruin, was therefore, resolved on ; and Lewis, who had not forgotten his audacity, in the affair of Saint Quentin, cheerfully confirmed the resolution of the plenipotentiaries. It was agreed that the king should cede to the duke of Burgundy, Saint Quentin, Ham, and Bohain ; and that the duke should, in return, secure the constable, and deliver him up to Lewis ; but notwithstanding every precaution that prudence could suggest for keeping secret the principal object of this negotiation, the constable gained intelligence of what was in agitation. He immediately wrote to the king, observing, that the duke of Burgundy, enraged at his inability either to surprise or seduce him, was endeavouring to promote his ruin, but as it would be an easy matter for him to justify his conduct, he entreated the king not to force him to an involuntary acceptance of the duke's offers. Lewis, whose suspicions were ever awake, imagined that the duke of Burgundy had, himself, informed the constable of the object of their negotiation, in order to induce him to court his protection ; and, under this impression, he dispatched a courier to his plenipotentiaries, ordering them to retract any offers they might have made ; and, at the same time, he accepted the constable's proposal for an interview, which accordingly took place, on a bridge, between La Fere and Noyon, where the same precautions were adopted that had been employed to so little purpose, at the fatal conference on the bridge of Montereau.—Lewis listened with attention to the constable's justification of his own conduct, and pretending to be convinced by his arguments, he loaded that imperious vassal with caresses, and permitted him to return. But the deep dissimulation of Lewis was not unmarked by the penetrating eye of Saint-Paul, who now plainly perceived that his destruction was fully resolved on. He had but one means of averting the impending danger ; which was, by surrendering the towns in his possession to the duke of Burgundy, but in that case he must have renounced his fa-

avourite project of independence, and have submitted to the mercy and caprice of a master to whom he had given just cause for offence. The obstinate struggle which took place in his mind between fear and ambition, prevented him from adopting any decisive resolution. Three times did he invite the Burgundian troops to take possession of Saint Quentin, and as often did he shut the gates against them.

The duke of Alençon was now brought to trial by the parliament of Paris, and being convicted of conspiring against the state; of maintaining a criminal correspondence with the enemies of the kingdom; of homicide; of confiscating the current coin of the realm; and of an intent to deliver his towns to the duke of Burgundy; he was pronounced guilty of high treason, and condemned to die.—All his possessions were declared to be forfeited to the crown*. His punishment, however, was changed into perpetual imprisonment, and the greater part of his estates were restored to his son, the count of Perche. The duke died in prison, about two years after his trial.

An insurrection of the people of Bourges, on account of an extraordinary tax for the repair and support of the fortifications of that city, though speedily quelled, alarmed the jealous and suspicious temper of Lewis, who conceived it to be the effect of some general plan for overturning his government. He therefore established an armed inquisition in Bourges; the members whereof had full power of life and death over all the inhabitants, of whatever rank; and they were strictly enjoined by Lewis, to be diligent in their search, and severe in their punishments; the tyrant even designated some of the principal citizens, who, he desired, might be hanged at the doors of their own houses. Fortunately, the commissioners were more just and merciful than their sovereign; some few only of the insurgents were executed, though many of the inhabitants were banished, and still more of them fined. The municipal officers were deposed; and a mayor and twelve aldermen chosen in their stead; the king reserving to himself the right of naming them.

But the attention of Lewis was soon called to objects of a more alarming nature, to dangers of greater magnitude, which threatened no less than the subversion of his throne, and the destruction of the monarchy. We have already observed, that immediately after the defeat of the Lancastrians by Edward the Fourth, that monarch had proposed to assist the duke of Burgundy in conquering the kingdom of France, but that the duke had then been induced to reject the proposal, through fear of offending the French nobility, with whom he had formed an alliance. This objection, however, being now removed by the death of the duke of Guienne, the project was revived. Edward, still stimulated by a spirit of revenge against Lewis, for the assistance which he had already afforded to the house of Lancaster, and urged by his fears for the protection which he might still afford to the friends of that family, determined to attack his dominions; and, though the conduct of the duke of Burgundy, during Edward's exile, had not been such as could inspire him with any sentiments of esteem for that prince,

* Garnier, tom. xviii. p. 97.

the political interests of their states proved the means of maintaining a close connection between them ; and they agreed to unite their arms in making a powerful invasion of France. A league was accordingly formed, in which Edward stipulated to pass the seas with an army exceeding ten thousand men, and to make an incursion into the territories of Lewis ; Charles promised to join him with all his forces ; the king of England was to lay claim to the crown of France, and to obtain, at least, the provinces of Normandy and Guienne ; while the duke was to acquire Champagne, and to exonerate all his dominions from the burthen of homage to the French monarch ; and neither party was to make peace without the consent of the other*.

The duke of Brittany also joined the league, and was to obtain the county of Poitou as his portion of the spoil ; he required to be supplied with a body of English troops, to the amount of three thousand ; and promised to do more good to the cause of the confederates in one month, by the secret correspondence which he maintained in France, than the combined forces of England and Burgundy could effect in six ; for which purpose, however, he deemed it necessary to dissemble with Lewis †. The constable, too, was not idle on this occasion ; he secretly engaged to receive the English into Saint Quentin, and into the other towns which he occupied on the river Somme.

If Charles had been as careful in the regulation of his own conduct, as he was in directing the future operations of his allies ; if he had employed the interval of tranquillity allowed him by the truce in forming alliances with the neighbouring princes, in disciplining his troops, and in preparing magazines ; if, intent on his principal object, he had rejected all schemes that were foreign from it ; it is certain that France would have been exposed to the most eminent danger, and that Lewis, in spite of his courage and activity, must, infallibly, have been subdued. Independent of the combined forces of England, Burgundy, and Brittany, he had to dread the efforts of the constable, whose office, birth, fortune, and abilities, gave him a great influence over the minds of the French nobility. The duke of Bourbon was discontented with the king, and was also the friend and ally of the house of Burgundy ; Rene d'Anjou, titular king of Sicily, ascribing all his losses and misfortunes to Lewis, had already conceived a design of making Charles his heir ; the duke of Nemours was enraged at the humiliation he had lately experienced, and at the assassination of his kinsman, the count of Armagnac ; the duchess of Savoy, sister to Lewis, allured by the hope of marrying her son to the heiress of Burgundy, had embraced the party of Charles, and had prevailed on the duke of Milan to follow her example ; the king of Naples, whose son was at the court of Burgundy, might be reckoned as another enemy ; and the king of Arragon, and his son prince Ferdinand, were actually at war with France. What forces could Lewis have opposed to enemies thus numerous and powerful ? His attempts to defend one province must have left all the

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. xi. p. 804, 843.

† Garnier.

others open to attack; the most splendid victory could only have secured the preservation of a town, while a single defeat might have proved fatal to the monarchy. Charles, who was the soul of the confederacy, had it now in his power to decide on the fate of France; but, hurried away by the native impetuosity of his mind, and by his inordinate ambition, he had not courage to resist the deceitful allurements of fortune: with a view to extend his dominions on the side of Germany, and to forward the accomplishment of his favourite project, the erection of his territories into a kingdom, he undertook to restore the bishop of Cologne, who had been deposed by the people *. This engaged him in a war with the whole Germanic body; and the obstinate defence made by the strong town of Nuiz on the Rhine, in the siege of which his whole army was employed, disabled him from fulfilling his treaty with Edward, and, of course, disconcerted all his projects, with regard to the conquest of France.

Lewis, meanwhile, formed an alliance with the Swiss cantons, and promoted a reconciliation between them and Sigismund, duke of Austria, who was anxious to recover the county of Ferrette, and the Landgraviate of Alsace, which he had pledged to the duke of Burgundy. All the Imperial towns on the Upper Rhine joined this confederacy, and, as they had an evident interest in preventing Charles from forming any establishments in their vicinity, they supplied Sigismund with the sum that was requisite for the redemption of his territories. Charles refusing to accept the money, the allies entered the county of Ferrette, and restored it to the duke of Austria; the Swiss then penetrated into Franche-Comte, defeated the provincial militia, took the towns of Blamont and Gramont by assault, and, after cutting in pieces a body of troops under the command of the count of Romont, a prince of the house of Savoy, returned to their mountains laden with booty.

A. D. 1475] During these transactions, the king of England had been employed in making the most formidable preparations for his projected enterprise, and in forming farther alliances in order to ensure its success. He concluded treaties with the emperor, and with Ferdinand, king of Sicily; he also prolonged the truce with Scotland to the year 1515, and secured the friendship of the Scots, by concluding a contract of marriage between their prince and his then youngest daughter, the princess Cecilia, both of them infants. All the necessary preparations being, at length, completed, Edward sailed from Sandwich about midsummer, and landed safe at Calais with a powerful army, consisting of fifteen hundred men at arms, and fifteen thousand archers, attended by all the principal nobility of England. His first step was to dispatch a herald to Lewis, to claim the crown of France, and to deliver him a defiance, in case of refusal. Lewis, instead of suffering his resentment to dictate an answer to the proud challenge he had received, gave the herald who brought it the most cordial reception; he assured him that he entertained the highest respect for his master,

* Meyer. Annal. Fland. MS. de le Grand.

the king of England, who, he knew, had been urged to undertake the present expedition by the duke of Burgundy, and the constable; whose advice had been influenced by the most interested motives, and who would not fail to abandon their ally, the moment their own private views should be gratified. Lewis then made the herald a present of three hundred crowns; and promised him the farther sum of one thousand, if he would employ his good offices in effecting an accommodation. The herald, who was a native of Normandy, won by the condescension not less than the liberality of Lewis, readily promised to promote his views to the utmost of his power; and advised him to address all his proposals for peace to the lords Howard and Stanley, who had great influence over Edward, and who were averse from his present conduct. The French monarch then committed the herald to the care of Philip de Commines, with a strict charge to spare neither pains nor expence in making him contented with his reception.

The king now exerted himself to the utmost in order to put his kingdom in a proper state of defence, and no resources were neglected which human foresight or activity could supply. The army which he sent into Roussillon, was still engaged in the siege of Perpignan, which would probably have resisted every attempt to reduce it, but for the death of Henry, king of Castile, which called off the attention of the king of Arragon to another quarter. The dreadful situation to which the town was, by this time, reduced, may be conceived from the circumstance of a woman, who, having lost one of her children by hunger, cut the body into pieces, and used it as the means of preserving her own life, and that of her remaining child *. The inhabitants, unable any longer to support their complicated distresses, capitulated, and obtained the liberty, for such as should not chuse to remain in the town, to retire into the territories of the king of Arragon. Lewis, enraged at the resistance he had experienced, ordered the most opulent citizens of Perpignan, and all the principal nobility in the environs, to be massacred; but Boufile, who had been appointed governor of the province, exerted, on this occasion, the humanity of a Christian, and the dignity of a man; he peremptorily refused to obey the orders of this vindictive and blood-thirsty tyrant; and, by a spirited remonstrance, saved the destined victims from unmerited destruction.

The king, by the reduction of Perpignan, being enabled to form a junction of his forces, ordered his whole army to advance to the frontiers of Picardy; where they speedily reduced the towns of Tronquoi, Montdidier, Roie, Brai-upon-Somme, and Corbie. They then penetrated into the province of Artois, burnt a number of fortresses, and advanced to the very gates of Arras. The garrison, of that town, having made an injudicious sally, sustained a total defeat, and James de Saint-Paul, brother to the constable, was taken a prisoner, with several other officers of rank.

Edward, in the mean time, had advanced into Picardy, expecting to be joined by the forces of the duke of Burgundy, according to the promise of that prince; but the army which Charles had led into Germany was, from the attacks of the enemy, and from the hardships of a winter campaign, rendered wholly unfit for farther service. To pacify Edward, who was greatly disgusted with his conduct, the duke repaired in person to the English camp, apologized for this breach of treaty, and assured him that the constable would surrender to him the strong town of St. Quentin; but when the English army approached that place, Saint-Paul fired upon them from the ramparts, and, by an unexpected sally, put great numbers of them to death. The duke of Burgundy, who was still with the English army, being neither able to account for this singular conduct of the constable, nor to support the severe reproaches of the English monarch, departed abruptly, and left Edward in a violent rage, bestowing execrations on his treacherous allies, and expressing his disgust at an expedition from which he was not likely to derive either honour or emolument.

During these transactions, a man arrived at Compiègne, from the English camp, who asked to speak with the king; he proved to be a lacquey in the service of the lord of Grassai, and having been the first prisoner that was taken, he was dismissed, according to a custom which then prevailed, without a ransom. On quitting the camp, he had met the lords Howard and Stanley, who had given him some money, and told him to recommend them to the good graces of the king, his master, in case he should find an opportunity of speaking to him. Proud of his commission, the man resolved on fulfilling it without delay; and immediately after his arrival at Compiègne; though the night was far advanced, he insisted on seeing Lewis; but his request was refused; and being taken for a spy, he was thrown into prison. Lewis however, having paid him a visit, ordered him to be released, and determined to send him as a herald to Edward. The man, whose name was Merindot, having received his instructions, and being provided with the dress of a herald, which he was ordered not to put on till he should approach the English camp, left, the object of his mission being discovered by the partisans of the duke of Burgundy, he should be prevented from proceeding, set out on his journey. The present disposition of Edward was highly favourable to the success of his negotiation; and he acquitted himself so well, that that monarch was induced to hold a council in his camp, near Peronne, on the thirteenth of August, in which the poverty of the army, the near approach of winter, and the treacherous neglect of his allies, were urged as strong incitements to the negotiation of a truce; and a commission was, accordingly, given to lord Howard and three others, for that purpose. The admiral of France, Saint-Pierre and the bishop of Evreux, were appointed by the king to confer with the English plenipotentiaries.

Lewis, anxious to bring this affair to a speedy termination, ordered Doriole, who had succeeded to the high office of Chancellor, on the death of Juvenal

des Urſins, to affix the great ſeal to fix blank ſheets of parchment, which he meant to employ for the purpoſe of attaching Edward's chief miniſters and counſellors to his intereſt *. He then ſent the chancellor, with Matthew Beauvarlet, and Michael Gaillard, to Paris, to prepare what money he wanted; and theſe commiſſioners obtained from the parliament all the different ſums which had been lodged in that court till ſuch time as the pretenſions of the various claimants could be eſtabliſhed; but they were obliged to enter into a private obligation to reſtore them, whenever they ſhould be called upon for that purpoſe. The preſidents of the parliament alſo borrowed, in their own names, of James Erlan, two thouſand crowns, which they delivered to the commiſſioners, who pledged themſelves for the repayment of the money before the firſt of October following. Theſe facts, with many others of a ſimilar nature, which occur in the Hiſtory of France, prove that the king never borrowed money in his own name; and that thoſe whom he appointed to borrow for him, were obliged to become ſecurity for the re-payment, and actually to pay the money, if the king neglected to pay it himſelf. By this means the ſtate never contracted any debts.

As Lewis was reſolved on peace, the plenipotentiaries experienced no obſtruction in the accompliſhment of their taſk; and a truce, for ſeven years, was concluded on the nineteenth of Auguſt, on ſuch terms as the Engliſh choſe to preſcribe, which certainly were not very honourable to Lewis. It was ſtipulated—That the king of France ſhould pay the ſum of ſeventy-five thouſand crowns to the king of England, within fifteen days; that he ſhould, moreover, pay him fifty thouſand crowns a-year, during their joint lives; that the dauphin of France, when of age, ſhould marry the princeſs Elizabeth, one of Edward's daughter's; and that Edward ſhould withdraw his army from France, as ſoon as he ſhould have received the ſeventy-five thouſand crowns. In this truce ſuch of the allies as choſe to accede to it were comprehended†. By one article of the treaty, Lewis engaged to pay Edward fifty thouſand crowns, for the releaſe of Margaret of Anjou; in conſequence of which, that unfortunate princeſs was ſuffered to return to her native country, where ſhe ſpent the remainder of her days in tranquil privacy, till the year 1482, when ſhe died. This act of generoſity would reflect honour on Lewis, did not his ſubſequent conduct to the relations of Margaret, afford juſt grounds for believing that he was entirely ſwayed by motives of intereſt‡.

When every point had thus been amicably adjusted, an interview took place between the two monarchs, on a bridge over the Somme, at Pequigni, near Amiens, in the center whereof a ſtrong barrier was erected, and where ſuch other precautions were adopted, as the treacherous ſpirit of the times ſeemed to juſtify. Edward and Lewis here ſwore, in the moſt ſolemn manner, to a ſtrict obſervance of the treaty; after which, they paſſed ſome time in friendly and familiar converſation.

* MS. de le Grand.

† Rymers' Foed. tom. xii. p. 51, 21.

‡ Garnier, tom. xviii. p. 161.

Lewis was not only anxious to acquire the friendship of Edward, but the confidence of the English nation, and of the chief persons in the English court. With this view he was profuse in the distribution of presents; he bestowed annual pensions, to the amount of sixteen thousand crowns, on several of Edward's favourites; on lord Hastings, one of two thousand crowns; on the lords Howard, Stanley, and others, in proportion; and these noblemen were not ashamed thus to receive the wages of corruption from a foreign potentate. Lord Hastings, indeed, refused for some years, to give a receipt for his pension, that no proof of his infamy might be preserved in the public registers of France. As the two armies, after the conclusion of the truce, remained some days in the vicinity of each other, Lewis sent the English troops a present of three hundred cart-loads of the best wine his country produced; he likewise admitted them freely into Amiens, the place of his residence, where he defrayed all their charges, ordering every innkeeper to supply them with whatever they should require, without exacting any payment. In consequence of this indulgence, they flocked thither in such multitudes, that above nine thousand of them were once in the town at the same time, when they might have easily secured the king's person; but Lewis concluding, from their dissolute manner of living, that no danger was to be apprehended, was careful not to betray the smallest signs of suspicion or mistrust; and when Edward, informed of this disorder, desired him to shut the gates against them, he replied, that he never would consent to exclude the English from any place where he resided; but that Edward, if he pleased, might recal them, and fix his own officers at the gates of Amiens to prevent their return*.

The extreme eagerness of Lewis to acquire the confidence and friendship of the English, had induced him to make some imprudent advances, which afterwards caused him no small trouble to evade. During the conference on the bridge of Pequigni, he told Edward, that he should be glad to be favored with a visit from him at Paris, where he would introduce him to the beauties of that metropolis; and, should any offences requiring pardon be the consequence of such introduction, he would assign him the cardinal de Bourbon for a confessor†, who would not fail to give him absolution. This hint made a deeper impression than Lewis intended. Lord Howard, who accompanied him on his return to Amiens, told him, in confidence, that if he were so disposed, it would be very possible to persuade Edward to take a journey with him to Paris, where they might indulge themselves in mirth and recreation. Lewis, at first, pretended not to hear the offer, but, on Howard's repeating it, he expressed his concern, that the war in which he was engaged with the duke of Burgundy, would not permit him to wait on his royal guest, and do him the honours he intended. "Edward," said he, privately, to Commynes, "is a very handsome, and a very amorous prince: some lady at Paris may like him as well as he shall like her, and may invite him to return thither in another manner. I am very

* Philip de Commynes, l. iv. p. 289.

† This cardinal was Charles of Bourbon, youngest brother to John the Second, duke of Bourbon.

“glad to have him, for a friend and brother, beyond the sea; but I am not fond of his company; his predecessors took up their residence somewhat too long at Paris and in Normandy. It is better that the sea be between us.”

Lewis, anxious to hasten the departure of the English, paid, without delay, the stipulated sum, when the English monarch embarked at Calais, and arrived at England on the twenty-eighth of September. Thus ended an expedition which had given such serious alarm to the king of France, and which had been attended with such considerable expence, that the money he had received from Lewis, together with his pension, formed but a very inadequate compensation to Edward, who could only boast of having humbled his adversary. But that adversary, regarding interest as the sole test of honour, not only bore his humiliation with patience, but conceived that he had obtained a very important advantage over Edward, by purchasing his departure on such easy terms. This, indeed, was a source of triumph to Lewis, though he was careful to conceal his joy, and strictly prohibited his courtiers from treating the English with that mockery and derision to which he thought they had fairly subjected themselves. One evening, however, when he was off his guard, his exultations got the better of his prudence, and he indulged himself in raillery at the easy simplicity of Edward and his council; but, while he was talking, he perceived a man standing in one corner of the room, who had overheard all his conversation. He proved to be a Gascon merchant, settled in England, who had come to ask the king's permission to export a few pipes of wine, without paying the usual duties. Lewis was immediately sensible of his indiscretion, and he offered the Gascon such advantages in his own country, as engaged him to remain in France. “It is but just,” said the king, “that I should pay the penalty of my talkativeness*.”

Edward, previous to his embarkation, had sent to apprise the duke of Burgundy of the truce which he had concluded with Lewis, and to inform him, that he was at liberty to accede to it if he chose†. But Charles told his envoys, that he had not invited the English into France to procure him a truce, but merely to furnish them with the means of repairing their former losses; that he had believed Edward to be worthy of the rank he enjoyed, but after his late conduct, he was at liberty to depart as soon as he thought proper; and to convince him, pursued the duke, that I stand in no need of his assistance, I engage to conclude neither peace nor truce with France, till three months after his return to England. He was not, however, faithful to his word, for, yielding to the earnest solicitations of Lewis, he was prevailed on to send plenipotentiaries to Soleure, a small town in the duchy of Luxembourg, where a truce for nine years was signed between France and Burgundy, on the thirteenth of September. The constable was the first victim of the reconciliation between the two princes; Charles swore never to pardon him, and engaged, if he should fall into his hands, to deliver him up to the king; in return for which Lewis engaged to cede to the duke the towns of Saint.

* Commines—Garnier, tom. xviii. p. 171.

† Commines—Meyer—Le Grand.

Quentin, Ham and Bohain, with all the treasures which the constable had amassed. Lewis farther promised to give no assistance, either directly or indirectly, to the young duke of Lorraine, whom he had incited to take up arms against Charles; he also engaged to assist Charles against the emperor, the citizens of Cologne, and all their adherents. Edward, who was preparing to embark for England, when he heard of this negociation, sent Thomas Montgomery to the king, to entreat him to make no concession to his proud vassal, and to tell him, that if he stood in need of assistance, he would himself return in the ensuing spring, with all his forces, and aid him to subdue the duke of Burgundy. This offer, however, Lewis deemed it prudent to reject.

At the same time that the king signed a truce with the duke of Burgundy, he prolonged one which he had concluded, about six months before, with the king of Arragon, for a year; and, immediately after, he entered into an offensive and defensive league with the king of Portugal, against prince Ferdinand and his father; by which he engaged to lead an army into the kingdom of Arragon, after Alphonso should have effected the expulsion of Ferdinand from the kingdom of Castile.

Although the duke of Brittany had, as an ally, been comprehended in the truce which Lewis had signed with the king of England and the duke of Burgundy, and although Edward had expressly declared to the king himself, that if any attack were made on the duke, he would assist him with all his forces, yet Lewis resolved to profit by the present interval of tranquillity to make him accede to such terms as he should chuse to dictate. Francis unable to oppose his efforts, appointed plenipotentiaries, who signed a treaty with Lewis; by which the duke renounced all alliance with the enemies of the state, and engaged to assist the king with all his forces in defence of the kingdom, whenever called on for that purpose, but not to march beyond the limits of his duchy.

Lewis now profitted by the absence of the duke of Burgundy, who was engaged in an attempt to reduce the ducy of Lorraine, to execute his schemes of revenge against the constable. Saint Paul, apprised of his intentions, renounced all his projects of independence, and only thought of saving his life. In this emergency he applied to Charles, to whom he offered to surrender all the places in his possession, provided he would afford him protection. The duke, notwithstanding his late engagements with the king, accepted his offer, granted him a safe conduct, and sent a body of troops to take possession of Saint Quentin. But he was anticipated by Lewis, who suddenly advanced, with twenty thousand men, to the gates of that town, some of whose inhabitants he had previously engaged in his interest; and, at his approach, Saint-Paul fled to Mons. Saint Quentin then opened its gates to the king, who, with equal facility, acquired possession of Ham, Bohain, and Beaufort. When Lewis had thus dispossessed the constable of all his places, he called upon Charles to fulfill the conditions of the treaty of Soleure. Charles was then engaged in the siege of Nancy, and as he was at a loss how to act, he wished to defer his answer till he had reduced that city, but

Lewis insisted on an immediate reply, and sent orders to the lord of Craon, to advance, with a strong body of troops, to the confines of Lorraine. The duke of Burgundy, conscious of his inability to complete the reduction of that province, if opposed by the king of France, ordered Hugonet and Imbercourt to repair to Mons, and at the expiration of eight days to deliver up the constable to the king's envoys. He expected before that time to be master of Nancy, when he might send a counter order to his ministers; but the place held out some days longer than he expected, and the counter-order arrived *three hours* too late. The constable was delivered into the hands of the admiral of France, and the lord of Saint Pierre, who had advanced to the frontiers to receive him: he was thence conveyed to Paris, and having been convicted of high-treason by the parliament, he suffered decapitation. Lewis ceded the towns of Saint Quentin, Ham, and Bohain to Charles, with all the treasures and moveable effects of the constable, reserving only for himself the estates which Saint-Paul possessed in France. On this occasion Lewis observed, "*That he and the duke of Burgundy had been engaged in a fox-chace; that Charles had carried off the fox's skin, which was valuable, but that the flesh, which was good for nothing, had fallen to his share*.*"

A. D. 1476.] Charles had, by this time, added the country of Lorraine to his former dominions; but though he possessed the courage and ambition of a conquerer, he had neither the prudence nor policy of a statesman. Ever ardent in his enterprises, and swayed by a resistless impetuosity of temper, he listened to the complaints of the count of Romont, whose territories the Swiss had invaded, and inconsiderately engaged in a war with that virtuous and hardy people, who were formidable from the possession of that courage which freedom inspires, as well as from their exemption from the luxurious vices of their continental neighbours.

In vain did the Swiss endeavour to deprecate the wrath of Charles; he was deaf to every proposal, however submissive or advantageous, and entered, with his troops, a bleak and mountainous country, which could only recompense his hazard and toils with an abundant harvest of barren laurels. After reducing some inconsiderable places, he laid siege to Grançon, which was defended by a garrison of five hundred Swiss, who, after a spirited resistance, surrendered at discretion.—Charles immediately consigned them to the provost of his army, who hanged four hundred on the neighbouring trees, and drowned the rest in the lake of Neuchâtel. Soon after the town had surrendered, the duke was informed that an army of Swiss was advancing to attack him; but he disregarded the intelligence, and pursued his march. As the chief strength of his army consisted in cavalry, he must certainly have crushed the enemy, could he have drawn them into the even plain; but he was no sooner convinced they were really approaching, than he imprudently entered the defiles of the mountain, where there was no room for his forces to act; the consequence of this imprudent step was a general

dispersion of his troops, who fled with the utmost precipitation. After this victory, the Swiss re-took Granson by assault, when they took down the bodies of their countrymen from the trees to which they were suspended, and replaced them with an equal number of Burgundians.

Charles had so long been accustomed to the smiles of fortune, that he could ill brook the frowns of the fickle goddess. His late disgrace had such effect on his mind, that it brought on a severe fit of sickness; but determined on revenge, he speedily raised a fresh army, and formed the siege of Morat, in the canton of Friburg, a small town, but strongly fortified, and defended by a garrison of eighteen hundred men.* The duke was repulsed in three different assaults; and, after he had passed fifteen days before the place, he was informed that the Swiss army, reinforced by the confederate cities of the Upper Rhine, was advancing to give him battle. Highly pleased at the intelligence, he hastened to reconnoitre the enemy, but his usual precipitation prevented him from ascertaining their numbers, which amounted to thirty thousand infantry, and four thousand cavalry, whereas his own forces did not exceed twenty-five thousand effective men. He was advised by his officers, to raise the siege of Morat, and fix his camp in an open plain, where his cavalry, having full scope for exertion, would give him a great advantage over the enemy; but his blind rage led him to reject this prudent council, and leaving two hundred lances to guard his lines, he advanced to meet the Swiss, who were commanded by Rene, the young duke of Lorraine, whose territories the duke of Burgundy had seized.

On the approach of Charles, Rene posted his infantry behind a thick hedge, impervious to the cavalry; while Charles sent his free archers, supported by a body of horse, to dislodge them; but this manœuvre, failing of effect, caused the loss of the battle; for attempting to withdraw his archers, who were severely handled by the enemy, protected, themselves, by the hedge, he threw his whole army into disorder, and the Swiss, profiting by the occasion, rushed forward and completed their confusion. From sixteen to eighteen thousand of the Burgundians were left dead on the field; and amongst them were the count of Marle, one of the sons of the late constable de Saint Paul; James du Mas; Grinberghe, Rosambois, Mailli and Bournonville, all brave and experienced officers.

Charles was now afraid that Lewis, his inveterate and most dangerous enemy, would avail himself of the present conjuncture to break the truce and attack his dominions; he therefore sent the lord of Contai to sound his intentions, and to inspire him, if possible, with sentiments of justice and generosity†. Lewis promised to observe the truce, from a conviction, that he could not more effectually achieve the destruction of the duke, than by abandoning him to his own unbridled passions, and by leaving him to pursue the war against the Swiss, which he still persevered in with incredible obstinacy; but he attacked him in a manner

* Commynes—Meyer—Chron. Scand.—Haræus Annal. Brab.

† Commynes—Le Grand.

less honourable, and more insidious, by endeavouring to corrupt his best officers. The count of Campobasso, a native of Naples, and exiled from his country as a partisan of the house of Anjou, held the principal place in the favour of Charles; and Lewis, being informed that this man had some cause for complaint against the duke, endeavoured to seduce him from his service. Campobasso offered more than was required of him; he promised to deliver up his master to the king, alive or dead. Lewis, either from abhorrence of his treachery which dissolved all ties between a prince and his servant, or from a belief that the plan had been concerted with the duke himself, revealed the design to Charles. But the character of Lewis induced the duke to despise the intelligence: "If it were true, the king would never impart to me so important a secret," was the reply of Charles; who even redoubled his marks of confidence and attachment to the perfidious Neapoliton.

The duke of Burgundy, overwhelmed with shame and indignation, passed his melancholy hours at La Riviere; abandoning himself to despair, he suffered his beard and nails to grow, refused to change his dress, and secluded himself from the sight of his most confidential ministers. His extreme anxiety occasioned an affection of the heart, which prevented the free circulation of the blood, and resisted the efforts of medical skill. The duke of Lorraine, secretly assisted by Lewis, took this opportunity to recover his native dominions; and the rapid progress of his arms, with the reduction of Nancy, roused Charles from his lethargy, and made him hasten to the relief of that province. He determined to invest the capital; but, as the winter was far advanced, his most experienced officers advised him to station his troops in some of the neighbouring towns, and to wait patiently till the garrison of Nancy should have consumed all their provisions, when they would be obliged to surrender at discretion. But these tardy measures by no means accorded with the eager impatience of Charles, who listened only to the dictates of indignation; so that, notwithstanding the inclemency of the season, and the general discontent of his troops, he gave orders to open the trenches. He then shut himself up in his tent, and left Campobasso to direct the operations of the siege. This Italian traitor, who, it was believed had once suffered from the ungovernable rage of Charles the indignity of a blow, determined, at all events, to betray the duke; having failed in the application to Lewis, he now offered his services to the duke of Lorraine, to whom he promised to give sufficient time to collect his troops, and even to deliver, for a stipulated reward, his master to him, alive or dead.

The money which Rene had received from Lewis had enabled him to raise an army of eight thousand Swiss, which was joined by considerable reinforcements from the confederate cities of Germany, and by several detachments of French troops, who, by the orders of Lewis demanded to serve as volunteers, so that he soon found himself at the head of eighteen or twenty thousand men. The Burgundian army, on the contrary, was so weakened by the losses they had sustained during the siege, by sickness and desertion, that when it was reviewed

by the count of Chimai, it was found to contain only three thousand effective men. When the count informed Charles of this circumstance, who was wholly ignorant of the state of his camp, that prince burst into a transport of rage, and exclaimed—"Were I alone, I would fight the enemy!"—At length, however, the duke opened his eyes to the danger of his situation, when he immediately dispatched orders to the governors of his provinces, to send him a reinforcement of troops, and to arm all his vassals without delay; but before these orders could even be received by those to whom they were addressed, the enemy appeared in fight. On their approach, the count of Campobasso quitted the Burgundian army with his company, which consisted of two hundred lances, and went over to the duke of Lorraine; the next day his example was followed by two other Italian captains. The Germans and Swiss detesting this perfidy, and thinking it a disgrace to hold any commerce with such traitors, refused to admit them into their ranks, and compelled Rene to dismiss them. Campobasso and his treacherous companions, being obliged to leave the camp, took their post on the bridge of Bouxieraes, in order to cut off the retreat of such of the Burgundians as should escape the sword of the enemy.

A. D. 1477] Charles, whose army was now reduced to little more than two thousand men, called a council of war, the members whereof were unanimous in their opinion on the necessity of raising the siege, and avoiding an action; they advised Charles, if he were averse to the evacuation of the province, to intrench himself under the walls of Pont-a-Mousson, and there wait for the reinforcements which must soon arrive from Hainaut, Brabant, and the duchy of Luxembourg; and they represented to him, that all delays must necessarily turn to his advantage, since his army would daily acquire an accession of strength; whereas that of the enemy, being chiefly composed of mercenary troops, would soon disperse from want of pay and subsistence.

The duke of Burgundy, who appears, at this period, to have acted under the influence of infatuation, paid no attention to advice, which nothing but the most fatal presumption, or insanity itself, could have rejected. He reminded his officers of the glory they had acquired by their former achievements, and bade them recollect the ever-memorable siege of Nuiz, when, with an army inferior, in the proportion of one to three, he had braved the undivided forces of the empire. "If we have since," pursued Charles, "sustained some losses, they have not afforded any opportunity of triumph to the enemy, who have hitherto kept themselves enclosed in inaccessible places, not daring to face us in the open field; shall we now then, when the opportunity for which we have been so long anxious occurs, hesitate one moment to attack them?—In short, to whatever situation fortune may reduce me, it shall never be said that I fled before a *child*."—Alluding to the duke of Lorraine.

On the morning of the fifth of January, Charles left his lines and advanced towards the enemy; the rival armies soon met, and though the cold was excessive, and the snow fell in great abundance, the action immediately commenced. The

event was such as might naturally be expected from the extreme disproportion of numbers; Charles after fulfilling all the duties of a great general, and a brave soldier, was at length attacked by Charles de Beaumont, seneschal of Saint Die; having already received several wounds, and now finding himself faint with loss of blood, he called out to his adversary, who did not know with whom he was engaged—" *Save the duke of Burgundy;*"—but Beaumont, who was deaf, thinking he said " *Long live Burgundy,*" aimed a furious blow at his head, which felled him lifeless to the ground. Besides the duke of Burgundy himself, there perished in this action, his virtuous kinsman, De Bievres; Contai, distinguished for his inviolable attachment to his sovereign; and the lords of Croi and Vieuville. The principal prisoners were Anthony and Baldwin, bastards of Burgundy; the counts of Nassau, Rhétel and Chimai; Joffe de Lalain; the Marquis of Rothelin; young Montaigue; Oliver de la Marche, and the brave Galliot*.

Immediately after the action, the duke of Lorraine entered his capital, amidst the acclamations of his subjects. It was not known what had become of the duke of Burgundy, as he was not among the prisoners, and no one knew that he was killed; it was generally believed that he had fled. But the next day his death was ascertained by a page, who had been taken by Campobasso on the bridge of Bouxieres, and who had seen him fall. Being conducted to the spot, the body was found covered with blood and dirt, and the face so disfigured, that his own brother only knew him by some private marks; by a scar in the neck, from a wound which he had received at the battle of Montlheri, and by the extreme length of his nails, which had not been cut since the period of his first defeat. While the body laid in state at Nancy, the duke of Lorraine, who went to view it, took the lifeless hand of his departed kinsman, and bursting into tears, exclaimed—" *Fair cousin, God rest your soul, you was the cause of great uneasiness, and of great grief to us.*" Charles was interred, with all the honours due to his rank, in the chapel of Saint Nicholas, whence his remains were transferred, in 1550, to the church of Saint Donatus, at Bruges. Thus perished, in the forty-fifth year of his age, Charles, the last duke of the royal branch of Burgundy, to whose name the just appellations of—" *the Bold, the Terrible, and the Rash*"—had been annexed by his people. The death of this prince forms an epoch in the general history of Europe; since it produced an important change not only in the affairs of his own dominions, but even in those of all the neighbouring princes; and greatly contributed to the formation of a political system, which, in subsequent times, became an object of universal attention.

The king was at the castle of Plessis-les-Tours, when he received the news of the duke of Burgundy's death: the fall of an enemy affords, to a base and abject mind, a theme for exultation, and a subject for triumph; such a mind was that of Lewis, who was neither anxious to repress, nor careful to conceal

the sensations of joy which he experienced on this occasion. He immediately dispatched couriers to all the different towns in the kingdom, to all the persons of distinction, and particularly to the duke of Brittany, to inform them of the *happy* event. He performed a pilgrimage to the shrine of the Virgin, at Pui in Anjou, and, as a mark of his gratitude, promised to surround the tomb of Saint Martin with a silver balustrade.

The death of Charles opened a wide and flattering prospect to the ambition of Lewis. His daughter, Mary, sole heiress of the house of Burgundy, had been successively promised by her father to several different princes, according as their alliances were favourable to the ambitious projects he entertained. This rendered the union with her an important object to all the potentates of Christendom; and the essential advantages of acquiring possession of her territories, at that time the most opulent and best cultivated of any on this side the Alps, were perfectly understood. As soon, then, as the untimely death of Charles opened the succession, the eyes of all the European princes were turned towards Mary; and they felt themselves deeply interested in the choice which she was about to make of the person on whom she would bestow that rich inheritance.

Lewis, from whose kingdom several of the provinces which she possessed had been dismembered, and whose dominions stretched along the frontier of her territories, had every inducement to court her alliance. He had likewise a good title to expect the favourable reception of any reasonable propositions he should make with respect to the disposal of a princess who was the vassal of his crown, and descended from the royal blood of France. There were only two propositions, however, which he could make with propriety: the one was the marriage of the dauphin, the other, that of the count of Angoulême, a prince of the blood, descended from a younger branch of the house of Orleans, with the heiress of Burgundy. By the former he would have annexed all her territories to the crown, and have rendered France the most respectable monarchy in Europe; but the great disparity of age between the two parties, Mary being twenty, and the dauphin only eight years old; the avowed resolution of the Flemings, not to chuse a master possessed of such power as might enable him to form projects dangerous to their liberties, together with their dread of falling under the odious and oppressive government of Lewis, were obstacles in the way of executing this plan, which it was vain to think of surmounting. By the latter, which might have been accomplished with facility, Mary having discovered some inclination to a match with the count of Angoulême, Lewis would have prevented the dominions of the house of Burgundy from being conveyed to a rival power; and, in return for such a splendid establishment for the count of Angoulême, he must have obtained, or would have extorted from him, concessions highly beneficial to the crown of France. But Lewis had so long been accustomed to the intricacies of

an insidious policy, that he could not be satisfied with what was obvious, and simple; and was so fond of artifice and refinement, that he brought himself to consider these as his ultimate object, not as the means only of conducting affairs.* From this principle, no less than from his unwillingness to aggrandise any of his own subjects, or, perhaps, from the desire of oppressing the house of Burgundy, which he hated, he neglected the straight path, which would naturally have been pursued by a prince of less art and inferior abilities, and followed one more suited to his own genius.

He proposed to render himself, by force of arms, master of those provinces which Mary held of the crown of France, and even to push his conquests into her other territories, while he amused her with insisting on the impracticable match with the dauphin. Having previously corrupted the leading men in the provinces of Burgundy and Artois, he sent an army into the former, under the command of the prince of Orange, whom he had allured into his service by splendid promises; the lord of Craon, and Charles d'Amboise, lord of Chaumont. These generals were accompanied by the bishop of Langres; John de Caulers, William Allegrin, and Peter Tarquain, judges in the court of parliament; who were invested with full powers to take possession of the province in the king's name. These deputies addressed themselves to the states of Burgundy, who were then assembled at Dijon, and summoned them to acknowledge the authority of Lewis, within the space of twelve days at farthest.

The king maintained that his claim to the duchy of Burgundy was not to be disputed, since that duchy had been ceded, as an appanage, by king John to his son Phillip; and it was a law, generally received, that no appanage could be possessed by a female, but, in default of heirs male, must revert to the crown. To this plea it was objected by Mary, and her council, that the duchy of Burgundy was different from all other appanages, inasmuch as it never had constituted a part of the domain of the crown, and therefore it ought not to be annexed to it; they, moreover, urged, that should this objection with regard to the duchy be over-ruled, still there were several lordships in Burgundy, to which the king could have no possible claim; the county of Charolois had been purchased of the count of Armagnac by one of Mary's ancestors; the counties of Maçon and Auxerre, too, had been ceded to her grandfather, Philip the Good, by the treaty of Arras, and it was expressly stipulated in the deed of cession, that it was to descend to his heirs, male and female; of this part of her inheritance, therefore, there could be no possible pretension for despoiling her: these reasons, however, were deemed insufficient by the states, who had been bribed by Lewis to betray their sovereign, and, on the twenty-ninth of January, the whole province took the oaths of allegiance to the king of France.

During these proceedings in Burgundy, another army had advanced to the frontiers of Picardy, secured the towns on the Somme, and pushed its conquests into the province of Artois. Abbeville, Arras, Ham, Rohain, Saint Quentin,

Montdidier, Montrueil, and Peronne, were either surrendered to Lewis through the treachery of their governors, or else opened their gates in consequence of his intrigues with the inhabitants.

In pursuance of the plan which he had adopted for deceiving the heiress of Burgundy, by protestations of friendship and proposals of marriage, while he was employed in despoiling her of her provinces; he sent one Oliver, who from his barber had become his chief favourite, in the capacity of an ambassador to Ghent*. This man had orders to seduce the inhabitants of Ghent from their duty to Mary, and, if possible, to excite an insurrection; but his design being discovered, the populace threatened to throw him into the river, so that he was obliged to decamp with precipitation.

Soon after this event, Hugonet, chancellor of Burgundy; Cuy de Brimieu, lord of Imbercourt; the bishop of Térouanne; the count of Grandpré, and Gruthuse, arrived at the French court, as ambassadors from Mary. They came to inform the king, that the young princess had taken the reins of government into her own hands, and had appointed a council, consisting of the duchess-dowager, the lord of Ravestein, Hugonet, and Imbercourt; she, therefore, requested his majesty to address himself to them whenever he had any proposals to make, or affairs to negotiate with her, and to give no credit to applications from any other quarter. The letter, containing this information and this request, was written partly by Mary herself, partly by the duchess-dowager, and partly by the lord of Ravestein†. The king, after he had read the letter, asked the ambassadors, What else they had to communicate? and on their reply that they had nothing farther to impart, he expressed his surprise, declaring it was his intention to marry the dauphin to their young mistress, and, consequently, to take charge of her dominions; that he expected to govern all those provinces which were to revert to the crown, in his own name, but that the others he should only keep till the princess came of age and did homage to him. The ambassadors making no reply, the king added, that the only means of preventing the continuance of a bloody war, and of securing the inheritance of Mary, was by accepting the proposals he had just made. The ambassadors persisted in affirming that they had no instructions on that head; but Hugonet and Imbercourt, who had the chief management of public affairs, thought it prudent to yield to the necessity of the times. They saw the king at the head of a numerous army, possessed of greater power than all his enemies united, and he no sooner appeared than all the towns opened their gates to him: whereas the duchess of Burgundy was wholly destitute of support; she enjoyed, as yet, but a precarious authority; her country was drained both of men and money; while the towns refused to obey her, and insisted on the restoration of their ancient privileges. In this situation, they conceived that a marriage with the dauphin would be the most fortunate event that could occur for their sovereign; and as they had no doubt of the king's sincerity,

* Commines—Meyer—Le Graud.

† Commines—Chron. Scand.—Le Grand—Heuterus rerum Belgicarum.

they promised to accelerate the conclusion of the business as much as possible; and, for this purpose, they consented to surrender the province of Artois into the hands of Lewis, on condition that it should be restored to Mary, after she had done homage, unless she should marry any of the king's enemies, in which case the province was to be annexed to the crown of France.

Although Hugonet and Imbercourt had exceeded their power in signing this treaty, yet their conduct had certainly been swayed by the best of motives. Soon after their return to Flanders, Mary, whose only resource consisted in the attachment of her subjects, assembled the states at Ghent, who promised to protect her, but fixed the diminution of her power as the price of their protection. They created a council of regency, who seized the reins of government, and sent ambassadors to the king, to request he would observe the treaty of Soleure, and protect the heiress of Burgundy, as, by that treaty, he was bound to do. Lewis received them with extreme coolness; and when they observed, that it was the intention of the duchess to regulate her conduct, in future, by the advice of the states; the king interrupted them—"Stop"—said he—"you are deceived; I know the intentions of your mistress better than you do; and, so far from submitting to be guided by the advice of the three estates, she has already formed a secret council, composed of persons who are averse from peace, and who will disavow you." The ambassadors thinking themselves insulted, affirmed that they had advanced nothing but what they were able to prove, and offered to shew their instructions: "And I"—replied Lewis—"can shew you a letter, the writing of which you must know, and which will convince you that Mary has reposed her confidence in four persons, by whose advice alone her conduct is regulated."—He then not only shewed them the letter, but allowed them to take it away with them. The ambassadors immediately returned to Ghent, and shewed the letter to the states of Flanders, who reproached their sovereign with duplicity; excited a popular insurrection; and, having seized Hugonet and Imbercourt, brought them immediately to trial, tortured them with extreme cruelty, and, unmoved by the tears and entreaties of Mary, beheaded them in her presence.*

Lewis, who probably had only meant, by his treacherous conduct, to excite an insurrection in Flanders, was extremely enraged when he heard of the death of the two ministers; he declared the inhabitants of Ghent guilty of high treason; annulled the sentence they had pronounced against Hugonet and Imbercourt, and took the children of the former under his protection. His indignation was greatly increased by the consideration that their death disconcerted the measures he had adopted with regard to the province of Artois†. To counteract the efforts of this event, he immediately raised a powerful army, and, after leaving a strong garrison in Arras, advanced against Hesdin. In the course of this expedition, Lewis displayed the cruelty of his disposition; twelve deputies from Arras he caused to be seized and executed, after he had received them with kindness, and regaled them

* Phil. de Commines.

† Idem.—Cabinet Satirique.—Heuter. rer. Belg.—Le Grand.

with apparent hospitality; he violated the faith of treaties, and after a town had capitulated, he would frequently select such as he knew to be most attached to their lawful sovereign, and put them to death, in cool blood. Yet still his progress was rapid; the important city of Cambrai opened her gates to him, while the address of his favourite, Oliver, procured him possession of Tournay. At the siege of Bouchain, death had nearly put a stop to all his ambitious schemes, for Tanneguy du Chatel was killed by a cannon ball as the king was leaning on his shoulder. Bouchain, however, was reduced to the necessity of capitulating; and le Quesnoi was taken by assault. Avesne, making an obstinate resistance, Lewis, who was ever more formidable from his stratagems than his arms, invited the principal officers of the garrison to his camp, under pretence of holding a conference, while Dammartin stormed the town, and resigned it to pillage*.

Another army, under the command of Desquerdes and du Lude, laid siege to Saint Omer, which was valiantly defended by Philip, son to Anthony, bastard of Burgundy. Lewis, enraged at the gallant resistance made by this youthful warrior, threatened to massacre his father, before his eyes, unless he surrendered the place; but Philip replied—That, tenderly as he loved his father, he would still do his duty, nor ever consent to deliver up a town with the defence whereof he had been entrusted. The king did not think proper to put his threats in execution; but the war continued to rage with greater violence than ever; he sent four thousand mowers to Dammartin, advising him to treat them with a few barrels of wine, in order to encourage them to destroy every thing that came in their way, and he desired that the country might be so effectually destroyed, that the inhabitants might never wish to return to it†.

So long as the war was confined to the provinces of Burgundy, Luxembourg, Hainaut, and Artois, the Flemings were rather pleased than displeased at the success of the French arms; they kept their princes in a kind of captivity, and as they did not like to see their sovereigns possessed of too much power, they would not have been sorry to see her reduced to the rank of countess of Flanders. But when the French approached their frontiers, and the garrison of Tournay spread devastation throughout their country, they then perceived the necessity of defending themselves from the attacks of such dangerous invaders, and accordingly levied an army of twenty thousand men. At a loss for a leader, they fixed their eyes on Adolphus of Gueldres, who, by his unnatural conduct, had obliged his father to disinherit him. They took him from prison to place him at the head of their troops; and encouraged him by a promise to give him their princes in marriage, if he succeeded in delivering their country from the destructive incursions of the garrison of Tournay. Stimulated by such powerful motives, Adolphus directed his march to that city; but a dispute arising between the militia of Ghent and that of Bruges, his army was thrown into confusion, and the garrison of

*. Commynes—Heuterus—Chron. Scand.—Le Grand.

† Garnier, tom. xviii. p. 306.

Tournay seized this opportunity to make a vigorous sally, in which the Flemings were defeated, and Adolphus lost his life.

While Lewis was thus endeavouring, by a conduct the most base and perfidious, to dispossess the heiress of Burgundy of her lawful inheritance, the states of Flanders had opened a negotiation with the emperor, Frederick the Third; and they now concluded a treaty of marriage—which Lewis in vain attempted to prevent—between their sovereign, and his son, Maximilian, archduke of Austria. The illustrious birth of that prince, as well as the high dignity to which he had the prospect of succeeding, rendered the alliance honorable for Mary; while, from the distance of his hereditary territories, and the scantiness of his revenues, his power was too inconsiderable to excite the jealousy or fear of the Flemings. Thus Lewis, by the caprice of his temper, and the excess of his refinements, put the house of Austria in possession of that noble inheritance; and lost an opportunity which he never could recal, of making that important acquisition, which would have rendered him the most formidable potentate in Christendom. Thus, too, the same monarch who first united the interior force of France, and established it on such a footing, as to make it formidable to the rest of Europe, contributed, far contrary to his intention, to raise up a rival power, which, during two centuries, thwarted the measures, opposed the arms, and checked the progress of his successors.

During the celebration of these important nuptials, the French troops spread over the Netherlands, reduced to ashes the towns of Orchies, Turquoine, Fresnes les Busseaux, Saint-Sauveur, Marchiennes, and Harbec. In Burgundy, too, the flames of war raged with equal fury; John, prince of Orange, whom Lewis had allured to his service by a promise to make him his lieutenant-general in Burgundy, and to restore his family possessions, finding himself deceived by that monarch, who refused to fulfil his promises, excited a revolution in the duchy, and procured from Mary the dignity which had been withholden from him by Lewis. Two Burgundian captains, Claude and William de Vaudrai, collected a body of troops, and seized the towns of Vesoul, Rochefort and Axonne. Craon, whom Lewis had appointed governor of Burgundy, with unlimited power, attempted to retake Vesoul, but the garrison made a sally during the night, and cut his whole army to pieces. When the king was informed of this revolution, he was unable to restrain his anger; he wrote immediately to Craon, ordering him, in case he could get the prince of Orange into his power, *either to burn him alive, or else to hang him first, and then commit his body to the flames.* He ordered a criminal process to be instituted against the prince, who, though absent, was pronounced a traitor, and as such condemned to die. The prince, however, continued his operations, and, in a short time, expelled the French from all the places they possessed in the county of Burgundy, except the town of Grai, of which an old warrior, of the name of Salazar, was governor. This place was invested by Chateau-Guyon, who had a numerous body of cavalry, and some regiments of infantry under his command, and daily expected to be joined by

fresh reinforcements. Craon, however, prevented the junction of these troops, by defeating the army under Chateau-Guyon, whom he made prisoner; but, while he was obtaining this advantage in the county of Burgundy, Toulonjon and Marigni entered the duchy, reduced several towns, and excited a general ferment. The towns, however, were soon retaken by Craon, who, having expelled Toulonjon and Marigni from the duchy, returned to the county, and defeated a detachment of the garrison of Dale. Not doubting but that the inhabitants, alarmed at this disaster, would soon surrender the place, he laid siege to it, and, after he had battered the walls for a week, he ordered an assault to be made, without considering whether the breach was practicable; in consequence of this neglect, he was repulsed with loss; in the second assault he was equally unsuccessful, and in the two he lost a thousand men. Having received intelligence that the enemy were advancing to give him battle, he raised the siege with precipitation, and retreated towards the duchy, but he was overtaken by the two brothers, de Vaudrai, who attacked the French, and obtained a complete victory. The victors then formed the siege of Grai, but as they could not expect to reduce, by open force, a place so strongly fortified, so advantageously situated, so well supplied with provisions and ammunition of all kinds, and defended, moreover, by such an experienced officer as Salazar, they began by corrupting the inhabitants, and having established a correspondence in the town, they approached the walls one windy night, and, planting their ladders, about sixty of the most determined mounted the wall, and opening one of the gates, introduced their companions. The whole army entered the town, before the French could assemble their troops; Salazar, perceiving that the citizens had joined the enemy, set fire to the place, in the hope that his men would effect their escape, during the confusion which the conflagration must necessarily occasion; but they all of them perished; and it was with the utmost difficulty that he could save his own life, and reach Dijon in safety.

These losses made the king determine to attend to the proposals of Maximilian; although there was no prospect of concluding a peace, Lewis thought a truce might be of use to him, as it would give him time to repair the losses he had sustained in Burgundy; to ascertain with greater precision the resources of his new adversary; and to sound the dispositions of the neighbouring powers.

Maximilian, almost immediately after the celebration of his nuptials, had sent ambassadors to the king to complain of his violation of the treaty of Soleure, in attacking the dominions of the house of Burgundy; at the same time, he offered to make peace with Lewis, and declared that if his proposal should be rejected, the king would find that he neither wanted courage nor ability to defend himself. Lewis replied, that he had only taken up arms to defend the rights of his crown, as he was bound to do by his coronation oath; that Mary kept from him provinces which had reverted to the crown on the death of Charles, the late duke of Burgundy; that she was in possession of others, for which she ought to pay homage; and that he was willing to conclude a truce, provided the sacrifice

of his lawful rights should not be required as the price of it. He accordingly appointed plenipotentiaries to confer with those of Maximilian; and these ministers having met at Lens, concluded a truce, without expressing any term for its duration, and stipulating that only four days notice should be given by either party who should be inclined to break it. This truce was strictly observed in the Netherlands, but it was not published in Burgundy. Lewis, incessantly harrassed by complaints from that province against Craon, and imputing to the avarice of that general all the calamities of the war, deprived him of his government, and banished him to his own estate. He was succeeded by Charles D'Amboise, better known by the name of Chaumont, who, to great military talents, joined the more amiable endowments of an humane, disinterested, and virtuous mind.

The ardour with which Lewis had engaged in the war, had not made him lose sight of other matters equally essential to the promotion of his ambitious projects. Foreseeing that the authority of Maximilian would no sooner be acknowledged in the Netherlands, than that prince would endeavour to secure the English monarch in his interest, he prudently resolved to anticipate him. With this view he sent the archbishop of Vienne, and three other envoys to England; and he took care to embark with them a considerable sum of money, as well for discharging arrears of Edward's pension, as those of his ministers and favourites. These golden arguments proved so convincing, that the archbishop found no difficulty in prolonging the truce, which was originally concluded for only seven years, but which it was now agreed to continue during the life of the two kings, and for one year after*. Lewis also concluded treaties of alliance with the duke of Lorraine, and the republic of Venice.

Spain was now the only power from whom the king had any reason to apprehend an attack; and in order to remove these apprehensions, and to be at liberty to direct his whole force against the house of Burgundy, he resolved to acknowledge Ferdinand and Isabella as the sovereigns of Castile, on which condition he obtained the prolongation of a truce which he had before concluded with those princes†. Adolphus, king of Portugal, who had always flattered himself that Lewis would enable him to enforce the pretensions of his niece Jane to the throne of Castile, and who had been some time at the court of France, soliciting the necessary assistance for that purpose, was no sooner apprised of this treaty, than he gave up his cause for lost, and even began to entertain apprehensions for his personal safety, which the coolness he experienced at the French court was but too well calculated to confirm. Impressed with these ideas, and having no other mode of returning to Portugal but by a French vessel, he gave it out that he intended to retire from the world, and to consecrate the remainder of his days to prayer and penitence. He wrote to his son, prince Juan, bidding him an eternal adieu, and ordering him to proceed to his own coronation without a moment's delay; and after he had sent

* Courainnes—Dom Calmet—Ferreras—Le Grand.

† Ferreras, Hist. D'Espagne—Le Grand.

off the letter, he left the court, and retired to some private place. It was reported that he had undertaken a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, but he was sought for with such care, that his residence was discovered in a village near Honfleur. Lewis, having received intelligence from his spies, that Ferdinand and Isabella were actually engaged in a negociation with Maximilian, became anxious to oppose the extension of their power, by means of a rival, who, though frequently defeated, was still formidable; he, therefore, pressed Alphonso to return to his dominions, and made the province of Normandy defray the expence of his voyage. On the return of Alphonso, his son resigned, with chearful alacrity, the sceptre he had so lately assumed; nor could the reiterated commands of his father suffice to make him replace the diadem on his brows.

The sanguinary disposition of Lewis encreased with his years; he had nourished an incessant desire of vengeance against James d'Armagnac, duke of Nemours, one of the first nobles of the realm, and who appeared a zealous confederate in the "*League for the public good*:" he was also accused of having maintained a correspondence with the late constable, and of having joined the dukes of Brittany and Burgundy in inviting the English into France. The duke, to avoid the resentment of his implacable master, had retired to the fortress of Carlat, in the mountains of Auvergne; whither the lord of Beaujeu was sent with a powerful army. The duchess of Nemours, daughter to the count of Maine, and cousin-german to the king, had just lain-in; and a false report, that her husband had fallen into the hands of the enemy, having reached her ears, occasioned her almost instant death. The duke, distracted at the loss of a consort whom he highly cherished, gave himself up to despair; and though Carlat was deemed an impregnable fortress, and he had been careful to supply it with sufficient provisions for a considerable length of time, he entered into a negociation with the lord of Beaujeu, and resigned himself into his power, on the most solemn assurances that his life should be safe, and that he should be allowed the privilege of justifying his conduct. But Lewis, who disregarded all those ties which even men of common honesty respect, caused his noble prisoner, in violation of this solemn contract, to be thrown into a cold damp dungeon, at the castle of Pierre-encise, where, we are told, the hardships he sustained made his hair turn perfectly white*; he was then conveyed to the Bastile, and some vague accusation of an attempt to corrupt his guards were used as a pretence for confining him in an iron cage. Commissioners were appointed to try him, but the king, displeased with their disposition to lenity, referred the decision of the cause to the parliament of Paris, to whom the commissioners were afterwards joined, with some other judges of the provincial courts. Three members of the parliament, having spoken in favour of the prisoner, were immediately deprived of their places by the king's arbitrary will; and when the parliament remonstrated on the illegality

. Garnier, tom. xviii. p. 330.

of this proceeding, they were severely reprimanded by the tyrant. Not even the shadow of a proof was produced against the duke: but he was unhappily allured, by the hopes of mercy, to make an ample confession, on which alone his condemnation was pronounced. Being declared guilty of high-treason, he was sentenced to lose his head, and his property was confiscated to the crown. The king's inhumanity extended beyond the sentence; by a refinement of cruelty, unprecedented in the annals of tyranny, he commanded the duke's two sons—the eldest of whom had but just completed his ninth year—to be placed immediately under the scaffold prepared for the execution, that the blood of the father might drop on the heads of his children*. It is degrading to human nature to find men capable of executing commands so truly diabolical!

The insufficiency of the proofs which had been adduced against the duke of Nemours led the king, immediately after his execution, to publish an edict, by which all persons who should be privy to any plot formed against the person of the king, the queen, or the dauphin, and who should not deliver up the author of such plot to justice, were declared guilty of high-treason, and subjected to the punishment annexed to that crime.

A. D. 1478, to 1480] Soon after the publication of this edict, the king annexed the county of Boulogne to the crown; but a difficulty occurred on the occasion: this territory was a fief subject to the county of Artois, and as the king was not in possession of the whole of that province, and might, possibly, on the conclusion of a peace, be compelled to restore the towns he had taken to the house of Burgundy, Artois being a part of Mary's inheritance, which could not be disputed on the same ground as the duchy of Burgundy, he would, in that case, become a vassal to one of his own vassals. To obviate this objection, Lewis, in virtue of his royal authority, transferred the sovereignty of the county he had just annexed to the crown, to *the Image of the Virgin*, which was holden in great estimation at Boulogne; to this image he presented a golden heart, in weight equal to thirteen marks, as a feudal tribute, and bound his successors to do homage to the image, and to pay the same tribute on their accession to the throne†.

Of all the alliances which Lewis had been studious to form, the most advantageous was that which he concluded with the Swiss; exclusive of a pension of twenty thousand livres which he consented to pay them, he destined an equal sum to be distributed annually among the principal men of the nation, by which well-timed liberality he acquired such credit with the Swiss, that they not only engaged to make no opposition to the conquest of Franche-Comté, but even to assist him in reducing it; and they likewise conferred on him the title of First Ally of the cantons.

While the king was thus anxious to secure the friendship and assistance of the neighbouring powers, he spared neither pains nor expence, to allure to his service

such of the Burgundian nobility as still remained attached to Mary and Maximilian. With this view he ceded to Anthony, Bastard of Burgundy, the county of Ostrevant, the hundred of Bapaume, and the lordship of Bouchain; and he was equally generous to all the traitors whom he had already detached from the service of their lawful sovereign. But while he was thus liberal in his gifts, he took care to oppress his people, by an almost annual increase of imposts. He this year claimed from the states of Languedoc, an additional contribution of two hundred and sixty thousand four hundred and twenty-four livres, which sum, he said, was absolutely necessary to enable him to unite to the crown the provinces of Burgundy, Artois and Flanders, which were *unjustly* withheld from him.

Conscious, however, of the invalidity of his claims to the two last provinces, he had recourse to the most curious expedient for procuring a title. He caused a criminal process to be instituted against the late duke of Burgundy, for felony and treason, in order to obtain a sentence of condemnation against him, which would be attended with a confiscation of all the territories which he had holden of the crown of France. The preparations for this trial of a dead vassal alarmed Mary and Maximilian, who claimed the assistance of the empire; and Frederic accordingly sent a remonstrance to Lewis on the injustice of his conduct, but it was not by arguments that he was to be deterred from the pursuit of his ambitious projects.

The king opened the campaign by the siege of Conde, a small town, but important from situation, as it lay between Tournay and Valenciennes: as the garrison only consisted of three hundred men, it was soon obliged to surrender. Immediately after its reduction, Maximilian, having assembled the militia of Flanders, and the auxiliary troops which he had received from the emperor, advanced as far as Valenciennes with the view to bring the king to a decisive action. But Lewis, unwilling to risk, on the event of a battle, those solid advantages which he had derived from his dishonest policy, distributed his forces in the fortified towns, and retired to Cambrai. He soon after concluded a truce with Maximilian, by which he consented to restore all the places he had taken in Hainaut and Franche-Comté; to withdraw his troops from Tournay, and to evacuate the town of Cambrai.

The public, who were unacquainted with the king's motive for signing such a treaty, at a time when he was rather in a situation to prescribe terms than to make concessions, loudly censured his conduct. But Lewis, alike heedless of the censures and complaints of his people, continued to pursue his own system of policy. The considerations by which he had been influenced in the conclusion of the late truce, were these: he had received information that Maximilian, profiting by the opportunity afforded him by a meeting of the imperial diet, had represented, in strong terms, the consequences of the king's attempts on provinces which were not holden of the crown of France, and had acquired a great number of partisans; that the emperor Frederic having terminated all his disputes with

the king of Hungary, that monarch had engaged to send him a supply of the empire against the Swiss, if they continued to furnish France with troops; and, lastly, that a league was forming against France, into which not only the princes of the empire, but the Venetians, the kings of Arragon and Castile, had promised to enter. He therefore prudently resolved to disarm these princes by an appearance of moderation, and by a voluntary cession of places which, sooner or later, he must have been compelled to surrender, since he could have no possible pretensions for retaining them. This shew of justice and equity, by effecting a dissolution of the German league, ruined the hopes of Maximilian, and reduced him to the forces of his own territories. The motive which superinduced the evacuation of Tournay was equally politic: the garrison of that town, by incommoding the Flemings, obliged them, in their own defence, to preserve their allegiance to Maximilian; the king therefore imagined, that so soon as the danger should be removed to a greater distance, and they should have nothing to fear for themselves, their spirit of sedition would return, and far from seconding the efforts of their prince, they would encrease his embarrassment, and rejoice in his disgrace. The event justified his opinion.

The latter years of the reign of Lewis were passed in alternate hostilities and negociations, the former marked by no event of importance, the latter distinguished only for a spirit of treachery and deceit, that was visible in every transaction in which that infamous monarch had any concern. His interference in the affairs of Italy forms a single exception to the general remark. The wealth of the family of Medici, acquired by trade, and the magnificent spirit of the first Cosmo, gave him such an ascendancy over his countrymen, that though the forms of a popular government were preserved, he was in reality the head of the commonwealth.—A considerable degree of his power he transmitted to his descendants; his grandsons, Laurence and Julian, having rendered themselves obnoxious to pope Sixtus the Fourth, that pontiff did not scruple to engage some envious citizens of Florence in a conspiracy against their lives. The church was fixed on as the scene of action; Julian perished by the daggers of the assassins, but Laurence was preserved amidst the tumult by the zeal and fidelity of his friends. At the same moment the troops of Sixtus entered the territories of Florence, and extended their devastations to the gates of the city. The house of Medici, unequal to the contest, implored the protection of the king of France. Lewis, though the slave of superstition the most abject, asserted, on this occasion, the pretensions of Laurence against the sovereign pontiff; and the court of Rome, after an ineffectual display of those arts for which she was celebrated, was compelled to recall her censures, and yield to the powerful mediation of the king of France.

The sovereignty of Genoa, which had been formerly ceded by France to the duke of Milan, was now again offered to the acceptance of Lewis, who wisely refused the dangerous honour: to the ambassadors who were sent to make him the offer, he returned this laconic answer—“*The Genoese give themselves to me, and I give them to the devil!*”

The king's turbulent and suspicious spirit would never suffer him to be at ease so long as there was a prince or nobleman in his dominions, possessed of sufficient power and authority to enforce respect and to render himself formidable. Though the duke of Brittany had observed a perfect neutrality during the late hostilities, Lewis seized some of his towns, and, in order to intimidate the duke into a compliance with whatever demands he might chuse to prefer, he purchased, of the remaining heirs, all the rights of the house of Ponthievre to the duchy of Brittany*. He also suborned a man of infamous character, whose name was Doyac, to stand forward as the accuser of the duke of Bourbon; and the parliament of Paris displayed a willingness to favour the nefarious projects of their sovereign. But the popularity of the duke of Bourbon secured him from the wicked attempt; while the perjury of Doyac, which ought to have incurred the severest punishment, was rewarded by Lewis with the government of Auvergne.

In 1479, Lewis made an attempt to complete the reduction of Franche-Comté. Chaumont d'Amboise, with a strong body of troops, after defeating the militia of the province, laid siege to the town of Dole; which, having been betrayed by the garrison, was immediately reduced to ashes, while the citizens were inhumanly massacred by the French. Most of the other towns, intimidated by this act of severity, opened their gates on the approach of the troops. In the Low Countries, however, the French were not equally successful. Virton, a strong town in the duchy of Luxembourg, was retaken by the mareschal of Burgundy; at the same time that Maximilian, with an army of twenty thousand men, laid siege to Terouanne. The mareschals Desquerdes and de Gié, were sent to oppose this formidable force; and at the village of Guinegate the hostile armies met. The German cavalry were broken by the impetuous charge of the French, who, inconsiderately, pursued them to a great distance, while the archers, thinking the day was won, hastened to seize the enemy's baggage; but the count de Romont, who commanded the Flemish infantry, immediately attacked them, and put them to flight, so that the cavalry, on their return from the pursuit, found the enemy in the possession of the field. Yet the slaughter appears to have been nearly equal on both sides. Lewis soon obtained a more decisive advantage, by the capture of fourscore vessels belonging to the Flemings, which were taken by admiral Coulon, and carried into the ports of Normandy.

Maximilian, weakened by the loss he had sustained at the battle of Guinegate, was obliged to raise the siege of Terouanne, and to confine his hostile operations to the reduction of the fortress of Malaunoi, the governor of which he caused to be hanged. Lewis, in revenge, ordered his grand provost to select fifty prisoners, of the highest rank, seven of whom were executed on the same spot where the governor had suffered; ten were hanged before the gates of Douai, ten before Lille, and as many before Arras. After these acts of barbarity, so congenial to the soul of Lewis, that monarch closed the campaign by reducing seventeen for-

* Histoire de Bretagne par Lobineau—Le Grand.

tified castles and villages, in the county of Guines, all of which he first plundered and then reduced to ashes.

A. D. 1481.] Lewis began to be tired of a war whence he could not hope to derive any farther advantage; and the means of retaining the conquests he had already made, now solely occupied his thoughts. But nature was oppressed by this continual and unwearied application to business; frequent fainting warned him to prepare for a future state; and at a village, near Chinon in Touraine, he was seized with a fit of apoplexy: he remained some time speechless and motionless, and though his voice and intellects returned, his health was considerably impaired.

But this attack, far from inspiring Lewis with sentiments adapted to his situation, only served to render him more suspicious, mistrustful, and despotic. When he felt the first symptoms of the disorder, he had moved towards the window of the apartment, but his attendants imagining the air would be prejudicial to him, seized him in their arms, and conveyed him to the fire side. This effect of their concern for his safety, was now construed into an act of presumption, that merited punishment; and the faithful attendants were accordingly dismissed from their places, and banished from court. The king, jealous of his authority, was apprehensive, lest his officers, by accustoming themselves to contradict him on points of indifference, should, by degrees, take upon themselves the principal management of affairs, under pretence that he was not in a condition to conduct them himself.

The death of Charles, count of Maine, the last prince of the second house of Anjou, who had lately succeeded to a part of the dominions of René, titular king of Sicily, added, at this juncture, the county of Provence to the crown; but while Lewis was employed in securing this new acquisition, a second stroke of an apoplexy again warned him of his approaching end. He revived, however, and performed a pilgrimage to Saint-Claude but though this journey was apparently undertaken from motives of religion, its real object was a matter of policy: viz. to restore tranquillity to the dominions of the house of Savoy, and to release the young duke from a state of domestic captivity. As soon as he had accomplished this object, and declared himself the protector of his infant nephew Charles, he returned, considerably exhausted by a journey, the length of which was ill proportioned to the weak state of his body.

A. D. 1482, 1483.] Though arrived at the last stage of life, when all schemes of ambition ought to have been totally expelled from his mind, the death of Mary of Burgundy, from a wound which she received from a fall from her horse in hunting, and which her modesty prevented her from disclosing even to her husband*, again directed his thoughts to the insidious machinations of a dishonest policy. He excited the inhabitants of Ghent, with whom he had long maintained a secret correspondence, to revolt, and urged them to profit by the present occasion for the full recovery of their ancient privileges. They so far listened to his

* Communes—Chron. Scand --Heuter. Rev. Belgic.

advice, as to take the two infant children of Mary from their father, and to send a deputation to Paris to sue for peace.

The deputies were received with the utmost magnificence, and though the capital was then exposed to the destructive ravages of pestilence and famine, false joy and artificial plenty were exhibited wherever they went. Soon after their departure, the king resolved to accomplish a project which he had formed for procuring the hand of Margaret of Austria, the infant daughter of Mary and Maximilian, for his son, the dauphin. The hatred of Maximilian, formed, indeed, a serious obstacle to his wishes, but an event soon occurred, by which he was enabled to surmount it.

The bishop of Liege had brought up in his family a young orphan of distinction, named William de la Mark, who, from the ferocity of his manners, had acquired the appellation of *The Wild Boar of Ardennes**. This youth, after committing various acts of violence, assassinated the bishop's chancellor, in his palace, and almost in sight of his master. The prelate, justly enraged, banished the culprit from the territory of Liege. Although the punishment was greatly inadequate to the crime, la Mark breathed nothing but vengeance, and repairing to the court of France, he offered his services to the king, engaged to promote, in his favour, an insurrection of the Liegeois, and to open an entrance for the French into Brabant. Lewis, who never refused protection to villainy, where his interest was concerned, received la Mark with distinction, conferred on him the title of his lieutenant and governor in the county of Liege, and gave him a company of one hundred lances, with a sum of thirty thousand livres, to enable him to levy recruits. After every thing was prepared for his departure, the king proclaimed a revocation of his gifts, and published an order for him to quit the kingdom. This was done for the purpose of more effectually deceiving the bishop of Liege; the project accordingly succeeded; la Mark approached Liege, corrupted the magistrates, seduced the troops, excited a revolt, and, to crown his infamy, assassinated his benefactor. He then entered the city of Liege in triumph, and persuaded the inhabitants to declare for France. The French troops had, during these transactions, entered Artois, and reduced, through the treachery of the governor, the strong town of Aire.

Alarmed at these losses, and having no army then ready to oppose the progress of the French, Maximilian was prevailed on to consent to the marriage of his daughter with the son of his unprincipled foe. By the treaty signed on this occasion, it was stipulated, that the young archduke, Philip, should, on assuming the reigns of government, do homage to the king for the county of Flanders.—That, should Philip die without posterity, his sister Margaret, wife to the dauphin, should succeed not only to Flanders, but to Hainaut, Brabant, Luxembourg, Holland, and the duchy of Gueldres; and if Margaret should not become wife to the dauphin, or should die without posterity, then the counties of Burgundy,

* Commynes—Le Grand.

Artois, Maçon, Auxerre, and Troyes, should revert to her brother Philip, who should do homage for the same; but, in that case, the towns of Lisle, Douai, and Orchies, should be restored to the king; and finally, that the king, immediately after the treaty should be signed, should restore his conquests in Luxembourg, and Hainaut; should recall all the French who were then in the country of Liege, and should engage to afford no farther assistance either to William de la Mark, or to the Liegeois. By the conclusion of this treaty, which was fully ratified by either party; and by the death of the king of England, which occurred about the same time, Lewis was freed from all his enemies, and had the satisfaction of seeing his dominions restored to a state of perfect tranquillity.

As the king found his health declining apace, he had, during these transactions, paid a visit to the dauphin, who was kept almost in a state of captivity, at the castle of Amboise, where—except the officers of the household—none were permitted to approach him but servants and persons of the meanest condition. Lewis was accompanied by several of the princes, and others of the nobility, in whose presence he thus addressed his son—“ My son, I know not what term the Supreme Being
“ has prescribed to the duration of my existence, but age and habitual infirmities
“ warn me it is time to prepare for my last hour. Both my own wishes and the
“ laws of the realm designate you for my successor; learn, then, the full extent
“ of the obligations which that title imposes. You are destined to ascend the
“ first throne in the world, and to bear the appellation of *Most Christian King*;
“ for that rank, and for that august prerogative, you are indebted to your
“ ancestors, who, by their valour, and their zeal in the cause of religion,
“ have exalted themselves above all the princes in Christendom.—If you
“ are anxious to partake the glory which they have so well deserved, let your bo-
“ som be inspired with a noble ardour and endeavour to resemble them. Their
“ example, my son, will suffice to teach you what to do, mine will better instruct
“ you what to avoid; for, although with the aid of the Almighty, and with the
“ assistance of our brave subjects, the sceptre of France has not suffered degrada-
“ tion in my hands; although I have successfully defended the rights of the crown,
“ and have even extended the limits of this kingdom; yet must I not conceal my
“ faults: this confession may tend to your instruction better than any advice I can
“ give you. Know, then, my son, that on my accession to the throne, having de-
“ prived of their places those officers who had served the state, and the king my
“ father, with zeal and fidelity, that inconsiderate step has caused torrents of tears
“ and blood to flow, and has embittered my whole life. My son, the confession
“ which I now make ought to render you more wise. The flame is not so far ex-
“ tinguished, but that it may be easily rekindled, unless, by a conduct more pru-
“ dent than mine was at that period, you succeed in gaining the confidence of your
“ faithful subjects; promise, then, that when you ascend the throne, you will,
“ in all matters of importance, take the advice of the princes of your blood, and
“ members of your council; that you will not deprive any one of his place, unless
“ he shall have previously been found guilty of prevarication; and as what I now

“ require of you, is of the utmost importance, reflect seriously before you give me your answer.”

The dauphin then retired into an adjoining apartment, with the lord of Beaujeu, his governor, and the officers of his household, and in a few minutes he returned, and swore to fulfil the promise which the king exacted from him. The particulars of this interview were committed to paper, and transmitted to all the sovereign courts in the kingdom. Lewis then sent to the duke of Orleans, and made him swear that he would not oppose any of the regulations which he might chuse to establish, with regard to the regency, and that he would not engage his relations, the duke of Brittany and the count of Foix, to assist him in exciting troubles in the kingdom, and in procuring for himself a greater share in the administration than it should please the king to assign him. Both the duke's oath and the dauphin's were inserted in the registers of the parliament. It is rather extraordinary that Lewis should expect that others would be bound by an engagement which—notwithstanding its solemnity—he himself had invariably treated with contempt.

As Lewis approached nearer to the grave, his terror at the thoughts of his dissolution increased; although in the dreadful situation to which sickness had reduced him, death ought rather to have been considered as a friend than a tyrant, yet were all his hours most anxiously employed in the hopeless endeavour to prolong a miserable existence. All the precautions which he had hitherto adopted with the view to preserve himself from the secret machinations of his enemies, now appeared insufficient. At the most happy periods of his life, he was attended, wherever he went, by a body of troops and a train of artillery; and, since the assassination of the Medici and the duke of Milan, he had always armed himself with a pike, which a page carried at his side in the day, and which the king placed at the head of his bed during the night. But when he found his strength too far exhausted, by age and sickness, to suffer him to make use of this weapon in case of attack, he resolved to shut himself in some inaccessible place.

His favourite residence of Pleffis-les-Tours was, after much consideration, chosen for the purpose of retirement; he caused the castle to be surrounded by a broad and deep ditch, over which were thrown two bridges, that were never let down but at one particular hour; within the ditch an iron railing was erected, the walls of the fortress were covered with iron spikes, and the gates defended by bastions. A guard of four hundred archers paraded round this gloomy prison night and day, with orders to fire on any one who should dare to approach without first making himself known. Eighteen thousand caltrops were distributed on the neighbouring plains, to prevent the approach of cavalry; and in the interior court of the castle were two rows of large iron chains, with cannon-balls fastened to the end of them, to which criminals, often for the most trivial offences, were fastened. These chains were called *Les fillettes du roi*. The avenues which led to this abode of misery were lined, on either side, with gibbets instead of trees, on which Tristan the provost—who was truly worthy to administer to the rage and caprice of a sanguinary tyrant—caused the wretched victims of his master's

suspicious and revenge, to be placed. No one resided in the castle, except four or five officers, who, by their tyrannical conduct, had become the objects of public execration, and who from their expectations of falling, on the death of Lewis, into the hands of justice, were most interested in the prolongation of his life. The princes of the blood, and even the king's own daughters, were forbidden to enter the place, without an express invitation. When Anne of France, her husband, the lord of Beaujeu, and the count of Dunois brought the young dauphiness from Flanders, Lewis, having descried from the windows of his palace their numerous train, was greatly alarmed, and immediately sent some of his officers to search them, in the apprehension that they might have arms concealed beneath their clothes.

But though Lewis had thus secluded himself from the world, he took care that the world should not forget him; instead, however, of deserving attention by acts of virtue, he only sought to render himself conspicuous by his vices. Every day, and almost every hour, were orders the most absolute and tyrannical dispatched to different parts of the kingdom. He dismissed, without any reason, all his old servants; and the new ones who succeeded them, were soon dismissed in their turn; when asked the motive of this conduct, his reply was—*Nature takes delight in variety*. Nor were these sudden dismissions confined to his household, for there was scarcely a post in the kingdom, from the highest to the lowest, but experienced a similar change.

Lewis was equally anxious to engage the attention of foreigners, whom he, also, wished to believe that his health was perfectly re-established. He sent envoys or ambassadors to foreign courts on the most frivolous prettexts; and these representatives of sovereignty had often no other business to negotiate, than the purchase of some trifling article for their master. From Spain, he exported at a great expence, mules and sporting dogs; from Italy, horses and curiosities; from the kingdoms of the north, elks, rein-deer, and furs; and young lions, and other scarce animals, from the coast of Africa; and, as his only object in purchasing these articles was to make people talk of him, his agents could not oblige him more than by paying a most extravagant price for them. They were conveyed to the palace with great pomp and parade, and when they arrived, he did not even deign to look at them.

All the stores of medicine were exhausted in vain to restore his drooping health; no remedy which the skill of the regular professor could suggest, or the ingenuity of the daring empiric devise, was left unemployed; we are told by a contemporary writer, that among other remedies, he was ordered to drink the blood of a child, in order to correct the acrimony of his own; and, that a great number of children were, accordingly, bled for the purpose. As hunting had always constituted his principal amusement when he was in health, he now ordered a number of large rats to be caught and turned loose in his apartments, where he hunted them with cats. But as he soon became tired of this kind of amusement, his attendants devised another more suitable to his situation. They assembled the

peasants of Poitou, and dividing them into bands, distributed them in the meadows round the castle, where some of them played on their rustic pipes, while others danced and sung; Lewis looked at them from the different windows of the palace, and endeavoured to partake of their innocent pleasures; but if he perceived that any one took notice of him, he instantly retired, and did not dare to appear at the window again that day.

As all human remedies had proved inefficacious, he had recourse to others of a different description: he sent to different parts of Europe, for all the relics he could procure which were holden in any tolerable degree of estimation. Friar Rosat, a monk of Lombardy, and five or six of his brethren, brought him a great number from Italy; and he not only paid all the expences of their journey, but received them most magnificently. Some canons of Cologne obtained, in exchange for some curious relics, the confirmation of a rich donation which he had already made to their cathedral. A poor tradesman, from Aix-la-Chapelle, received sixty livres for a small silver image, which he said had touched some very famous relics. The king sent two thousand crowns to Saint James in Galicia, and he sent to Marseilles for the ring of Jobin. The holy oil from Rheims was taken to him with great ceremony, and he obtained permission from the pope to be anointed with it a second time; but the wily pontiff exacted for this indulgence—which had already caused an insurrection at Rome—the cession of the counties of Valence and Die, in Dauphiny, to which the church of Rome had preferred some obsolete claims.

It is very extraordinary that, impressed as the mind of Lewis certainly was with the fear of death, and, moreover, a slave to the most abject superstition, its most prominent and most disgusting features should still have retained their former strength. Having recommended himself to the prayers of Bourdeille, archbishop of Tours, that prelate thought the opportunity favourable for impressing him with a due sense of his errors; and he accordingly represented to him, with a truly apostolic zeal, that the most acceptable offering he could make to God would be that of a contrite heart; that gifts to the church could not expiate sins; that he had violated the privileges of the church by illegal acts of violence against its ministers; that he had either imprisoned or expelled from their sees, the bishops of Laon, Séz, Castres, Coutances, Saint-Flour, and Pamiers, whose only offence was that of being connected, either by the ties of blood or friendship, with some persons who had incurred the king's displeasure; that he had despoiled several families of their patrimony; and that he had retained, against all law and equity, the inheritance of the house of Tremoille.

Lewis, enraged at the freedom of his censures, replied, that he had asked him for prayers and not for advice; that such complaints were an attack on the sovereign authority, and bore a strong resemblance to threats; that Bourdeille meddled with too many affairs; and that he defied him, and all the prelates he had mentioned, to find any flaw in his conduct. The king then ordered the chancellor to institute a process against the archbishop and the other prelates;

and Bourdeille was finally compelled to ask pardon, for having discharged his duty.

But though Lewis—as he told the archbishop—asked for prayers and not for advice, yet did he wish for those prayers less for the salvation of his soul, than the re-establishment of his health. As he felt an inconvenience from the north-wind, whenever it blew for some days together, he ordered general processions to Saint-Denis; but being ashamed to avow his weakness, he commanded the prayers, that were said on those occasions, to be offered up for the health of the king and the dauphin, and for the preservation of the fruits of the earth. We are told that his chaplain was, one day, reciting an orison to Saint Eutropius, and when he came to pray “*for the health of the soul and of the body,*” he was interrupted by the king, who told him he ought not to ask for so many things at a time, and requested him only to pray for the health of the body. There is a letter of his still extant, addressed to Peter Cadouet, a monk; in which he says—“Master Peter, my friend, I request you with all possible earnestness to pray incessantly to God, and our lady of Salles, in my behalf; that it may please them to send me a quartan ague, for I am afflicted with a malady which my physicians tell me cannot be removed without it; and as soon as I have it, I will let you know.”

But while the king, depending on the efficacy of prayers, processions and relics, neglected the proper means of conciliating the mercy of God whom he had grievously offended by the magnitude of his offences, a third stroke of an apoplexy (on Monday, the twenty-fifth of August) frustrated all his hopes of life. He lay motionless so long, that it was believed he was dead; on his revival, he forbade his attendants, however ill he might be, to mention the word death in his presence, since he did not think he should have resolution to hear it; “It will suffice,” said he, “to say, *speaking little*; I shall understand what you mean.” This prohibition, however, was disregarded; and his favourite, Oliver le Daim, accompanied by a physician, and a hermit, who had come from Calabria to assist him with his prayers, approached his bed, and apprising him that he had but a short time to live, advised him to think of his conscience. But Lewis, as if anxious to dissemble to the last, replied, without betraying any emotions of terror;—“I hope that God will assist me, for I am not so ill as you think I am.”

From this moment, however, he appears to have been convinced of the certainty of his speedy dissolution; he sent for the lord of Beaujeu, whom he had appointed, conjointly with Anne of France, to govern the state during his son's minority, and imparted to him his last will: he then dispatched the chancellor to the dauphin of Amboise, and told all who went to see him, *to go to the king, and serve him with fidelity*. He sent also for the marshal Desquerdes, and advised him never to lose sight of the dauphin, for the first six months; he ordered him to give up all thoughts of the plan they had concerted together for taking Calais from the English, and not to molest the duke of Brittany, who, in future, he

he said, would only seek to live in peace; he added, that what would have been proper, had he lived, would be extremely dangerous during a minority; and, besides, that the kingdom stood in need of a peace for five or six years, in order to recover its strength.

At length he complied with all the forms required by the Catholic religion, and received the sacrament; he said, that on account of the particular devotion which he had always entertained for the holy Virgin, he should not die till Saturday; in fact, he expired on that day, which was the thirtieth of August, 1483, in the sixty-first year of his age, exclaiming, with his last breath—"Our lady of Embrun, my good mistress, assist me." He was buried eight days after his decease, at the church of Notre-Dame, at Cleri.

To mark the different shades of vice; to distinguish the most prominent features of infamy, from those of inferior magnitude, is a task unpleasant in itself, and one from which neither amusement nor instruction can be derived: yet what else can be done in the delineation of a character, in which not a single good quality appears? That disposition to tyranny which Lewis evinced at an early period of his life, and which he was more studious to encourage than anxious to repress, affords strong grounds for believing that, at whatever period he had been called to ascend the throne, his reign must have abounded with schemes to oppress his people, and to render his own power absolute.—Subtle, unfeeling, and cruel, a stranger to every principle of integrity, and regardless of decency, he scorned all the restraints which a sense of honour, or the desire of fame, impose even upon ambitious men. Sagacious, at the same time, to discern his true interest, and influenced by that alone, he was capable of pursuing it with a persevering industry, and of adhering to it with a systematic spirit, from which no object could divert, and no danger could deter him.*

In proportion as Lewis the Eleventh stripped the nobility of their privileges, he added to the power and prerogative of his crown. In order to have such a body of soldiers at his command, as might be sufficient to crush any force which his disaffected subjects could draw together, he not only kept on foot the regular troops which his father had raised, but took into his pay six thousand Swiss, at that time the best disciplined and most formidable infantry in Europe†. From the jealousy natural to tyrants, he confided in these foreign mercenaries, as the most devoted instruments of oppression, and the most faithful guardians of the power he had acquired. That they might be ready to act on the shortest warning, he, during the latter years of his reign, kept a considerable body of them encamped in one place.

Great funds were requisite, not only to defray the expence of this additional establishment, but to supply the sums employed in the various enterprises which the restless activity of his genius prompted him to undertake. But the prerogative

* Robertson.

† Communes.—Daniel, *Histoire de la Milice Francoise*, tom. i. p. 183.

that his father had assumed, of levying taxes without the concurrence of the states-general, and which he was careful not only to retain but to extend, enabled him to provide, in some measure, for the encreasing charges of government.

What his prerogative, large as it was, could not furnish, his address procured. He was the first monarch, in Europe, who discovered the method of managing those great assemblies, in which the feudal policy had vested the power of granting subsidies and of imposing taxes. He first taught other princes the fatal art of beginning their attack on public liberty, by corrupting the source from which that liberty should flow. By exerting all his power and address in influencing the election of representatives, by bribing or intimidating the members, and by various changes, which he artfully made in the form of their deliberations, Lewis acquired such entire direction of those assemblies, that, from being the vigilant guardians of the privileges and property of the people, he rendered them tamely subservient, in promoting the most odious measures of his reign. As no power remained to set bounds to his exactions, he not only continued all the taxes imposed by his father, but made immense additions to them. Charles the Seventh levied taxes to the amount of one million eight hundred thousand livres. Lewis the Eleventh raised four millions seven hundred thousand livres. The former had in pay nine thousand cavalry, and sixteen thousand infantry; the latter augmented the cavalry to fifteen thousand, and the infantry to twenty-five thousand.*

In consequence of an extension of territory, by acquisitions of various kinds that were made during the reign of Lewis, France was formed into one compact kingdom, and the steady unrelenting policy of that prince not only subdued the haughty spirit of the feudal nobles, but established a species of government, scarcely less absolute, or less terrible than Eastern despotism.

But fatal as his administration was to the liberties of his subjects, the authority which he acquired, the resources of which he became master, and his freedom from restraint in concerting his plans as well as in executing them, rendered his reign active and enterprising; and from this era, the kings of France, no longer fettered and circumscribed at home by a jealous nobility, have exerted themselves more abroad, have formed more extensive schemes of foreign conquests, and have carried on war with a spirit and vigour long unknown in Europe.

The military order of Saint Michael was instituted, by Lewis the Eleventh, in 1469; it consisted of thirty-six knights, the sovereign included; besides a chancellor, a secretary, a treasurer, and a herald. Lewis also instituted two parliaments, that of Bourdeaux, which his father had promised to establish, in 1462; and the parliament of Burgundy, in 1476.

* Commynes.

An important discovery was made in the chirurgical art during this reign;—the mode of curing the stone by the operation of cutting. An archer of Meudon, who had been long afflicted with this dreadful disease, was, in 1474, convicted of various robberies, and condemned to die: but the physicians and surgeons of Paris represented to the king that a great number of persons, of all ranks, being afflicted with the stone, it would be expedient to try, on this man, whose life was already forfeited to the laws of his country, an experiment which might prove of advantage to society. Lewis complied with their request; and the operation was performed with such success that the man was perfectly cured in a fortnight; when the king not only granted him a pardon, but assigned him a reward.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

I N D E X

TO THE

SECOND VOLUME.

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